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THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE *AENEID*.

All readers of the *Aeneid* are conscious of the attention which Vergil has given to the structural framework of his poem. Each book is a unit, but each fits into its place as a part of a greater unity and contributes meaning to the epic as a whole. The poet's efforts to achieve variety, symmetry, and contrast have been noted by many Vergilian scholars both in small episodes and in the larger portions of his work.¹ But the tendency, unfortunately all too prevalent, to look upon the *Aeneid* as a Roman *Odyssey* of wanderings followed by a less interesting Roman *Iliad* of war has distorted and obscured the structure of the poem for many readers. Mackail is correct in saying that "neither of the two halves, Books I-VI and Books VII-XII, is a substantive epic by itself," that the whole poem "is a continuous and ordered movement towards which the successive scenes are subordinated."² The last six books form, as Vergil himself states (VII, 44 f.), a *maior rerum ordo*, a *maius opus*; they have far greater unity and coherence than the first six books, and only in them can the true meaning and purpose of the poet be seen.³

¹ Cf., e. g., H. W. Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (Chicago, 1927), p. 440, on the arrangement of material in Books VII-XII: "His artistic aims in this distribution may be comprehended in the two words, symmetry and variety."

² J. W. Mackail, "The *Aeneid* as a Work of Art," *C. J.*, XXVI (1930-31), p. 14.

³ Cf. G. E. Duckworth, "Turnus as a Tragic Character," *Vergilius*, 4 (1940), p. 5. On the value of the last six books, see also W. H. Alexander, "Maus Opus," *Univ. Cal. Pub. Class. Philol.*, XIV (1951), pp. 193-214.

The title of this paper will recall that of a lecture by R. S. Conway which he published more than twenty years ago,⁴ and the resemblance of title is intentional. Much that I wish to say derives from and is an expansion of Conway's views concerning the alternation and the correspondence of the various books. According to Conway, Vergil's "love of alternation has shaped the structure of the *Aeneid* in two ways: (a) by the contrast which the poet has made between every pair of consecutive Books, and (b) by the correspondence and contrast between each of the Books in the first half of the poem and the Book in the corresponding place in the second half."⁵

Before applying these two principles to the *Aeneid*, it will be instructive to turn to the *Eclogues*, where a similar desire for effective contrasts may be seen.⁶ More than one type of alternation has been pointed out for the ten pastoral poems; those with odd numbers have Italian, local scenery, while those with even numbers have scenery beyond Italy, scenery that is more ideal;⁷ also, the odd-numbered poems are dialogues, the even-numbered are monologues (or, in the case of VIII, two monologues); that is, we find here a clear-cut alternation between dramatic and non-dramatic poems.⁸ Such alternations should not be looked upon as merely an artificial or mechanical grouping, but rather as the result of an artistic aim to provide effective

⁴ "The Architecture of the Epic," *Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), pp. 129-49. This was a revision of an earlier lecture on the same subject which appeared in *Bull. John Rylands Library*, IX (1925), pp. 481-500. All references to Conway, unless otherwise specified, will be to the *Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age*.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁶ I shall not discuss the balanced structure of the *Georgics* (with two panels, I-II and III-IV), which attains the heights of poetic artistry but provides a less striking parallel to the framework of the *Aeneid*; cf. Conway's remarks on the *Georgics*, *op. cit.*, p. 139, and see D. L. Drew, "The Structure of Vergil's *Georgics*," *A. J. P.*, L (1929), pp. 242-54; L. Richardson, Jr., *Poetical Theory in Republican Rome* (New Haven, 1944), pp. 132-63.

⁷ Conway, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f., 139; on this see E. K. Rand, *The Magical Art of Virgil* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pp. 89 f., 160 ff.

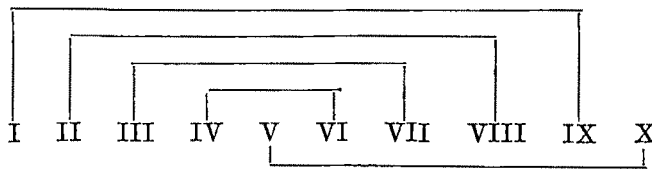
⁸ This has been noticed by many writers; cf., e.g., A. Cartault, *Étude sur les Bucoliques de Virgile* (Paris, 1897), pp. 53 f.; A. Klotz, "Das Ordnungsprinzip in Vergils *Bucolica*," *Rhein. Mus.*, LXIV (1909), pp. 325-7.

contrasts within the larger unity. Richardson has pointed out an additional type of balanced alternation, that between interest in subject—high at the beginning (I), the middle of the collection (IV, V, VI) and the end (IX, X)—and interest in form—high where interest in subject is low (II, III; VII, VIII) but also high in the middle (IV, V) and at the end (X); thus interest in both form and subject center about V, "the central panel of the grouping"; Richardson adds: "guarding against a failure of interest at the end of the book, he finishes the collection with a superb coda, the elegy of Gallus."⁹

These contrasts in each pair of consecutive *Eclogues*—contrasts of scenery, of form, of type of interest aroused—are only one feature of Vergil's interest in the structural arrangement of the poems. More significant is the fact that certain *Eclogues* in the second half of the collection correspond to poems in the first half, and in reverse order; a brief outline will make this clear:

- I and IX: country life and the confiscations of territory
- II and VIII: the passion of love
- III and VII: music; responsive singing matches
- IV and VI: loftier themes of religion and philosophy; the world to come (IV), the world that was (VI)

These eight *Eclogues* thus form a frame about V, the songs concerning the dead and deified Daphnis.¹⁰ As V honors the shepherd who became a god, so X, a later addition to the collection, honors Cornelius Gallus, the friend who appears as a shepherd. There seems little doubt that the first nine *Eclogues* form a complete and harmonious whole, with X added, not only to honor Vergil's friend Gallus, but also partly, as Richardson suggests, to heighten the interest at the end of the collection, and partly to provide a poem to balance V. The arrangement is as follows:



⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

¹⁰ Cf. E. Krause, *Quibus temporibus quoque ordine Vergilius eclogas scripserit* (Berlin, 1884), pp. 6 f.; his analysis was rejected by Cartault, *op. cit.*, p. 53, n. 2.

This curious correspondence between *Eclogues* I-IV and VI-IX has been developed by Maury into what he terms a "bucolic chapel," with four poems on each side, like columns, leading the way to V, the central and most important poem, the shrine where Caesar is honored in the guise of the deified Daphnis; X, when added, places Gallus, the suffering mortal, at the entrance to the chapel.¹¹

Miss Hahn's analysis is quite different; she arranges the first nine *Eclogues* in triads and views X as a final poem blending the shepherds and the realism of Triads One (I, II, III) and Three (VII, VIII, IX) with the gods and fantasy of Triad Two (IV, V, VI).¹² But she too is conscious of the close relationship between I and IX, II and VIII, III and VII, IV and VI, and Triad Two, containing "the grander, more cosmic themes,"¹³ has V as its central poem—a place of honor similar to that in Maury's scheme. It should be noted too that Miss Hahn likewise believes that Daphnis is to be identified with Caesar.¹⁴

This discussion of the artistic grouping of the *Eclogues* is far from being a digression; on the contrary, it contributes directly to Conway's theory of the architecture of the *Aeneid*. In his arrangement of the *Eclogues* Vergil has clearly been motivated

¹¹ P. Maury, "Le Secret de Virgile et l'architecture des Bucoliques," *Lettres d'Humanité*, III (1944), pp. 71-147. I cannot discuss here Maury's surprising conclusions concerning Vergil's Neopythagoreanism and his use of mathematical symmetries and symbolism, e.g., that the total number of verses of *Eclogues* I, II, VIII, and IX is 333, that of III, IV, VI, and VII likewise equals 333; thus the eight poems surrounding V total 666, the numerical value of the names KAICAP and ΓΑΛΛΟC, the god honored in V and the man honored in X (and, incidentally, the number of the Beast in Revelation, 13, 16-18). A. M. Guillemin (*Virgile, Poète, Artiste et Penseur* [Paris, 1951], p. 10) calls Maury's lengthy article on the *Bucolics* "une étude des plus curieuses," but cf. J. Perret (*Virgile, l'homme et l'œuvre* [Paris, 1952], p. 18): "La découverte de M. P. Maury est une des plus importantes qui aient été faites dans le domaine des études virgiliennes depuis bien longtemps." For a more recent investigation of Pythagoreanism in Vergil's poetry, see G. Le Grelle, S. J., "Le premier livre des *Géorgiques*, poème pythagoricien," *Les Études Class.*, XVII (1949), pp. 139-235.

¹² E. A. Hahn, "The Characters in the *Eclogues*," *T. A. P. A.*, LXXV (1944), pp. 239-41.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 240.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 214-17.

by a desire (1) to alternate the character of the poems and (2) to have a definite correspondence between the poems of the first half and those of the second half of the collection. These are the two features which Conway finds in the structure of the *Aeneid*. Conway noted the alternation of the *Eclogues* but apparently failed to see the correspondence, although the latter provides an equally interesting parallel to the structure of the *Aeneid* as he envisages it.

Conway considers the alternation in the character of the books "the real division of the *Aeneid*," and adds: "The books with odd numbers show what we may call the lighter or Odyssean type; the books with the even numbers reflect the graver colour of the *Iliad*."¹⁵ This is very different from the frequent division of the *Aeneid* into two parts—an *Odyssey* of wanderings and an *Iliad* of war, but seems basically correct. Conway perhaps overstates the amount of humor and frivolity in the odd-numbered books, but the books of greatest tragedy and deepest significance are undoubtedly those with even numbers. Application of the principle to the second half of the *Aeneid* has been doubted,¹⁶ and IX and XI are in many respects of graver import than the corresponding books, III and V, but the principle seems sound when we compare IX and XI with the more serious nature of VIII, X, and XII. In a later lecture Conway points out that each of the even-numbered books ends in a climax (II and IV in tragedy, VI and VIII in revelation, X and XII in triumph); he sees also an alternation of "the methods and motives of epic poetry with those of Greek tragedy,"¹⁷ since the books with even numbers conform more to the orthodox requirements of tragedy as established by Aristotle.

To support his theory that the books of the second half correspond to those of the first half, Conway lists numerous similarities and contrasts,¹⁸ of which the following seem the most significant:

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

¹⁶ Cf. Miss Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 239, n. 239.

¹⁷ "Vergil's Creative Art," *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XVII (1931), p. 25. Conway says (pp. 24 f.) that "none of the Books with odd numbers can be said to end in a climax, though there is a pause in the story." See W. F. J. Knight, "Integration of Plot in the *Aeneid*," *Vergilius*, 6 (1940), pp. 20 ff.

¹⁸ *Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age*, pp. 139 f.

- I and VII: arrival in a strange land; friendship offered
- II and VIII: each the story of a city—one destroyed by Greeks, the other to be founded with the help of Greeks
- III and IX: Aeneas inactive and action centers around Anchises (III); Aeneas absent and action centers around Ascanius (IX)
- IV and X: Aeneas in action—conflict between love and duty (IV); conflict with the enemy (X)
- V and XI: each begins with funeral ceremonies and ends with death—Palinurus (V) and Camilla (XI)
- VI and XII: Aeneas receives his commission in VI, executes it in XII.

As Conway says, these parallel features seem too numerous to be due merely to accident.

Conway looks upon VI as the "crowning Book, which Vergil has placed in the centre, to unite all that stand before it and all that stand after"; it is "the keystone of the whole poem" and "contributes a sense of unity to the epic."¹⁹ Aeneas' visit to the underworld is thus very different in function as well as in content from that of Odysseus' interview of the shades in the *Odyssey*, an incidental episode which lacks the philosophical, religious, and national significance which Vergil has given to *Aeneid* VI.

A re-examination of Conway's position seems necessary, for in recent years several Vergilian scholars have made new and interesting contributions to the study of the structure of the *Aeneid*. Tracy analyzes I-VI, showing how each book has a distinct pattern, with its own thematic treatment and balanced arrangement of moods, with color and tone values set in deliberate contrast.²⁰ Mendell makes clear that Catullus and the neoterics had a definite influence upon Vergil's workmanship in the *Aeneid*, inasmuch as many episodes in the epic reveal a symmetrical framing of the action around a central focal point, usually a significant speech or a scene of emotional tension.²¹

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 143. Cf. also Prescott, *op. cit.*, pp. 360 f.

²⁰ H. L. Tracy, "The Pattern of Vergil's *Aeneid* I-VI," *Phoenix*, IV (1950), pp. 1-8.

²¹ C. W. Mendell, "The Influence of the Epyllion on the *Aeneid*," *Yale*

Pöschl in his excellent book on the poetic art of Vergil points out instances of symmetry and contrast between the two halves of the poem, especially in I and VII, the opening scenes of which he considers symbolic of each half;²² the *Aeneid* as a whole he divides into three parts of four books each, with an alternation of light and shadow: I-IV (storm, fall of Troy, loss of homeland, death of Dido) are dark; the middle portion shines with light (the games of V, the vision of Roman glory in VI, the description of Italian troops in VII, the triumph of Augustus in VIII); the last third (IX-XII) portrays the darkness and tragedy of war. "Dunkel—Licht—Dunkel: dies also ist der Rhythmus, der das Epos in seiner Gesamtheit beherrscht."²³ In spite of possible reservations,²⁴ the existence of this major rhythm—or at least this threefold division—can scarcely be doubted; IV brings to an end the story of Dido and Carthage, and the main conflict in Italy does not begin until IX, while patriotic and national themes occupy a large part of the central portion of the poem, with the high points at the ends of VI and VIII. Such an over-all design does not, however, invalidate the similarities and contrasts found by Conway in the individual books.

A new analysis of the architecture of the *Aeneid* was presented by Perret in 1952.²⁵ Just as VII-XII depicts the story of Aeneas in Italy, so I-V is the story of Aeneas at Carthage, and

Class. Stud., XII (1951), pp. 203-26; cf. especially pp. 223 f., where the entire eleventh book is arranged around three focal points—Aeneas' appeal for peace (100-138), Latinus' speech (302-335), and the deeds of Camilla (648-724).

²² V. Pöschl, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils. Bild und Symbol in der Aeneis* (Innsbruck, 1950), pp. 46 ff. Pöschl believes that the conflict between Jupiter and Juno in I is symbolic of the struggle "zwischen Licht und Finsternis, zwischen Idee und Leidenschaft, Geist und Natur, Ordnung und Chaos" (p. 31) and that this conflict is repeated in the conflict between Aeneas and Dido and in that between Aeneas and Turnus; "der römische Gott, der römische Held und der römische Kaiser sind Inkarnationen der gleichen Idee" (*ibid.*).

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

²⁴ Cf. Tracy, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 f., on the darkness and gloom of VI. Are the activity of Allecto and the outbreak of war in VII to be looked upon as light rather than darkness? In the third section of the poem, is no light to be seen in Aeneas' victories in X and XII?

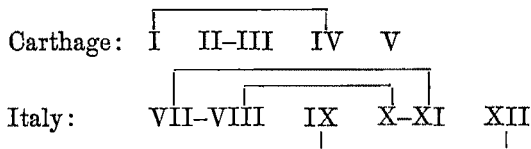
²⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 111-20.

the first half of the poem derives its unity from this fact. Perret looks upon VI much as does Conway:

Il est le sommet de l'*Enéide*, comme la V^e *Bucolique* était le sommet des *Bucoliques*, mais il en est aussi la somme, il en rassemble en lui tout l'esprit. . . . Entre le passé et l'avenir, comme toute l'*Enéide* suspendue entre Troie et Rome, entre les douleurs des catastrophes, des exils, des tentations et les promesses de la neuve et verte Italie, le liv. VI est vraiment la synthèse du poème.²⁶

Perret isolates VI and purposely excludes it from his structural analysis;²⁷ he presents an interesting theory concerning the interrelations of the other books, but makes no attempt to relate the books of the second half to those of the first half. His views deserve a careful examination before we return to a consideration of the parallelism of the books as postulated by Conway.

According to Perret, the architecture of the *Aeneid* is as follows:



In the first half, the story of Dido in I and IV is interrupted by Aeneas' narrative. Perret believes that V rather than IV serves as the conclusion to the story of Carthage. This he bases on similarities and contrasts between I and V: intervention of Juno (Aeolus in I, Iris in V); catastrophe (storm in I, fire in V); Neptune rebukes the winds in I, Ascanius the Trojan women in V; Aeneas comforts his men in I, is comforted by them in V; Venus appeals to Jupiter in I, to Neptune in V. These parallels are striking but hardly prove that the latter part of V should be viewed as "une reprise" of I, or that V is the conclusion of the Carthaginian episode. We shall find even more striking parallels between I and VII.

Perret divides the second half of the *Aeneid* into two groups

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 113 f.

²⁷ Cf. Mendell, *op. cit.*, p. 226, for a similar treatment of VI: "The sixth book . . . is itself a great focal point between two contrasted panels, Books I-IV and Books VIII-XII, with the quieter books of suspense, V and VII, as an inner frame."

of three books each, with the second section beginning with the assembly of the gods and Aeneas' return to combat. VII and VIII are linked together, being books of negotiations and embassies, and as VII ends with a picture of pre-Trojan Italy, so VIII ends with a picture of Roman Italy. One must suggest, however, that the conclusion of VIII is balanced far better by the description of Roman heroes in VI. Perret likewise links X and XI as books of combat which stress the glorious death of young heroes, Pallas in X and Camilla in XI. But is it possible to disregard XII in this connection? Certainly, X and XII should be looked upon as the major books of combat and at the conclusion of each a major opponent falls at the hands of Aeneas, Mezentius in X and Turnus in XII.

The relationship of the six books is intricate: VII is related to XI, VIII to X, and IX to XII, and Perret says of this arrangement: "c'est exactement le type de composition qu'après M. Maury nous avons reconnu dans les *Bucoliques*."²⁸ The main points are the following:

- VII and XI: both concern the Latins; King Latinus weak in both; embassy from Trojans to Latins in VII, from Latins to Trojans in XI; description of Camilla at end of VII, her death at end of XI.
- VIII and X: both concern Aeneas' allies, Arcadians and Etruscans; departure of Aeneas (VIII) and his return (X) each accompanied by a prodigy; Hercules of the *ara maxima* (VIII) mourns the approaching death of Pallas (X).
- IX and XII: both are reserved for Turnus and Trojan valor; Turnus appears also in X and XI, but our full picture of the hero comes from IX (in the Trojan camp) and XII (combat with Aeneas);²⁹ likewise IX depicts the valor of the Trojans (to which the episode of Nisus and Euryalus contributes) and XII that of Trojan Aeneas.

Perret's analysis of the *Aeneid* gives us valuable insights into the interrelations of the various books, especially in the second half of the poem, and reveals again Vergil's love for alternation and contrast. The possible existence of overlapping and inter-

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

²⁹ Vergil's portrayal of Turnus in X and XI, however, is essential to our understanding of his character; see Duckworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff.

locking designs should not be ignored, and the ability of different scholars to see quite dissimilar schemes³⁰ merely gives added testimony of the structural richness of the epic. But Perret seems to have missed the basic architecture of the *Aeneid*. The unsuccessful attempt to attach V to I-IV, the isolation of VI, and the failure to relate VII-XII closely to I-VI all weaken his position. He admits that the architecture of the poem must be "très harmonieuse et très simple,"³¹ but his arrangement lacks both harmony and simplicity.

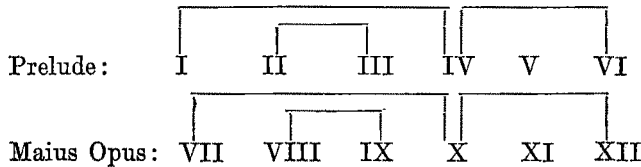
Vergil's own description of VII-XII as a *maius opus* implies that I-VI are an enriched and amplified prelude to his main theme, and Perret's careful and interesting analysis of VII-XII has presented additional proof of the attention which Vergil gave to the structure and content of the second half of the poem. Brilliant characterizations are numerous—Mezentius, Lausus, Pallas, Nisus, Euryalus, Camilla, and, above all, Turnus. The outstanding episodes—Aeneas' visit to the site of Rome, the tragic deaths of Nisus and Euryalus, the slaying of Pallas with its fateful result for Turnus himself, the defeat of the wounded Mezentius as he attempts to avenge his son's death—are all firmly embedded in the main structure and are essential parts of it. Two of the greatest single books of the *Aeneid* are undoubtedly IV and VI, and the latter, as we have already seen, is great not only for its content but because of its central position in the structure of the whole. But what of X and XII? These two books must rank high in any consideration of the poem as a whole. X pictures the tragic deaths of Pallus, Lausus, and Mezentius and provides an effective counterpart to Dido's suicide in IV—the tragedy of war balancing the tragedy of love. Mac-kail compares XII with II, IV, and VI and says that the final book "reaches an even higher point of artistic achievement and marks the utmost of what poetry can do, in its dramatic value,

³⁰ To illustrate from a shorter passage, cf. the pattern of the Latin catalogue in VII as analyzed by B. Brotherton ("Vergil's Catalogue of the Latin Forces," *T. A. P. A.*, LXII [1931], pp. 192-202) and by E. A. Hahn ("Vergil's Catalogue of the Latin Forces: A Reply to Professor Brotherton," *P. A. P. A.*, LXIII [1932], pp. lxii f.). Miss Brotherton finds in the catalogue twelve groups of forces, with the last six paralleling the first six in reverse order; Miss Hahn rejects this and favors a more straightforward alternation of important and unimportant leaders.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

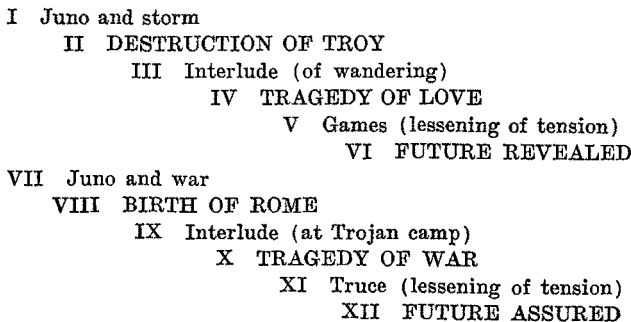
its masterly construction, and its faultless diction and rhythm."⁸² Even those who do not rate XII so highly must admit that it provides an effective and dramatic conclusion to the poem and serves as an adequate balance for VI.

In the first half of the poem, I and IV are separated by II and III (Aeneas' narrative); in like manner VII and X are separated by VIII and IX (Aeneas' absence). V is an interlude between the tragedy of IV and the seriousness of VI, and similarly XI provides a lessening of tension between the tragic fighting in X and the final conflict in XII. The grouping of the books is therefore as follows:



Whereas this scheme for the first half resembles that of Perret in part, the second half is very different and, what is more important, it is an exact counterpart of the first half. This supports Conway's view of the correspondence of the books in each half.

Vergil has composed his epic in two large parallel panels, with an alternating rise and fall of tension and with each book of the second panel balancing that of the first. The twelve books of the *Aeneid* may be presented in the following diagrammatic form:⁸³



⁸² *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁸³ The headings in capitals both here and in the parallel columns below indicate the more significant books (those with even numbers).

I agree that VI is the keystone, the focal point of the poem as a whole, but it should not be isolated between two contrasted panels; it forms the climax of the first panel, as XII concludes the second. The diagram presented above reveals the manner in which the books of the second panel balance those of the first, but to gain an adequate impression of the numerous parallelisms and contrasts which exist within each pair of corresponding books, a more detailed analysis will be necessary. The parallel columns which follow give the similarities and contrasts (including those of Conway) and illustrate the dramatic rise and fall of the action:

I

Juno and storm

Arrival in strange land

Trojans already known

Friendship offered

Ilioneus speaks for Aeneas

Omens and prophecies aid reception

Juno arouses storm with aid of

Aeolus

Venus prevails over Juno

Movement of book—misery to happiness

II

DESTRUCTION OF TROY

Story of Carthage interrupted

Greeks destroy

Trojans suffer from Greeks

Helplessness of aged Priam

Aeneas center of stage

Ascanius—fire about head, comet

At end, Aeneas carries on shoulders
his father (symbolic of past)

III

Interlude (of wandering)

Aeneas has minor role

Anchises important

Helenus and Andromache (joyful
episode)

Escape from danger — Cyclops,
Scylla, Charybdis

VII

Juno and war

Arrival in strange land

Trojans already known

Friendship offered

Ilioneus speaks for Aeneas

Omens and prophecies aid reception

Juno arouses war with aid of

Allecto

Juno prevails over Venus

Movement of book—happiness to
misery

VIII

BIRTH OF ROME

Story of Trojan camp interrupted

Greeks help to found

Trojans profit from Greeks

Helpfulness of aged Evander

Aeneas center of stage

Augustus—fire about head, comet

At end, Aeneas carries on shoulder
the shield (picture of future)

IX

Interlude (at Trojan camp)

Aeneas absent

Ascanius important

Nisus and Euryalus (tragic epi-
sode)

Escape from danger—Turnus in
camp

IV	X
TRAGEDY OF LOVE—DIDO	TRAGEDY OF WAR—PALLAS, LAUSUS, MEZENTIUS
Venus and Juno (agreement)	Venus and Juno (conflict)
Inner conflict of Aeneas	Outer conflict of Aeneas
Affection yields to duty	Pity yields to justice
<i>culpa</i> of Dido—results in death	<i>culpa</i> of Turnus—leads to death in XII
Turning point—Aeneas' decision to depart and effect on Dido	Turning point—death of Pallas and effect on Aeneas
At end, suicide of Dido—cannot live without Aeneas	At end, death of wounded Mezen- tius — cannot live without Lausus
V	XI
Lessening of tension—Games	Lessening of tension—Truce
Funeral games	Burial of dead
Aeneas quiets disputes	Latinus unable to avert dissension
Increase of tension—burning of ships	Increase of tension—renewal of fighting
At end, death of Palinurus	At end, death of Camilla
VI	XII
FUTURE REVEALED	FUTURE ASSURED
Aeneas receives his commission	Aeneas fulfills his commission
Dramatic progression—retardations and suspense, climaxed by revelation of Rome's destiny	Dramatic treatment of combat— retardations and suspense, cli- maxed by victory of Aeneas
Anchises reveals later Roman his- tory	Reconciliation of Jupiter and Juno creates later Roman people
At end, death of Marcellus conse- crates new order	At end, death of Turnus seals doom of old order

The existence of so many similarities and contrasts in books of such varied subject-matter is an amazing fact—a fact which strongly supports my contention that Conway's theory rather than Perret's explains most satisfactorily the basic architecture of the epic.³⁴ We find here the symmetry and contrast and alternation of tension which are peculiarly characteristic of Vergil. Furthermore, not only do we have (again to use Con-

³⁴ I do not wish to deny the validity of many of Perret's comments on the last six books, but his grouping seems a supplementary and more complex pattern imposed upon the fundamental design which links VII-XII to I-VI.

way's phrase) an alternation of lighter and more serious books, but a second type of alternation may now be seen: in the numerous contrasts and similarities which exist in the corresponding books of each half, the similarities appear to predominate in I and VII, III and IX, V and XI, i. e., in the odd-numbered books, whereas in II and VIII, IV and X, VI and XII the contrasts seem more numerous. Apparently the *Aeneid* contains a far more subtle fusion of Conway's two principles of alternation and correspondence than he himself realized.

Perret considers the miracle of the *Aeneid* to be Vergil's ability to treat three themes simultaneously—(1) the legendary narrative of Aeneas, (2) themes and personages of Roman history, and (3) the praise of the achievements of Augustus.³⁵ The poem is both an epic of Trojan Aeneas and an epic of Augustan Rome; ³⁶ perhaps, as Rand suggests, it is also an expression of Vergil's ideal empire—"an empire founded on justice, righteousness, law and order, religion and an ultimate peace."³⁷ In such an epic symbolism is inevitable.³⁸ Aeneas is Aeneas, but at times he is Augustus (cf. his promise in VI, 69 ff. to erect a temple to Apollo); he is also the ideal ruler who displays the *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, and *pietas* which were ascribed to Augustus by the Senate and the Roman people; ³⁹ Aeneas is even viewed as symbolic of suffering mankind fulfilling an unknown destiny.⁴⁰

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

³⁶ For instance, in VIII Aeneas visits the site of Rome, then the Pallanteum of the Arcadians, but it is Augustus' Rome that is suggested to the reader by the walk with Evander; cf. P. Grimal, "La promenade d'Évandre et d'Énée à la lumière des fouilles récentes," *R. E. A.*, L (1948), pp. 348-51.

³⁷ E. K. Rand, *The Building of Eternal Rome* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), p. 61.

³⁸ On the distinction between symbolism and allegory, cf. Pöschl, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 f.; Perret, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 f.

³⁹ *Res Gestae*, 34, 2.

⁴⁰ Cf. Alexander, *op. cit.*, pp. 212 f.; see also J. N. Hritzu, "A New and Broader Interpretation of the Ideality of Aeneas," *C. W.*, XXXIX (1945-46), pp. 98-103, 106-10. Hritzu looks upon the *Aeneid* as "an universal epic of the Iliad and Odyssey of man . . . striving to fulfill his divine mission of the gaining of the kingdom of heaven and the salvation of his own soul" (pp. 108 f.). Such a view resembles rather closely the various allegorical interpretations of the *Aeneid* which were prevalent in the Middle Ages.

In a work of such magnitude, with so many threads inextricably and harmoniously interwoven, it should occasion no surprise that so elaborate a basic design of symmetry and contrast underlies the structure of the poem. But this does not mean that Vergil gave excessive attention to details and consequently neglected the effect of the whole. I disagree, therefore, with Tracy when he says that "Vergil would appear to have made the mistake of fussiness"⁴¹ and when he prefers to use the word "pattern," i. e., detailed craftsmanship, rather than "design," which suggests a broader structural conception. The structural framework of the poem, as we see it in the parallel columns submitted above, indicates that the whole conception stands out boldly and that Vergil was master of his material, in large features as in small.⁴² The poem's architecture, or "design," when properly understood, is one more proof of Vergil's supreme achievement as an epic poet.

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⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 7. Tracy's failure to see an over-all design may result in part from the fact that he limited his useful discussion of contrasting moods and tone values to I-VI.

⁴² We cannot assume that the contrasts and parallels mentioned above have resulted merely from Vergil's subconscious feeling for balance and symmetry. They are too numerous and too striking. The balancing of the contrasting books in each half of the epic must be the result of deliberate design and was perhaps worked out before Vergil began to write, at the time when his material was arranged in a prose outline; cf. the *Suetonian Life*, 23: *Aeneida prosa prius oratione formatam digestamque in XII libros particulatim componere instituit, prout liberet quidque, et nihil in ordinem arripiens.*

THE HOUSE OF TRIMALCHIO.

Every archaeologist knows that the reconstruction of any ancient building, even when extensive remains are still preserved, is no easy task. The attempts to recover the plan and appearance of Pliny's Villas or Varro's Aviary show only too clearly the insufficiency of even the most detailed verbal descriptions. To try to reconstruct a building that never existed except in the imagination of a novelist would seem to be a complete waste of time. Petronius has made no attempt at giving his readers an exact description of Trimalchio's house, except as a setting for Trimalchio himself, and as an illustration of his character. No novelist, ancient or modern, has been greatly concerned as to whether the houses in which his characters live are structurally possible or convenient. Only recently, with the popularity of the detective novel, does the actual disposition of the house become important to author and reader, but I feel quite certain that no architect would ever pass most of the elaborate plans that writers of such stories so kindly provide for their public.¹

¹ Cf. Warren Hunting Smith, *Architecture in English Fiction* (Yale Studies in English, LXXXIII [New Haven, 1934]), p. 3. The author of this valuable work has unfortunately restricted himself to only "three main types of architectural setting: the purely decorative type, used for ornament and 'local colour'; the structural type performing a service in the narrative; and the emotional type, explaining the reactions of the characters and arousing the feelings of the readers" (p. 5). He ignores the type used as a means of characterisation, and thus omits all mention of such authors as Trollope and Surtees. Yet how admirably does the description of Ullathorne Court complete the character sketches of Wilfrid Thorne and his sister, or that of Gatherum Castle prepare the reader for the Duke of Omnium! Surtees, in a series of thumbnail sketches, passes in review the whole domestic architecture of the shires, from Woodmansterne to Puddingpote Bower; the houses, and their interior decoration, are all quite typical of their kind, and at the same time typical of their owners. Dumas uses the same technique in *Le Comte de Montecristo*: the descriptions of the *Hôtel de la Rue du Helder*, the *petit Versailles rue Méslay*, and the pretentious mansion of the *Chaussée d'Antin* tell us more about their owners than any elaborate psychological description.

Yet, though Petronius is certainly not describing any real house, he has a certain type of house in mind, a type of house that was familiar to his readers, a type of house that they would associate with a person such as Trimalchio. Petronius is an extremely subtle author; as a satirist, if he can be called a satirist, he obtains his effects, not by the ranting and exaggeration that become so wearisome in Juvenal, but rather by the delicate juxtaposition of incongruous details. This house of Trimalchio's is a real house, it is the kind of house most people know, and many own, but no one, except Trimalchio, would have it quite that way. It should therefore be recognizable as a characteristic type of house of the time of Nero, and this type of house is not to be sought for in Rome itself. As I have tried to show elsewhere,² Petronius is not writing of the upper classes of the capital, he is describing "moeurs de province," a provincial life, that of the Campania, with which most of his readers were only too familiar.

It is therefore in the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum that we must seek the model of Trimalchio's house.³ Both these towns were not of any great importance and therefore, since the *graeca urbs* is almost certainly Puteoli,⁴ we must not expect to find exact parallels, but, making allowances for this difference in scale, it is in Pompeii and Herculaneum that we must look. And the parallels are even closer than might be expected. Trimalchio has not built his whole house, he has simply enlarged a smaller one (77, 4): *ut scitis, cusuc*⁵ *erat, nunc templum est*: "you remember, it used to be a kind of hotdog stand, now it's a temple." At this any owner of one of the great Villas of the

² G. Bagnani, "And passing rich . . ." in *Studies in honour of Gilbert Norwood* (Toronto, 1952), pp. 218-23.

³ The House of Trimalchio has been briefly studied by P. Harsh in *Memoirs American Academy in Rome*, XII (1935), pp. 49-50 and A. Maiuri, *La Cena di Trimalchione* (Naples, 1945), pp. 243-5.

⁴ Maiuri, *Cena*, pp. 5-14 and *La Parola del Passato*, III (1948), pp. 106-8, argues convincingly for Puteoli; Marmorale, *La Questione Petroniana* (Bari, 1948), p. 129, tends to prefer Neapolis.

⁵ W. B. Sedgwick's suggestion, *C. R.*, XXXIX (1925), p. 118, that *cusuc* may have some connexion with the Persian *Kushk* "kiosk," is not unlikely: it has been accepted by Marmorale, *Cena*, p. 174; *contra* Harsh, *op. cit.*, p. 50. The exact meaning of *templum* does not concern us here.

Campania must have burst out laughing. Trimalchio's "temple" is not, even by the standards of Pompeii and Herculaneum, very large, certainly it is no palace.⁶ It contains four dining-rooms, twenty bedrooms (*cubicula*), two marble porticos, three libraries; and, upstairs, the two master suites, besides a wing for guests; some fifty rooms in all, less than in the Villa dei Misteri.⁷

A word might be said on the four dining-rooms. One of these was probably an open-air one as in so many houses in Pompeii,⁸ where the Casa del Fauno has exactly the same number of dining-rooms. These would seem, from our point of view, a very large number, but an examination of the houses at Pompeii shows that a plurality of *triclinia* is the rule, not the exception. Even the smallest houses have two *triclinia*, one large and one small. The reason for this is clearly hinted at by Varro⁹ when describing the habits of the ancient Romans: *ad focum hieme ac frigoribus cenitabant, aestivo tempore in loco propatulo, rure in chorte, in urbe in tabulino*. . . . In cold weather one dined by the fire, in summer one tried to find a cool spot. With the development of the simple Italic house under the influence of Hellenistic comfort, one no longer dined in the *atrium*-kitchen-living room; special dining-rooms were introduced. This, however, created its own problems; the "Pompeian" house must have been one of the coldest machines for living in ever designed. Winter dining-rooms had to be made as small as possible, so that the guests should, like cattle in a stable, provide their own heat. In summer such a room would become intolerable, and a larger *triclinium*, and, if possible, an open-air one, would have to be provided. Another reason for the necessity of various *triclinia* may be found in the general arrangements of ancient banquets, that remind us of the Mad Hatter's tea-party. These formal banquets, in any social class, were very elaborate and intolerably protracted, at least from our point of view, as they

⁶ Cf. Maiuri, *Cena*, p. 244.

⁷ A. Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri* (2nd ed., 1947), p. 42, calculates some twenty-two rooms on the ground floor during the Augustan age, while by 79 he thinks it had about ninety rooms in all.

⁸ On the open-air *triclinia* at Pompeii see Pietro Sorano, *I triclini all' aperto di Pompei in Pompeiana* (Naples, 1950), pp. 228-310, listing thirty-nine known examples.

⁹ Varro, *De Vita Populi Romani*, I, *apud* Nonius Marcellus, 83, 21 M; 117, 16 (Lindsay).

still are in many parts of the Mediterranean world. Trimalchio's dinner begins at the usual hour after the bath, about two or three o'clock p. m.,¹⁰ and continues well into the night, for they hear the cock crow.¹¹ Since there were no plates, all the remnants were thrown on the floor, that after a short time will have looked like a garbage heap. Every now and then slaves came in and swept up the debris,¹² but it was often better to break off for a short time and resume the feasting in another clean dining-room. The four dining-rooms of Trimalchio are not exceptional or unnecessary.

The real peculiarity of the house of Trimalchio, as compared with the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum, is that the front door did not lead into the *atrium*, large or small, but into a great portico or peristyle, normally to be found behind the house. Moreover, no mention is made of either an *atrium* or a *tablinum*, and consequently most scholars have denied their existence.¹³ It would appear incredible that Trimalchio who, as an Oriental freedman, is keen to pose as more Roman than the Romans,¹⁴ should not have had the most characteristically Roman part of the house, and true enough we find an *atriensis*. After walking half round the peristyle Encolpius says (29, 9) *interrogare ego atriensem coepi, quas in medio picturas haberent. In medio can*

¹⁰ J. Carcopino, *Life in Ancient Rome* (ed. Rowell, 1941), p. 264; the exact time would depend on the season of the year, which is difficult to establish with certainty. The probabilities would seem to be either late autumn or early spring,—the question is discussed by Marmorale, *Questione*, pp. 107-17—but is of no importance for our present investigation.

¹¹ *Sat.*, 74, 1.

¹² Even immediately after the *gustatio*, *Sat.*, 34, 3. The filth of an unswept dining-room, *asaroton oecon*, was immortalized in a mosaic pavement by the Pergamene artist Sosus, Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXVI, 184; cf. the commentaries by Jex Blake and Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (London, 1896), p. 224; S. Ferri, *Plinio il Vecchio* (Rome, 1946), p. 277; G. E. Rizzo, *La Pittura Ellenistico-Romana* (Milan, 1929), p. 42; Helbig-Amelung, *Führer* (3rd ed., 1913), II, p. 49.

¹³ Most recently Maiuri, *Cena*, pp. 244 and 158. Friedlaender, *Cena* (2nd ed., 1906), p. 217, rightly sees that the *atriensis* is standing at the entrance to the *atrium*, but is misled by Bücheler's emendation of the *in precario* of 30, 9 into *in atrio*.

¹⁴ Cf. Maiuri's penetrating remarks, *Cena*, pp. 187-8, on 53, 13.

only refer to the main reception rooms in the centre of the house, that is to say the *atrium*, *tablinum*, and *alae*. Encolpius, finding that the life of Trimalchio had been painted on the walls of the peristyle, naturally wonders what on earth Trimalchio has put in the most important rooms in the house, those *in medio*. It follows that an *atrium* and a *tablinum* exist, though the guests are not admitted to them. The reason for this is not far to seek: Trimalchio is no fool and is under no illusions as to the kind of people who are coming to the house. He is not likely to leave his best reception rooms open to the inspection of any light-fingered prowler. The entrance to the *atrium* from the portico is closed by curtains, or by a wooden partition such as the one that has been found at Herculaneum, and in front of it the *atriensis* has been stationed to see to it that none of the guests "accidentally" stray into the rooms *in medio*.¹⁵ That this is the function of the *atriensis*, and that his orders are not to move from the entrance to the *atrium*, is proved by the way he suddenly reappears when Encolpius and friends are trying to wander off (72, 8). And the *atriensis* is not alone; it is a neat touch that after all the guests are assembled the watch-dog is set to guard the interior.

The only real difference therefore between the House of Trimalchio and the regular Pompeian house is the presence of this great portico between the front door and the entrance to the *atrium*. The other marble portico will be the great peristyle behind the house, with garden, summer *triclinium*, and fountains, and so the living quarters would be, as the French would say, *entre cour et jardin*. It is this entrance portico, with estate offices off it¹⁶ and decorated with the allegory of Trimalchio's career,

¹⁵ The sentence that follows the answer of the *atriensis* to Encolpius—30, 1, *non licebat †multaciam† considerare*—is hopelessly corrupt and after it there is a short lacuna. All commentators and translators have followed Heinsius in interpreting the general meaning as "we had not the time to examine, etc." I should prefer to take the *non licebat* in its absolute meaning of a definite prohibition, and, if we accept Carcopino's genial emendation *multiciam* (*Rev. études anciennes*, 1940, pp. 393 ff.), to translate "we were not allowed to examine this kaleidoscope . . ." There is no reason to suppose with Marmorale, *Cena*, p. 11, that the *atriensis* was showing them round.

¹⁶ The *precarium* of the steward—see below—certainly opened on that part of the portico along which they had come, for they know where

that he has added to the old smaller house. Since it does not strike Encolpius as in any way remarkable or curious, we must assume that this was a common way of amplifying and modernizing an old house. While there is no similar example in Herculaneum or Pompeii itself, just outside the latter town the Villa dei Misteri offers exactly the same arrangement of a quadriportico added in front of the *atrium*, and a closer observation will show that between the house of Trimalchio and this large and once fashionable dwelling there are very close resemblances. Of course this resemblance is with the Villa as it was during the reign of Augustus, that is to say the period of its greatest prosperity, and not with the Villa as it was at the time of the eruption, when it was being turned into a farm house. If we read the description in the *Cena* with the original plan of the Villa dei Misteri before us we shall, I hope, be able to clarify many details in the *Cena* itself.¹⁷

Trimalchio leaves the Baths in his litter, accompanied by all his suite, running footmen, musicians, *deliciae* in a bath-chair, etc., and goes along at a good rate. His guests, true "*meridionali*," saunter along in a much more leisurely fashion and are far behind by the time Trimalchio and his cortège had reached the house. One of the *cursores* must have run on ahead to warn the porter to unbolt the great door to let the master in. As we see in the great doors at Pompeii,¹⁸ this must have been quite a business, needing several men, but the bolts were at last withdrawn and the great flaps creaked on their bronze hinges. The

it is. In most houses, even in the Villa dei Misteri, the offices are in the front part of the house.

¹⁷ Maiuri, *Villa*, pp. 41-2 and Tav. B. In the great Villa of Boscoreale, of the same period, the entrance led directly into the *quadriporticus*, Barnabei, *La Villa Pompeiana di P. Fannio Sinistore* (Rome, 1901), Tav. 2; P. W. Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 4, though in this case there does not seem to have been an *atrium* unless the small court marked 15 on the plan is really an *atrium Corinthium*. For these colonnades I prefer to use Petronius' own term *porticus*, without dealing with the vexata quaestio concerning the terms *porticus* and peristyle on which see Maiuri, "Portico e Peristilio" in *La Parola del Passato*, I (1946), pp. 306-22.

¹⁸ For the appearance of the main door of the Pompeian house see V. Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli Scavi Nuovi di Via dell' Abbonanza* (Rome, 1953), especially I, pp. 317-34.

moment the master was inside the door it was at once closed and bolted again: the main door was only used by "litter folk," not by riff-raff such as was coming to dinner. The door itself was not directly on the street, but set back from it with a spacious vestibule in front. On either side of this vestibule were masonry benches covered with rugs or mattresses for the porter, his friends, and the hangers-on of Trimalchio. On one side of this vestibule opened the *cella perbona* of the porter: the pride with which Trimalchio mentions it (77, 4) shows that he was responsible for the arrangements of this part of the house and confirms our conjecture that it was he who added the portico in front of the *atrium*. On the other side of the vestibule was the little corridor used by pedestrian visitors, which we find in the Villa dei Misteri and in most of the more sumptuous houses in Pompeii.

By the time Encolpius and the gang had arrived all traces of Trimalchio's *adventus* had disappeared: the scene was the normal one presented by the exterior of any large house in a provincial town. The great door was closed and the porter was sitting on his bench shelling peas for his dinner.¹⁹ This scene must have been as common in ancient Rome as that of a *bawab* eating bread and onions with his cronies on a *mastaba* in modern Cairo. But in such cases it was unlikely that the porter was in full livery—*prasinatus, cerasino succinctus cingulo*—and shelling the peas into a silver basin. The talking magpie is probably a touch of the same kind: not long previously there had been quite a craze for them in Rome, but they were still a novelty in the provinces.²⁰

The entrance for pedestrians is, as usual, on the right-hand

¹⁹ For the benches along the walls of the vestibule cf. the photographs in Maiuri, *Villa*, figs. 9 and 10 on pp. 45-6: fig. 10 shows the "pedestrians' entrance." The porter is shelling peas for his own supper; he is not, so to speak, helping out the cooks, as Sage, *Satiricon*, p. 150, seems to suppose. The point is that in Trimalchio's house even the slaves dine off silver plate, cf. 37, 8.

²⁰ Friedlaender, *Cena* (2nd ed.), p. 214, is quite right—*pace* Marmoreale, *Cena*, p. 8—in citing Pliny, *H. N.*, X, 78, *nuper et adhuc tamen rara ab Apennino ad urbem versus cerni coepere picarum genera, quae longa insignes cauda variae appellantur*. The term *pica varia* is clearly equivalent to a magpie from the Apennines.

side of the vestibule, opposite to the porter's lodge. Encolpius, whose curiosity is insatiable, does not turn at once into it, but explores the vestibule still further. On the wall between the door of the porter's *cella* and the main door—*ad sinistram intrantibus*—is the painting of a watch-dog that terrifies him, so much so that he falls back and almost trips on the step. Two such representations of watch-dogs have been found in Pompeii, but in both cases as floor-mosaics:²¹ is the painting of his watch-dog on the wall another of Trimalchio's eccentricities? Our friends now pass through the entrance corridor into the portico where the *grex cursorum* is being exercised by their trainer. This part of the house is the more public part, where the estate offices and counting rooms are; still, no one but Trimalchio would allow such an activity in this part of the house and, of course, this is the point that Petronius is making. It is not an indication of the extraordinary size of the portico itself; it would not need to be larger than that of the Villa dei Misteri.

In the portico Encolpius, who takes a keen interest in painting, at once starts to examine the decorations which are of a singular kind: a half realistic, half allegorical, account of the life and career of Trimalchio himself. We have no comparable examples of such decoration in any house of this period that has been preserved, although historical painting was well established. The subjects of the extant wall-paintings are usually drawn from mythical history or from the great mythological cycles,²² and it may well be that Petronius is suggesting that Trimalchio viewed his own life as a kind of epic cycle, a kind of "Trimalchioneia" that should be commemorated in the style used to commemorate the lives of the ancient heroes.²³ At the same time many of the scenes depicted on the walls of the portico can be paralleled by representations on tomb monuments, where allusions to the life of the deceased are fitting and proper, and the point of the joke may lie in this incongruity. How like Trimalchio to decorate the main portico with a typically funerary decoration!

²¹ In the Casa del Poeta Tragico and the Casa di Paquio Proculo: cf. Maiuri, *Cena*, p. 154.

²² Cf. Rizzo, *La Pittura*, p. 33.

²³ I am indebted to A. Maiuri for this suggestion.

How are we to imagine all this decoration? Are these scenes of the life of Trimalchio painted on a small frieze running round the wall and forming part of the architectural decoration, such as we commonly find in the so-called second style? ²⁴ Or are they "megalographies," occupying the main part of the wall, such as we also find in the early Empire? ²⁵ Unfortunately the text containing the description of the paintings (29, 3-7), though preserved both in the *Tragurensis* and the *Leidensis*, is not free from serious corruptions. In both the description begins with the words *erat autem venalicium titulis pictum*. Burmann ²⁶ emended to <cum> *titulis*, considering that the *cum* might have fallen out of the text owing to the attraction of the preceding syllable *-cium*, and this emendation has been adopted by all subsequent editors except Maiuri, ²⁷ who considers the addition unnecessary. It would seem to me, however, that there is a slight but important difference in meaning between the two readings. If the manuscript tradition is correct, the ablative *titulis* would naturally define not the *venalicium* but *pictum*, and the meaning would be "a slave market was painted with names above it," a practice that is extremely common in the wall-paintings of this period. On the other hand, *cum titulis* would refer to the wares in the slave market itself, as though the full phrase were "*venalicium et mancipia cum titulis*," i. e., "a slave-market and the slaves with their price-tags round their necks" which is the way all commentators and translators, including Maiuri, explain it. Since, normally, *titulus* can mean both "label, tag, notice" and "inscription, name," ²⁸ both meanings would be possible; it is therefore necessary to examine the usage of Petronius himself. Apart from this passage and two other examples in verse, *titulus* is used to describe a short dedicatory inscription on some kind of label (30, 3), notices of sale (38, 10 and 16), the description on the labels of wine-jars (34, 6; they read the *tituli* on the *pittacia*), and the notices on the *cellae* in the brothel (7, 3). It would seem therefore that

²⁴ Case di Loreio Tiburtino and del Criptoportico in Pompeii and of the Farnesina in Rome.

²⁵ Both in the Villas of the Mysteries and of Boscoreale.

²⁶ Burmann, *Satyricon* (Amsterdam, 1743), p. 143.

²⁷ *Cena*, p. 93.

²⁸ Forcellini, *Lexicon*, s. v.

Petronius uses the word to describe any kind of label, especially a commercial one, and thus Burmann's emendation would be correct, as also the current interpretation "slaves with their labels round their necks." If such is the case, it would be impossible for any painter to paint legible inscriptions on labels round the necks of figures only a few inches high; the figures must have been at least half life size, and it follows that the walls of the portico are decorated with "megalographies" on the style of the famous ones in the Villa dei Misteri.

The slave market was painted on the entrance side of the portico and occupied all that half-wall from the entrance to the corner: at the corner, marking the change from one wall to the next, was the isolated figure of Trimalchio "capillatus," with the caduceus in his hand. The next wall was devoted to his life and here we find more textual difficulties. The *Tragurensis* has *Minervaque ducente Romam intrabat*, Scaliger's *Leidensis* has, however, *tema vitabat*, with *citabat* added in the margin, while the *Pithoean* and *Tornaesian* editions have *tenia intrabat*. Most editors have avoided the difficulty by printing *Romam intrabat*, which, of course, gives such excellent sense that it becomes immediately suspect, as an emendation of the scribe of the *Tragurensis*. The whole passage seems corrupt, and it is indeed strange that if *Roma* had been in the archetype, so familiar a word should have become corrupt.²⁹ Marbach suggests *moenia intrabat*, which seems improbable on palaeographic grounds. Sage prints *Romam tensa intrabat*, thus making the best of the various readings, but hardly convincing, since he does not explain how *Romam* could possibly have been omitted by Scaliger's codices. Marmorale³⁰ points out that we have no evidence that Trimalchio was ever closely associated with Rome and suggests either *Atella* on palaeographic grounds, or that the scribes misunderstood the name of the *graeca urbs*. To this we can observe that if there is little evidence to connect Trimalchio with Rome, there is none at all to connect him with *Atella*. As

²⁹ See the excellent discussion by Marmorale, *Cena*, p. 9; but since he considers the city to be *Neapolis*—*Questione*, p. 133—it is difficult to see how that word could have given rise to the corruptions in the MSS.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* (n. 29): in the whole of the *Satiricon* the only mention of *Atella* is in connexion with the mimes, 53, 13 and 68, 5.

for the name of the *graeca urbs* it is certainly either Puteoli or Neapolis,³¹ both names almost as familiar to copyists as that of Rome itself. Moreover one cannot understand why Trimalchio should be entering the *graeca urbs*; as Marmorale very rightly points out the *venaliciū* at which Oriental slaves were being sold was probably held in the *graeca urbs* itself, one of the great Campanian markets for the trade with the East, and this scene, following as it does the scene of the market, must depict the beginning of Trimalchio's life after he has been sold, not before.

All scholars who have dealt with the passage seem to have considered that the corruption lies in the single word *Romam*, but the evidence of the Leidensis would indicate that the corruption extends to the following verb. If we reject the reading *Romam intrabat* we must reject the *intrabat* no less than the *Romam*. In this case Sage's emendation may give a clue, and I venture to suggest that the reading of the archetype was *Minervae ducente tensa vehebatur*, which, the final *-ur* being abbreviated, might give rise to the strange readings of the Leidensis. It is therefore not a scene of arrival, no joke on the *adventus Augusti* which had not yet become a stereotyped subject in art, but a scene of departure, the beginning of Trimalchio's new life after his sale. He leaves naturally like a God, in the carriage used by divinities, under the guidance and protection of Minerva. This Goddess is here selected as his patroness, not as representing craftiness or worldly wisdom,³² but as the patroness of study and learning. Trimalchio is quite sincere in his gratitude to his patron for having given him a good education,³³ and the next scene, how he learnt book-keeping, shows him putting this learning to use with the result that he was appointed *dispensator*. With this we come to the next corner. On the other side of the main entrance and on the other opposite wall of the portico where the *cursores* are training, other scenes of the life of Trimalchio will have been represented, those that dealt with his manumission and subsequent career under the patronage of Mercury. All these will have occupied the surfaces of the wall between the doors leading to the offices, which will

³¹ Cf. above.

³² So Friedlaender, Sage, Maiuri, Marmorale, *ad loc.*

³³ *Sat.*, 39, 4.

thus have split them up into tableaux. The wall opposite the entrance wall is the one on which opens the door of the *atrium*, and the two great paintings of Mercury raising him to the tribunal and of the Fates spinning his golden thread will have been painted on either side of this entrance to the principal reception rooms.

Encolpius has thus reached the corner of the portico formed by the right wall—since he came in to the right of the main door, I presume he will have continued walking to the right—and the wall of the *atrium* and of the apartments *in medio*. In this corner he notes a great wooden cup-board-*lararium* similar to the one actually found at Herculaneum.³⁴ At this period the *lararia* are not necessarily in the *atrium*, but may be found in any part of the house that might be considered suitable. With the silver Lares and the golden *pyxis* containing—or said to contain—Trimalchio's first beard, is a little marble statue of Venus. This is somewhat surprising; we should expect Mercury, under whose protection Trimalchio has placed himself, and who was generally revered by successful freedmen. And why is it of marble? The Lares are of silver, the *pyxis* of gold, and we would expect the statuette to be of metal too, perhaps bronze. Some joke, some incongruity is intended; Friedlaender's explanation, accepted by Marmorale,³⁵ that Trimalchio had a special devotion to Venus because his fortune was due in the first place to his being the *deliciae* of both his master and his mistress (75, 11) is hardly convincing. Trimalchio never alludes to Venus in any way. Is her presence in the *lararium* due to the hope that she may favour Trimalchio's own eroticism, which was definitely frowned on by Fortunata (74, 8-9)? Venus is invoked by Eumolpus in the story of the Pergamene Boy (85, 5), and thus the image of Venus in the *lararium* might be an indication of the manners of the master of the household.

Encolpius looks across the portico, notices the *cursores* exercising in the other wing, and he will have seen, but unfortunately not noticed, the large *piscina* in the centre of the court, into which he and his friend will fall in attempting to escape (72, 7). He then moves on and comes to the door of the *atrium* in front

³⁴ Maiuri, *Cena*, p. 156 and Tav. IV.

³⁵ Friedlaender, *Cena*, p. 217, and Marmorale, *Cena*, p. 11.

of which stands the *atriensis*. Encolpius, surprised at the decoration of the portico, enquires what kind of paintings were to be found in the most elegant part of the house, which he takes for granted he is not likely to see. The butler answers *Iliada et Odyssean ac Laenatis gladiatorium munus*. Scenes from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are so common in ancient painting as to require no comment. It is a different matter with the *gladiatorium munus*. No scenes of the life of the amphitheatre have been used as decoration in any of the private houses of Pompeii or of Rome at this period. They are, on the other hand, quite common on funerary monuments of magistrates and others who have been *editores munerum*, and who naturally desire the most spectacular and expensive action of their lives to be commemorated for posterity.³⁶ Trimalchio, ineligible as a freedman for any of the civic magistracies, has not been and could never be an *editor muneris*. At this date to paint on the walls of one's own house scenes from one's own *munus* would have been odd and in bad taste, to paint scenes from someone else's was to be really extraordinary. As far as I know the earliest gladiatorial scenes used to decorate a private house are those on the mosaics of the Villa at Zliten, of the end of the 1st century of this era.³⁷ Maiuri's tentative suggestion that this Laenas was connected with the C. Pompeius, the patron of Trimalchio, must be regretfully rejected;³⁸ there is no reason to suppose that C. Pompeius represents a real person, but Maiuri is right in believing that the *Laenatis munus* was a real and memorable event. These *celeberrimi ludi* would be remembered not merely by Encolpius and Co., but by the readers of the *Satiricon*, that is to say Nero and the court.

Trimalchio is clearly an arena "fan"; not only has he such pictures in his *atrium* and *tablinum* but he has a whole service of silver cups decorated with the fights of Hermeros and Petraitas (52, 3), famous gladiators who may well have been the heroes of the *Laenatis munus*. Now though there are no pictures of

³⁶ The only example of painted representations of *munera* on a tomb are those on the tomb of C. Vestorius Priscus in Pompeii illustrated by G. Spano, *Memorie Accademia d'Italia*, Ser. VII, vol. III, pp. 237-315.

³⁷ S. Aurigemma, *I Mosaici di Zliten* (Rome, 1926), p. 278.

³⁸ Maiuri, *Cena*, p. 12, n. 1; Marmorale is inclined to accept the suggestion, *Cena*, p. 11.

gladiatorial life at Pompeii, graffiti and caricatures of gladiators and bestiaries are very common indeed, and from their position on the walls would seem to have been scratched by children and adolescents.³⁹ It is therefore possible that a passion for gladiators was considered by the elegant and refined members of Neronian society as not merely common, but downright childish, and that Trimalchio is represented as being both. The game of *pila* which he was engaged in at the baths was certainly considered a childish game.⁴⁰ Thus the effect of the *Iliada et Odyssean et Laenatis gladiatorum munus* on a contemporary reader would be similar to that produced on us by the information that someone had framed photographs of the Sistine Madonna and Joe Louis side by side in his drawing room. And Petronius' must have been almost the last attempt to arrest the popularity of the amphitheatre; by the time of Domitian no one is ashamed to own his passion, and its life invades even the most elegant private houses.

By now they had all come to the entrance to the main *trichlinium*. This would appear to have been situated on one side of the apartments *in medio*, and would have opened also on a small court on the other side of which were the kitchens and the servants' quarters.⁴¹ From the portico it was approached through a small ante-chamber in which the *procurator* was receiving his accounts. On either side of the entrance were *fascēs cum securibus fixi, quorum unam partem quasi embolum navis aeneum finiebat, in quo erat scriptum: "C. Pompeio Trimalchioni, seviro Augustali, Cinnamus dispensator."* Maiuri⁴² is probably right in supposing these *fascēs* of bronze, nailed to a panel forming part of the trim of the door posts. The axes are technically reserved to magistrates with *imperium*, but

³⁹ Maiuri, *Pompei ed Ercolano* (Padova, 1950), pp. 141-54. It is sincerely to be hoped that the author of this admirable essay will give us his projected Corpus of Pompeian caricatures. The graffiti of bestiaries on the columns of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina in Rome (Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum* [Rome, 2nd ed., 1909], p. 221) would appear to have been scrawled by men, not children.

⁴⁰ Bianca Maiuri, in *Pompeiana* (Naples, 1950), p. 196.

⁴¹ The kitchens in all large houses are as far away as possible from the dining-rooms.

⁴² *Cena*, p. 157.



fasces with axes are frequent on the tombstones of minor magistrates, though, since these were outside the *pomerium* of the city, the abuse was less flagrant than in the case of Trimalchio. The real oddity was the way these two *fasces* ended in something that looked like the *embolum* of a ship and supported the inscription. This is the only example of the word *embolum* in Latin, and is obviously the not uncommon Greek word ἔμβολος which usually means the "beak" of a battleship.⁴³ The use of *rostra* as an ornamental motif is both ancient and common, and appears frequently in the decorative art of Pompeii, but its use in this particular instance is by no means clear. If *embolum* is really equivalent to *rostrum*, it is difficult to understand why Encolpius, who is not a Greek or an Oriental, would use it in preference to the extremely common Latin word. Moreover it is still more difficult to see how the cylindrical *fasces* could end in a *rostrum* that is a projecting and horizontal object.⁴⁴ I suggest therefore that Encolpius uses the word to mean a decorative ship's stanchion or mooring ring, such as were present in the Nemi barges.⁴⁵ This termination to the *fasces* is odd enough but structurally possible, and the inscription could be engraved on it, or be attached to the mooring ring. And the natural and obvious position would be on the top of the *fasces*, which "ended" in the *embolum*, so the emendation *imam partem*⁴⁶ is not only unnecessary but falsifies the sense. In the following sentence, *sub eodem titulo et lucerna bilychnis de camera pendebat*, Blümner⁴⁷ is undoubtedly right in considering the lamp as also a gift of Cinnamus, bearing the same inscription; it would have been inscribed on a plaque inserted above the lamp itself on the chain from which it hung from the ceiling.⁴⁸ The inscription would have been arranged as follows:

⁴³ Cf. Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, s. v.; the word can be either masculine or neuter, in the sense of *rostra* the masculine *οἱ ἔμ.* seems preferred.

⁴⁴ This difficulty had occurred to Sage, *Satiricon*, p. 151.

⁴⁵ G. Moretti in G. Ucelli, *Le Navi di Nemi* (Rome, 1940), pp. 199 ff.

⁴⁶ By Lipsius, who has been followed by practically all editors except Marmorale and Terzaghi.

⁴⁷ *Philologus*, LXXVI (1920), p. 333; accepted by Ernout and Maiuri, rejected by Marmorale.

⁴⁸ It must have been very like the *bilychnis* from Stabiae reproduced in Blümner, *Die Römischen Privataltertümer* (Munich, 1911), p. 137.

C·POMPEIO
TRIMALCHIONI
VIVIRO·AVGVSTALI
CINNAMVS
DISPENSATOR

Before entering the *triclinium* proper our friends are asked to intercede for one of the slaves with the *dispensator* whom they find (30, 9) *in precario aureos numerantem*. The word *precarium* found in all the codices has been lengthily discussed. As a term for a room or a part of the house it is found nowhere else in Latin. Bücheler emended the text to *in atrio*, and has been followed by Ernout and Terzaghi. To this conjecture there are several objections: it is improbable palaeographically, there is no reason why the *dispensator* should be counting his money in the *atrium* and many why he should not, Encolpius and Co. never go into the *atrium* or the central part of the house. Far better is Marbach's⁴⁹ suggestion *precario* = *prooecario*, possible both palaeographically and etymologically, and the meaning would be the room or vestibule in front of the *oecus*, *oecarium*, and equivalent, as Marbach himself says, to *pars prima triclinii*. Maiuri,⁵⁰ however, points out that, as far as the terminology of the house is concerned, the language of it all is strictly Latin, with no Greek neologisms. But the real and decisive objection to this conjecture is that this *prooecarium* would be the very room the guests are in at this moment, and the *dispensator aureos numerans* would be the same person previously described as the *procurator rationes accipiens*, which is absurd. The account given would seem to imply that they go a short way to find the *dispensator*, who, as the most important official of the household, has his own office. The alliteration in *precario* . . . *deprecati sumus* seems deliberate, and Sage, Maiuri, and Mar-morale have rightly argued that *precarium* is the name of the apartment of the *dispensator*, an "oratory"—so Sage—where he receives petitions, a kind of "Court of Pleas." Since Encolpius knows where it is, it must open on the portico, on the side that he has already visited, and its door would be most suitably situated between the scene of Trimalchio's book-keeping lessons and that of his appointment as *dispensator*.

⁴⁹ A. Marbach, *Wortbildung* (Giessen, 1931), p. 127.

⁵⁰ *Cena*, p. 159.

The *triclinium* itself is not described in any way, but the description of the banquet allows us to infer something about it. It was obviously a large though not necessarily a vast room and the couches were not against the walls since the slaves seem to be able to walk behind them.⁵¹ It was possibly *oecus Corynthius*, such as we find in the Casa del Meleagro or in the Casa del Labirinto, with columns round three sides.⁵² In the centre of the ceilings of some of the larger rooms of Pompeian houses there are rectangular imitation skylights; traces of one of these has been found for example in the Casa del Menandro.⁵³ It is possible that these are a survival of real skylights of wood. If such is the case, some could have easily been mounted on wooden rails and been slid open to allow gifts and food to be let down on the guests, a trick that was practised by Trimalchio (60,1-4).⁵⁴

The only other part of the house that the guests visit is the bath, which will have opened on to the portico. It had been a bakery and thus the ovens could be used as the furnaces;⁵⁵ this is a further proof that this is the part of the house that Trimalchio had added to the original one, the nucleus of which was the apartment *in medio*. It was dark and small, just like the one in the Villa dei Misteri. The other rooms which Trimalchio describes in 77, 4 were either on the upper floor or in the back part of the house. The only point about which there might be some doubt is the mention of the two marble porticos: is one of these the entrance portico in front of the *atrium* or are there

⁵¹ In 31, 3 the washing of the hands and the pedicure seem to take place at the same time: it is difficult to see how the latter operation could be performed unless the slaves could go behind the couches.

⁵² Saglio in *D.S.*, V, 1, p. 152; Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii* (New York, 1899), p. 259; A. Maiuri, "*Visioni Italiane*" *Pompeii* (Novara, 1928), pp. 59-60. The largest *triclinium* in Pompeii is the one in the Villa at Porta Marina, 6.00 by 8.80 meters, which also has a vestibule: Maiuri, *Pompeii "Itinerari"* (5th ed., 1949), p. 108.

⁵³ Maiuri, *La Casa del Menandro* (Rome, 1933), p. 171.

⁵⁴ It was a trick as old as the time of Metellus Pius (Val. Maximus, IX, 1, 5) but it is referred to by Suetonius, *Nero*, 31, 2 and Seneca, *Epist.*, 90, 15. It is probable that only by the time of Nero were the technical difficulties successfully surmounted. Was this perhaps one of the *elegantiae* of Petronius himself?

⁵⁵ The *calidarium* was built directly over the ovens as in the Casa del Criptoportico (Maiuri, *N.S.*, 1933, p. 270) and the Casa del Menandro (Maiuri, *Casa del Menandro*, p. 220).

two peristyles behind the central block, as in the Casa del Fauno? There is no example of porticos or colonnades in marble in Pompeii, and this fact, together with the pride with which Trimalchio refers to them, would lead one to suppose that, had the entrance portico been of marble, Encolpius would have noticed it. On the other hand Maiuri⁵⁶ rightly observes that the use of Oriental marbles must have been much commoner in Puteoli, the centre of the import trade from the East, than in small rural communities such as Herculaneum and Pompeii. It is therefore possible that a marble portico did not strike Encolpius as anything really out of the ordinary, compared to the oddity of the decoration.

From this examination of the House of Trimalchio one curious fact is at once apparent. For anyone living during the *quingennium Neronis* this typical house, so typical that Petronius assumes that his readers will immediately recognize it, is an extremely old-fashioned one.⁵⁷ We have seen its close resemblance to the Villa dei Misteri, to the Villa dei Misteri such as it was in the Augustan age, the time of its greatest prosperity. The paintings and the decorative systems are those of the second style, with bands of narrative paintings with inscriptions, and great "megalographies." This style had certainly ceased being fashionable in Rome by the time of Caligula.⁵⁸ We can see an example of decoration in the height of contemporary fashion in the rooms belonging to Nero's *Domus Transitoria* on the Palatine under the Flavian Palace, which are certainly earlier than the fire of 64 A. D. and probably reflect the personal taste of Petronius.⁵⁹ The figures are small and the scenes, though drawn from the epic cycle, have no inscriptions. The fourth style is launched by Nero's Golden House and Maiuri has shown that the most perfect example of this style, the House of the Vettii, was executed after the earthquake of 63 A. D.⁶⁰ Nothing could

⁵⁶ *Cena*, p. 245.

⁵⁷ F. Marx in *Neue Jahrb.*, XXIII (1909), p. 552 had pointed out that Petronius was describing the style of house that was fashionable in the second half of the 1st cent. B.C., but did not realize the importance of this fact.

⁵⁸ Cf. G. E. Rizzo, *Monumenti della Pittura Antica—Le Pitture dell'Aula Isiaca di Caligola* (Rome, 1936), especially pp. 32 and 38.

⁵⁹ Cf. Rizzo, *La Pittura Ellenistico-Romana*, p. 19 and Pl. 32.

⁶⁰ A. Maiuri, *L'ultima fase edilizia di Pompei* (1942), p. 112.

be more unlike the description of Trimalchio's wall decoration than either the third or the fourth styles. Though Encolpius does not refer to or comment on this aspect of the decoration, he does comment unfavourably on the smallness and darkness of the bath. Both Maiuri and Marmorale⁶¹ interpret this as an indication of Trimalchio's plebeian vulgarity, the latter going as far as to say that a typical *nouveau riche* such as Trimalchio would spend vast sums on his reception rooms but neglect those that were for personal use. But in the Roman world the bath, as Trimalchio himself proves, is actually part of the reception rooms; it is not intended for the exclusively personal use of the owner. It is not that Trimalchio has tried to economize on his baths, he has simply built an old-fashioned one. Seneca in a well-known and practically contemporary letter to Lucilius (85, 4-7) describes his visit to the villa of Scipio Africanus at Liternum and his own surprise at finding a *balneolum angustum, tenebricosum*—practically the same words as Encolpius'. He goes on to say that such was the ancient fashion, *ex consuetudine antiqua, non videbatur maioribus nostris caldum nisi obscurum*, and contrasts this with the luxury of modern private baths, especially those of freedmen. This fashion of wanting to "bathe and sun bathe" at the same time was certainly recent in Seneca's day, for the bath in the Villa dei Misteri must not have been unlike Scipio's, *angustum et tenebricosum*, and was certainly by later standards far below the comfort, elegance and luxury of the rest of the house.

How are we to explain this curious fact? The explanation that would seem obvious is that Petronius has set the time of the novel in an earlier age, probably in that of Augustus. That Petronius may have specified in some lost part of the work the name of the Emperor in whose reign he supposes the action of the novel to take place is certainly possible, but there is no evidence to support such a view and it seems to me improbable in the extreme. If we place the action in any time earlier than Nero's we find numerous and glaring anachronisms and inconsistencies, and in any case it is perfectly clear that the manners and customs are those of Petronius' own age. Since he is not intending to satirize the Court, but merely to amuse it, no

⁶¹ Maiuri, *Cena*, p. 214; Marmorale, *Cena*, p. 159.

reasons of prudence, such as later influenced Juvenal, would suggest the need of placing a novel on contemporary provincial manners in an earlier reign. And who, at Nero's court, would care to read about how the lower classes behaved in the reign of Augustus, or appreciate the research which the author had done to be so accurate as to certain particulars, but which had not caused him to avoid certain other outrageous blunders? Interest in historical novels, based on more or less accurate research, is nowhere evident earlier than the Romantic Movement, than Scott, Thackeray, Dumas, Victor Hugo. And whatever Petronius and his readers may have been, they were certainly not Romantics.

The *Satiricon* reflects, accurately and consistently, the manners of the time of Nero. The character of Trimalchio's House is therefore an oddity rather than an anachronism: we know from Pompeii that most of the houses there still preserved their first and second style paintings at the time of the earthquake of 63 A. D. Since the whole purpose of the minute description of the house and its decoration is to define and illuminate the character of the owner, this oddity must, in the intention of Petronius, contribute some important detail to our understanding of Trimalchio himself. It certainly excludes the idea that in Trimalchio Petronius is intending to satirize the enormously wealthy Imperial freedmen, the ostentation and luxury of whose bathing establishments were censured in Seneca's letter. Indeed the purpose of Petronius may be that of drawing a neat distinction between town mice and country mice, between the behaviour and manners of the wealthy freedmen of Rome and of the wealthy freedmen of a provincial city.

Personally, however, I prefer another explanation. Trimalchio is described (27, 1) as being a *senex calvus*. If Petronius is using the word in its strict meaning, he would be over sixty years old and the hypothesis that the soothsayer Serapa had prophesied that he would reach a hundred is attractive.⁶² In this case Trimalchio would be in his seventieth year. On the other hand Petronius is more probably using it in its more general meaning, but even so it is difficult to imagine that Trimalchio is less than fifty-five at the youngest. Since the date

⁶² Cf. *Sat.*, 77, 2.

of the *Cena* is probably 60 A.D. or a few years earlier and Trimalchio came to Italy as a *puer capillatus*, he must have arrived somewhere round the turn of the century, and in any case in the reign of Augustus. He was bought at once by C. Pompeius, a prominent and wealthy person of that time, though there is no reason to suppose that any real person is meant, or even that the *Patrimonium laticlavium* which he left to Trimalchio (76, 2) means that he was necessarily a senator. He will certainly have lived in a large and elegant house decorated in the fashion of the time, that is to say in a house very similar to the Villa dei Misteri. And this is the only large and elegant house Trimalchio has ever known. In the provinces the division between the different strata of Society will have been preserved much more strictly than in Rome itself. As the *deliciae* of his master he will scarcely have been taken on visits to other villas; when he began to interest his mistress as well, he was exiled to a distant country estate, and finally he was entirely taken up by his business as *dispensator*. As a freedman he was excluded from the society of the town, and he was by no means rich enough to buy his way into it. His circle was entirely composed of his own parasites and hangers-on, other freedmen in similar circumstances, terrible vulgarians such as Habinnas and the other *sevirs*. What could he know of elegance and the changes of fashion? When he has made his pile he wishes to reproduce the only great house he has ever known, the house in which he served when he came from Asia, that had struck his childish imagination as a miracle of comfort and elegance. His house, old-fashioned, inconvenient, inelegant, and with a really terrible bath is simply the "wish-fulfillment" of the *puer capillatus* of fifty years before, and a clear proof of the nice psychological insight of one of the greatest and most subtle of literary artists.

EXCURSUS ON THE ENTRANCE TO THE HOUSE.

The entrance to the House of Trimalchio raises some perplexing problems which should be discussed in detail. It is certainly very curious that Encolpius does not describe his actual entry into the House itself, the actual crossing of the threshold: from the vestibule he seems to pass by a kind of osmosis into the entrance portico. This is strange in view of the elaborate

description of the entrance into the *triclinium*. If Trimalchio was so fussy as to the way guests entered his dining-room, he would surely have imposed an even more elaborate ritual for the entrance into the house itself. Our text of the *Cena* is notoriously unsatisfactory: many short lacunae are admitted by all editors, many others have been suggested, and it is probable that others exist unsuspected. Encolpius, after his fright at the painted watch-dog, continues *et collegae mei quidem riserunt. ego autem collecto spiritu non destiti totum parientem persequi*. It is certainly not beyond the bounds of possibility that a sentence describing the actual entrance of Encolpius has fallen out between *spiritu* and *non destiti*.

I have assumed that Petronius is not thinking of any particular house, but merely of a certain type of house. The great majority of Roman houses are laid out on a roughly symmetrical plan on either side of a main axis that runs through the entrance, the centre of the *atrium*, and the centre of the *tablinum*. There are, of course, numerous exceptions due to the personal predilections of the owner or the nature of the ground, such as the House of Livia on the Palatine or the Villas of Diomedes or of Boscoreale. But since the typical Roman house has such an axis, and since the phrase *in medio* would seem to indicate that the principal reception rooms are on this axis, I have assumed that the main entrance to the House of Trimalchio is also on this axis, and therefore in the centre of one of the four walls of the *quadriporticus*. This would seem to be confirmed by the account of the attempted escape (72, 7): when they reach the front door by which they had entered the watch-dog set up such a howling that Ascyrtos stepped back into the *piscina*, which was certainly in the centre of the portico and therefore would be directly behind our friends.

The word *porticus* is used in Latin and by Petronius to describe not merely a single colonnade, a *stoa*, but also the whole *quadriporticus* or peristyle. In such a case it may be said to "begin" on either side of the entrance and to "end," *deficere*, at the point exactly opposite, where the two sections of the *quadriporticus* reunite. This I believe to be the meaning of *in deficiente porticu* and I have therefore placed the tribunal scene on one side of the entrance to the *atrium*; on the other

side, *praesto*, were Fortune and the Three Fates. Having thus reached the "end" of the portico, he looks back and remembers that he should mention the *grex cursorum* on the other side and the curious *armarium* in one of the corners he has passed.

The watch-dog was certainly painted on the left wall of the vestibule and, given the constant use of litotes in vulgar speech (cf. Hofmann, *Umgangssprache*,³ pp. 147 ff.), *non longe ab ostiarii cella* must mean "right next to the porter's lodge." I have therefore placed the fresco on the wall between the porter's door and the main *ianua*. I have also taken the *totum parietem* of the sentence *non destiti t. p. persequi* as equivalent to *totum porticus parietem* "the wall-surface of the whole portico," not merely of a single wing, a usage that is certainly not impossible in Latin (cf. Forcellini Facciolati, s. v. *paries*) and very common in Italian, "esaminai tutto il muro del chiostro."

Of course the interpretation of *paries* as a single wing of the portico is also possible, and in that case, assuming there is no lacuna in the text, it would appear to be the continuation of the wall of the vestibule on which the watch-dog was painted. All the frescoes mentioned would be on this wall and the entrance to the *triclinium* immediately after the *angulus* at the end of this single wing of the portico. Encolpius mentions only one corner, but that may be only an afterthought, because it contained the *armarium*; the others were not mentioned because they were not memorable. In this case the main entrance would be at the extreme left corner of the *quadriporticus*. In the Villa di Diomede on the Via dei Sepolcri at Pompeii the entrance is in the right-hand corner (plans of the Villa di Diomede in all handbooks and guides to Pompeii, including Maiuri's *Itinerario*, and, more accurately in A. Maiuri and R. Pane, *La Casa di Loreio Tiburtino et la Villa di Diomede, Monumenti Italiani*, II, I [Rome, 1947], pls. IX-XVI, with sections and reconstructions), and would therefore seem to justify the possibility of such an arrangement. But the plan of this Villa is entirely abnormal, because of the nature of the ground and its position with respect to the road, and on these grounds I have come to the conclusion that it cannot be regarded as a typical plan. The position of the entrance in this Villa is due to the desire of the owner to have as direct an access as possible from

the front door to the great garden peristyle at a lower level. The presence of a larger summer *triclinium* in this garden would seem to confirm my suspicion that in a large house one might not want one's dinner guests to wander all over it before coming to the *triclinium*.

If, notwithstanding these considerations and the difficulty of explaining how Ascyrtos falls into the *piscina*, this arrangement be preferred, Petronius then must have some particular and abnormal house in mind, perhaps the house of Calvisius Sabinus. This seems to be improbable; he could hardly expect his readers to be familiar with the particular house of a particular *nouveau riche*. And he even more certainly could not expect that, some twenty centuries later, someone would be foolish enough to conduct this kind of investigation!

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THE STOIC CONCEPT OF QUALITY.

The most comprehensive study of the Stoic concept of quality up to the present time was made by Rieth.¹ He was primarily concerned, however, with the evidence on Stoic philosophy to be found in the Peripatetic commentaries.² Aspects of this topic have received considerable attention from various authorities. The Stoic theory of mixture was discussed by Schmekel, Reinhardt, and Pohlenz.³ The Stoic categories of disposition and relative disposition were treated in articles by De Lacy and Pohlenz.⁴ I believe, however, that a detailed study of the fragments and of passages relevant to the concept of quality in the writings of the Stoic philosophers can cast new light on the problems involved.

Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school, recognized as first principles the active and the passive. The former was god or logos; the latter was matter without quality (I, 85). Primary matter was termed substance (οὐσία), and was divided into universal substance (ἡ τῶν ὄντων πάντων πρώτη ὕλη) and the substance of the particular (ἡ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους I, 87). Universal substance was

¹ I would like to thank Dr. L. R. Taylor of Bryn Mawr College, Dr. F. Solmsen of Cornell University, and Dr. L. Edelstein of The Johns Hopkins University for many helpful suggestions. The fragments of the philosophers of the Old Stoa have been collected by H. von Arnim in his *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (Berlin, 1921). I have referred to this collection by the number of the book and fragment e.g. II, 193. All references to the Pre-Socratics refer to Diels-Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 6th ed. (Berlin, 1951). For F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (Berlin, 1926), I have used the abbreviation *F. Gr. Hist.* References to Simplicius refer to C. Kalbfleisch, *Simplicii in Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium* (Berlin, 1907).

² O. Rieth, *Grundbegriffe der Stoischen Ethik* (Berlin, 1933).

³ A. Schmekel, *Die Positive Philosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, I (Berlin, 1938), pp. 250-2; K. Reinhardt, *Kosmos und Sympathie* (Munich, 1926), pp. 5-20; and M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa* (Göttingen, 1949), I, pp. 72-3 and II, pp. 41-2.

⁴ P. De Lacy, "The Stoic Categories," *T. A. P. A.*, LXXVI (1945), pp. 261-3; M. Pohlenz, "Die Begründung der abendländischen Sprachlehre durch die Stoa," *Gött. Nachr.*, III (1939), pp. 185-8; M. Pohlenz, "Zenon und Chrysipp," *Gött. Nachr.*, II (1938), pp. 182-5; M. Pohlenz, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 69-70 and II, p. 40; Rieth, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-84.

everlasting and did not become more or less. The substance of the particular became more or less, or, as Stobaeus expressed it, it did not always remain the same but was divided or mixed (*ibid.*). In other words, only the substance of the particular was subject to growth, diminution, and qualitative change.⁵

Genesis was due to the presence of the active force within matter. As a seed, the logos was responsible for the birth of the four elements, fire, air, earth, and water (I, 102), and after the destruction of our universe by fire, it will again act upon matter and produce a world identical to our own (I, 107). God, we are told, runs through matter just as honey through the honeycomb (I, 155).

Zeno regarded quality as the disposition of a substratum, and referred to colors as the first configurations (*σχηματισμούς*) of matter (I, 91). Qualities and substances were mixed completely, and did not exist independently of each other (I, 92; cf. II, 411, 468, and 469).⁶

Zeno may have regarded the virtues as qualities. Plutarch attributes to Zeno the view that the virtues were "several according to difference" (*πλείονας κατὰ διαφοράς* I, 200), and yet at the same time were "one virtue differing in terms of its relations to its objects according to its powers" (*ὡς μίαν οὖσαν ἀρετὴν, ταῖς δὲ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα σχέσεσι κατὰ τὰς ἐνεργείας διαφέρειν δοκοῦσαν*). The words "several according to difference" may suggest that the virtues were individually differentiated and therefore qualities.

Such things as wisdom, soul, and moderation were considered to be causes and hence corporeal. Zeno defined cause as that because of which something happens, and argued that cause was corporeal (*σῶμα* I, 89). He stated that wisdom (*φρόνησις*) was the cause of acting wisely (*τὸ φρονεῖν*), soul (*ψυχή*) of living (*τὸ ζῆν*), and moderation (*σωφροσύνη*) of acting moderately (*τὸ*

⁵ There is no evidence that Zeno distinguished between the substance and the quality of the particular in his treatment of growth and change. Compare Chrysippus and Posidonius, below, pp. 45 f. and 54. On this problem see E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, III, 1⁵ (Leipzig, 1923), pp. 96-8.

⁶ I, 92 *Ζήνων τε ὁ Κιριεὺς ὡς τὰς ποιότητας οὕτω καὶ τὰς οὐσίας δι' ὅλον κεράννυσθαι ἐνόμιζεν*. The *κράσις δι' ὅλου* was the complete or total mixture of substance with substance and quality with quality. The phrase was translated by Pohlenz, *op. cit.*, I, p. 73 as "total mixture." On the Stoic theory of mixture see above, note 3.

σωφρονεῖν).⁷ Zeno defined the corporeal (σῶμα), which included the logos (I, 153; cf. 146), as that which can act or be acted upon (I, 90; cf. I, 98). If we could assume that the virtues were qualities, we might conclude that Zeno regarded quality as a corporeal cause.

There can be no doubt that Chrysippus maintained that quality was one aspect of the logos. He stated in one passage that the dispositions (ἕξεις) were air, and that air, the unifying cause (συνέχων αἴτιος) of the quality of each object which was organized under one disposition (ἕξις), was called hardness in iron, density in stone, and the white sheen in silver (II, 449). Qualities were called psychic breath and aetherial harmonies, giving form and shape to the matter in which they were present (*ibid.*).⁸ The logos permeates animate and inanimate matter. It is mind, soul, nature, and disposition (I, 158). As disposition (ἕξις) it is present in bones and sinews and in the earth; as mind (νοῦς) it is found in the intelligence and in the aether (II, 634; cf. 1042).

The logos is the cause of the differentiation of the object, but since it permeates the whole object, it is present in the differentiation itself. The differentiation or quality, therefore, is the manifestation of the logos.⁹ The logos is called a seed (σπέρμα I, 102 and II, 580), because it is not only the cause of its own development but possesses within itself potentially the quality of the fully differentiated substance.

Since Chrysippus believed that quality was a manifestation of the logos, and that the logos was corporeal (I, 153), he must have held that quality also was corporeal (σῶμα). Zeno defined the

⁷ On the corporeal cause and incorporeal predicate, see below, p. 51. The later Stoics postulated four causes προκαταρκτικά, συνεργά, συνεκτικά, and τὰ ὧν οὐκ ἔνευ. On cause in Stoic philosophy see Rieth, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-55; W. Theiler, *Die Vorbereitung des Neuplatonismus* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 19-28; A. Schürenburg, *Die Kausaltheorie der Stoiker* (Bonn, 1921); and for cause in Posidonius, see L. Edelstein, "The Philosophical System of Posidonius," *A. J. P.*, LVII (1936), pp. 302-3.

⁸ Zeno probably took over from medicine his concept of logos as a pneuma permeating matter (I, 146). On this problem, see G. Verbeke, *L'Evolution de la doctrine du Pneuma* (Paris, 1945), pp. 12-15; and W. Jaeger, *Diokles von Karystos* (Berlin, 1938), pp. 216-18.

⁹ For the thesis that the different kinds of quality were determined by the tension of the logos (τόνος) see L. Stein, *Die Psychologie der Stoa* (Berlin, 1886), pp. 30-6; and L. Stein, *Die Erkenntnistheorie der Stoa* (Berlin, 1888), pp. 128-31.

corporeal as that which can act or be acted upon (I, 90). Chrysippus also seems to have considered that which is either active or passive as corporeal. He argued that soul was corporeal since it touched and was separated from the body (II, 790; cf. Cleanthes, I, 518), and again, that voice was corporeal, since all that was active was corporeal, and voice acted upon its hearers (II, 140). The argument in regard to voice was attributed to Diogenes of Babylon (III, 18), Antipater of Tarsus (III, 16), and Archdemus of Tarsus (III, 6).¹⁰ We can conclude, therefore, that if quality in Chrysippus' philosophy was a corporeal logos, it was also a *δύναμις*.¹¹

Moreover, if quality was corporeal, it acted as a cause. Chrysippus followed Zeno in asserting that cause was being and body (*ὄν καὶ σῶμα* II, 336). He argued that every object or event was predetermined by a series or a chain of causes, which was termed fate or logos. The quality immanent in the object may be the cause of an accident of the object or of some event which may happen to the object. Or again, it may act as a cause of an accident or event to some external object within its environment. Chrysippus distinguished between complete (*αὐτοτελής*) and initiating (*προκαταρκτική*) causes (II, 994, 997; cf. 974). For in-

¹⁰ Various authorities quote the Stoics as arguing that matter which, of course, was passive, was body (*σῶμα*). Aetius, I, 9, 7 = Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* (Berlin, 1879), p. 308 writes *οἱ Στωϊκοὶ σῶμα τὴν ὕλην ἀποφαινοῦνται*. For passages which refer to matter as *σῶμα* see C. Bäumker, *Das Problem der Materie* (Münster, 1890), pp. 332-3. On the Stoic definition of the corporeal see also Schmekel, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-8.

¹¹ The concept of *δύναμις* is found in the medical writers, Plato, Aristotle, and Strato of Lampsacus. Frequently the *δύναμις* is both active and passive. In *Concerning Diet* (*περὶ Διαιτησῆς*), a treatise which is dated by W. Jaeger, *Paideia*, III (New York, 1944), pp. 36-40 to the middle of the fourth century B.C., fire and water are said to prevail and be prevailed upon (I, 3, 8-10; cf. *Ancient Medicine*, 13, 6-8). Further, in the *Sophist* (247E) Plato defined being as that which can act and be acted upon (cf. *Phaedrus* 270D and *Theaetetus* 156A). The passages on *δύναμις* in the medical writers and in Plato were collected by J. Souilhé, *Étude sur le terme δύναμις* (Paris, 1919). For further discussion see K. Reinhardt, *Parmenides* (Bonn, 1916), pp. 223-30, and F. Cornford, *Plato's Theory of Knowledge* (London, 1935), pp. 234-8. For examples of the use of *δύναμις* in Aristotle see *Cat.*, 9a14-27 and *Metaph.*, 1019a15-1020a6. On Strato see particularly fragments 42, 43, 45, and 48. The fragments of Strato are published in F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, V (Basel, 1950). The principle of *δύναμις* is discussed on pages 53-5.

stance, if a person should push a round body, the push would be the initiating cause, but the roundness of the object (its quality) would constitute the principal cause of the movement (II, 974). Similarly the quality of an object presented before the vision of an individual would be the initiating cause of sight (*ibid.*). In this case the quality of the object determined the quality of vision in the sense organ.

We must observe further that as a cause the quality was both active and passive. In so far as it determined an effect upon the object in which it was immanent or upon an external object, it was active; in so far as it was itself predetermined by a series of causes, it was acted upon.

Chrysippus' concept of quality as a disposition of the substratum affected many aspects of his work. The virtues were regarded as qualities which differed in essence from other qualities (III, 259; cf. 255), and which were at the same time a disposition of their substratum, the soul (*διάνοις* III, 459; cf. Sen., *Ep.*, 50, 6). One of Chrysippus' books was entitled, *Concerning the fact that the Virtues are qualified* (*περὶ τοῦ ποιὰς εἶναι τὰς ἀρετὰς*).¹²

Chrysippus' psychology was likewise based on his concept of quality and substratum. Perception, comprehension, impulse, and reason were qualities of the intelligence (II, 826; cf. 841). Perception was an affection (*πάθος*) of the soul (II, 54), and the soul was said to suffer a change of quality when it came into contact with the various sense objects (*ἀλλοίωσις* II, 55; cf. I, 58).¹³ This means that color, shape, and form were not corporeal bodies impinging upon the senses, but a change in the disposition or condition of the underlying substratum, the sense organ or the soul.

Chrysippus' concept of quality made possible the four Stoic categories. The Stoic categories of disposition (*πῶς ἔχον*) and

¹² *St. V. Fr.*, II, p. 9, 41; cf. III, 259. The virtues were regarded as qualities in Arist., *Cat.*, 8b25-35.

¹³ Aristotle (*Cat.*, 9b) referred to passive qualities (*παθητικὰ ποιότητες*) as those which affect an object in some way, as, for example, the sweetness of honey affects the taste of the man who eats it. The affections (*πάθη*) likewise affect their object but whereas the passive qualities arise from a permanent disposition, the affections are derived from temporary conditions (9b28-10a10). Anger, for instance, may be due to the disposition of the subject or to a momentary grievance.

relative disposition ($\pi\rho\acute{o}s\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \pi\omega s\ \epsilon\chi\omicron\nu$) are not found earlier than Chrysippus.¹⁴ Virtue was the soul in a certain disposition ($\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\kappa\omicron\nu\delta\omicron\nu\ \pi\omega s\ \epsilon\chi\omicron\nu$ Sext. Emp., *M.*, XI, 23), and the soul was breath in a certain disposition ($\pi\nu\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\ \pi\omega s\ \epsilon\chi\omicron\nu$ II, 806).

The category of disposition ($\pi\omega s\ \epsilon\chi\omicron\nu$) raised further problems. A father who lost his son ceased to be a father. His difference in status, however, was due not to a change in his own nature, but to the loss of an external object to which he was related. The concept of father, therefore, was regarded not as a disposition of the substratum but as a relative disposition to an external body ($\pi\rho\acute{o}s\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \pi\omega s\ \epsilon\chi\omicron\nu$). This fourth category of relative disposition was probably used by Chrysippus. It is found in a passage in Plutarch based on Chrysippus in which Plutarch argues that the parts of the cosmos are not complete in so far as they are in a certain relation to the whole ($\tau\tilde{\omega}\ \pi\rho\acute{o}s\ \tau\acute{o}\ \delta\lambda\omicron\nu\ \pi\omega s\ \epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ II, 550). Further, in a passage in Varro, Chrysippus is said to have argued that the word father had no meaning apart from that of son, and that the concept of right hand was likewise meaningless if one could not presuppose the left hand (II, 155). These examples may well illustrate the category of relative disposition.¹⁵

The substance of the particular and the quality of the particular were carefully distinguished by Chrysippus. In a passage in Plutarch, it is stated that each of us is two substrata. One of these substrata is substance ($\o\upsilon\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}$), but the name of the other is missing because of a lacuna in the text (II, 762). Von Arnim suggested that the lacuna should be filled by $\pi\omicron\iota\acute{o}\tau\eta s$; Zeller supported $\pi\omicron\iota\acute{o}\nu$.¹⁶ The one always flows and moves, neither growing larger nor smaller, and generally is not able to abide, but the other abides, grows greater and less, and suffers all the opposites. We should notice that both substance and quality, if, indeed, that is the word we should supply in the lacuna, are substrata, but that growth, diminution, and change of quality apply only to

¹⁴ On the Stoic categories see above, note 4.

¹⁵ These same examples, however, are found in a passage in Dionysius Thrax where they are relations ($\pi\rho\acute{o}s\ \tau\iota\ \epsilon\chi\omicron\nu$) but not relative dispositions ($\tau\acute{o}\ \pi\rho\acute{o}s\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \pi\omega s\ \epsilon\chi\omicron\nu$). See G. Uhlig, *Dionysii Thracis Ars Grammatica* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 35, 3 $\pi\rho\acute{o}s\ \tau\iota\ \epsilon\chi\omicron\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \acute{\omega}s\ \pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho,\ \nu\acute{\iota}\acute{o}s,\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron s,\ \delta\epsilon\zeta\acute{\iota}\acute{o}s$. For further discussion see Pohlenz, "Die Begründung der abendländischen Sprachlehre," *Gött. Nachr.*, III (1939), pp. 185-8.

¹⁶ See above, note 5.

quality and not to substance. Division and mixture (σύγχυσις), however, take place in substance (II, 317).¹⁷

Two important passages in Plutarch's *De Communibus Notitiis* (1077 D-E = II, 396 and 1064), and Philo's *De Aeternitate Mundi* (48-51 = II, 397) provide important evidence for quality and substance in Stoic philosophy. These passages, however, are extremely difficult, and it is only with a great deal of hesitation that I offer an interpretation.¹⁸

According to Plutarch, the Stoics asserted that in one substance there may be two qualified objects (ἐπὶ μιᾷ οὐσίᾳ δὲ ἰδίως γενέσθαι ποιούς), and that the same substance, which has one qualified object, may receive a second and preserve both alike. He quotes Chrysippus as arguing that when our universe is destroyed by fire, Zeus, the only one of the Gods who is indestructible, will retire into foresight (πρόνοια), and that Zeus and foresight will be in one substance, aether.

The Stoic assertion that in one substance there may be two qualified objects (ἐπὶ μιᾷ οὐσίᾳ δὲ ἰδίως γενέσθαι ποιούς) is difficult to interpret, but Plutarch himself throws some light on the problem. He writes that the Stoics accused the Academics of believing that in two substances there is one qualified object (ἐπὶ δυνὲν οὐσιῶν ἓνα ποιὸν εἶναι). Plutarch points out that everyone believes that two substances may have one qualified object, and that the opposite is strange and paradoxical, if neither one dove is indistinguishable from another dove, nor one bee from another bee. It seems clear that whereas the Academics maintained that two doves were two substances with one quality, the Stoics believed that they were one substance but two qualified objects. The Stoics, therefore, must have used the term substance to designate the common factor present in all members of the genus, and the term qualified object (ἰδίως ποιός) to denote the particular differentiation of each member of the genus.

The passage in Philo is a paradox and may be paraphrased as follows. Let us suppose that Dion is whole-limbed and that Theon has lost one foot, but that Dion, in turn, loses his foot. Then Dion becomes Theon, but two qualified objects cannot be in

¹⁷ See above, p. 41 and below, p. 54.

¹⁸ These passages are discussed by F. H. Colson in the Loeb edition of *Philo*, IX (Cambridge, 1941), pp. 528-9. Colson, however, does not offer a solution for the problem.

the same substratum (δύο ἰδίως ποιοὶ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον οὐ δύνανται εἶναι). Therefore, Dion remains but Theon is destroyed.

The statement in Philo, that two qualified objects cannot have the same substratum, appears to contradict Plutarch's assertion that two qualified objects can be in one substance. I believe, however, that the passages are not contradictory. If we apply our interpretation of the passage in Plutarch to the paragraph in Philo, we may observe that Dion and Theon were at first one substance (man), but two qualified objects, whole-limbed and footless. At the second stage, when Dion lost his foot, they are one substance (man), and two similarly qualified objects, footless and footless. They are, therefore, not one substance and two qualified objects, but one substance and one qualified object. This second stage Chrysippus seems to have regarded as impossible.

We have seen already that Chrysippus recognized two substrata, substance and quality. We can assume that a qualified object, in so far as it was qualified, was in the substratum quality. Therefore, Chrysippus' statement that two qualified objects cannot be in the same substratum (δύο ἰδίως ποιοὶ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον οὐ δύνανται εἶναι) should mean that two qualified objects cannot be in the same substratum, quality. At the second stage of our paradox, when Dion had lost his foot, the substratum quality was footless, and Dion and Theon were two qualified objects in the same qualitative substratum footless. Chrysippus argued, therefore, that two qualified objects, each having the same substance (e. g. man), and the same qualitative substratum (e. g. footless), were not two objects but one.

There is one further problem. Why does Dion remain and Theon disappear? This can be answered easily. Theon was defined as lacking something which Dion possessed. When Dion lost that particular differentiation which distinguished him from Theon, Theon disappeared because his individuality was due to the fact that he lacked something which Dion had.

Evidence for the theory of mixture used by Chrysippus is found in many fragments. Chrysippus described four kinds of mixture. Mechanical mixture was the mixture of dry bodies whose surfaces were in contact (παράθεσις II, 471 and 473) such as a heap of grain or a pile of pebbles. Again, there is the mixture of dry bodies (μίξις) or of moist bodies (κρᾶσις) in

which the components of the mixture retain their own qualities and can be separated again (II, 471). The fourth kind of mixture (σύγχυσις) takes place when two or more qualities change into another quality differing from them (II, 471; cf. 317).

A composite of several bodies is mentioned in the fragments of Chrysippus. Chrysippus referred to a body (σῶμα) composed of separate bodies (διεστῶτα), such as an assembly, army, and chorus (II, 367), and probably mentioned this kind of organization again in another passage in which he spoke of the destruction of a substance by division into parts (διαίρεσις II, 317). Chrysippus, however, referred to an army or a choir as living, thinking, or learning (II, 367).¹⁹ It is reasonable to suppose that a capacity to think and learn was the quality or disposition (ξίς) of the army or chorus, and that an aggregate of this kind was regarded as an unified body.

Chrysippus' theory of mixture may have been influenced to some extent at least by Aristotle. His term for mechanical mixture (παράθεσις) corresponds to Aristotle's (σύνθεσις *De Gen. et Corr.*, 328a5-18). Chrysippus argued that during mixture (μίξις) the component parts maintain their own identity and are potentially separable. Aristotle regarded mixture as the combination of bodies which are capable of acting and being acted upon (322b21-29), and which combine to form a compound whose quality is different from the qualities of the component parts. The component qualities, however, are retained in the mixture and potentially can return to their former state (327b24-26). Strictly speaking the term mixture in Aristotle can apply only to the four elements.²⁰

Aristotle, however, believed that the mixture of two unequal bodies in which the resultant had the quality of one of the bodies was not mixture but growth (328a24-26).²¹ This distinction was not made by Chrysippus. Aristotle argued that a drop of wine is not mixed with ten thousand quarts of water, but loses its

¹⁹ On this passage see Reinhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6.

²⁰ See H. H. Joachim, "Aristotle: Chemical Combination," *Journal of Philology*, XXIX (1904), pp. 72-86.

²¹ Growth according to Aristotle was the increase of the existing magnitude by the addition of that which is potentially substance to actual substance (320b30 and 322a11-13).

form and changes into water (328a27-28). Chrysippus, apparently in answer to Aristotle, stated that a drop of wine could mix with the sea, since the drop by mixture might permeate the whole (II, 480).²² It seems, therefore, that the terms *μίξις* and *κρᾶσις* in Chrysippus would apply to any combination of qualities whether the quality of the resultant was similar to that of one of the components or not, provided that the qualities kept their own identity.

Chrysippus may have used the term fusion (*σύγχυσις*) to designate genesis. There is no evidence that Chrysippus discussed genesis in terms other than mixture.²³ When the quality of the seed mixed with the moisture in matter, a being was born with qualities different from those of the seed and the moisture. Surely this type of mixture would have been termed fusion (*σύγχυσις*) rather than mixture (*μίξις*).

According to Alexander of Aphrodisia, the Aristotelian concept of mixture was adopted by some of the Stoics later than Chrysippus, and particularly by Sosigenes, the friend of Antipater of Tarsus (II, 470).

Active and passive elements were recognized by Chrysippus. He argued that all things are mixed from the warm, the cold, the dry, and the moist and that the opposites act or are acted upon (II, 411). The dark, cold is opposed to the brightness and warmth of the fire (II, 430; cf. 429). One element changes directly into another. Fire changes into air, air into water, and water into earth (II, 413). When freezing takes place, the air is active and the water is acted upon (II, 430). Galen, commenting on the interaction of the opposite elements, said that in Aristotle the qualities mixed together, but that according to the Stoic philosophers the substances also mixed together (II, 411). We can assume that Chrysippus treated the elements as substances but believed that the quality of an element, as, for example, hot or cold, when applied to a particular object, was the disposition of the substratum to which it belonged.

Active and passive elements were used by Posidonius also. The light and the warm acted upon the passive elements, the

²² See also Pohlenz, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 41-2.

²³ Genesis for Aristotle was the actualization of the form which was present in the matter potentially (317b23-25).

heavy and the cold.²⁴ An element was able to affect other objects within its environment. The sun is said to be responsible for color, for the fragrance of fruit, the savor of juices, and the size and disposition of animals.²⁵ And again, the quality of the earth accounts for the characteristics of various kinds of springs.²⁶ The elements are responsible for human emotions. Blood is said to differ in warmth, coolness, thickness, and thinness. Those with warmer blood are more courageous; those with colder blood more cowardly.²⁷

In one passage of Simplicius, Antipater of Tarsus, a Stoic philosopher who was the close friend of Tiberius Gracchus before the latter's death in 133 B. C., is said to have used the word disposition (*ἕξις*) to describe both the corporeal and the incorporeal.²⁸ If, like Chrysippus, Antipater believed that quality was a disposition (*ἕξις*), we must attribute to Antipater the theory of incorporeal qualities.

What was an incorporeal quality? According to Simplicius, the Stoics argued that the qualities of corporeal bodies were corporeal, and those of incorporeal bodies were incorporeal (*In Arist. Cat.*, 217, 32). The Stoics recognized as incorporeal that which is said (*λεκτόν*), void, place, and time. The quality of one of these incorporeals was itself incorporeal. A passage in Sextus Empiricus (*Log.*, I, 38-42) throws some light on the problem. It is stated that the Stoics regarded truth as a body (*σῶμα*) in so far as it was intelligence in a certain disposition (*πῶς ἔχον ἡγεμονικόν*), but considered that the true (*τὸ ἀληθές*) was not corporeal since it was a judgment (*ἀξιῶμα*) which, in turn, was a part of speech (*λεκτόν*). We can assume, therefore, that the true was an incorporeal quality belonging to the genus of speech (*λεκτόν*).

²⁴ The fragments of Posidonius are published by L. Edelstein, "The Philosophical System of Posidonius," *A. J. P.*, LVII (1936), pp. 286-325. This fragment is published on p. 301, n. 61.

²⁵ *F. Gr. Hist.*, 87 F 114 = Diod., II, 51, 3 to 53, 7.

²⁶ *F. Gr. Hist.*, 87 F 123 = Vitruv., VIII, 3, 1-19 and 26-27.

²⁷ Edelstein, p. 307, n. 86.

²⁸ In Simplicius 209, 24 we read ὁ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος ἐπεκτείνει τοῦνομα τοῦ ἐκτοῦ μέχρι τοῦ κοινοῦ συμπτώματος σωμάτων καὶ ἀσωμάτων, οἷον τοῦ τί ἦν εἶναι. This fragment is not published in the *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* but is quoted by Rieth, *op. cit.*, p. 56. On the corporeal and incorporeal quality see Rieth, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-6. Schmekel, *op. cit.*, pp. 624-7 sug-

It seems probable that the predicate also should be regarded as an incorporeal quality. As we have seen, Zeno himself spoke of a cause as the cause of a predicate.²⁹ He stated that wisdom was the cause of acting wisely (τὸ φρονεῖν), soul of living (τὸ ζῆν), and moderation of acting moderately (τὸ σωφρονεῖν I, 89). Archedemus of Tarsus stated that the causes were causes of predicates, such as "cutting" (τὸ τέμνεσθαι), or of propositions, as, for example, "the ship is" (ἡ ναὺς γίνεταί). These predicates and propositions are termed "incorporeal actions" (ἐνέργειαι ἀσώματοι III, 8). Posidonius also argued that the cause was real and corporeal but that of which it was the cause was neither real nor corporeal, but an accident and a predicate.³⁰ Similar statements are found in later writers. Seneca (*Ep.*, 117, 2) wrote that wisdom is considered a good, and since the good is active, it must be corporeal. But being wise (*sapere*) is incorporeal and an accident of wisdom. According to Sextus Empiricus, the Stoics believed that every cause was a body which was a cause to another body of something incorporeal. For example, the lancet is the cause to the flesh of the incorporeal predicate being cut (ἀσωμάτου τοῦ τέμνεσθαι κατηγορήματος *Phys.*, I, 211 = II, 341).

In spite of the fact that the quality was itself the cause of the predicate, the quality was frequently regarded as characterized by or derived from the predicate.³¹ Chrysippus, for instance, defined a logical proposition (ἀξιωμα) as derived from a proposition's having been made (τὸ ἀξιούσθαι II, 193). Similarly Simplicius spoke of those who derived the qualities from what are usually termed predicates (216, 19 ff.). Roofing is the result of having been roofed; equality is derived from equalization; and corporeality from the existence of body as substance (ἀπὸ τοῦ σῶμα ὑπάρχειν).

The Stoic interpretation of the universal or form such as man or horse presents some interesting problems. We have passages in Stobaeus, Aetius, and Diogenes Laertius which refer to the forms as concepts (ἐννοήματα). They are neither being (τινα) nor qualities (ποιά) but as it were a certain kind of apparition

gested that the Stoic source used by Simplicius in 209, 1 to 223, 11 was Antipater.

²⁹ See above, pp. 41 f.

³⁰ Edelstein, p. 302, n. 65.

³¹ On this topic see Rieth, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-64.

of the soul (ποῖα φαντάσματα ψυχῆς I, 65). The source of these statements cannot be determined. Stobaeus has the heading Ζήνωνος <καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ>;³² Aetius οἱ ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος. It seems probable that the source was early. Cleanthes is said to have argued that the forms (ιδέαι) were concepts (I, 494). According to Simplicius, Chrysippus was at a loss as to whether the form should be called being (τόδε τι II, 278). He believed that the forms embraced the genesis of the infinite in defined limits (II, 365).³³

The term "common quality" was used at least as early as Diogenes of Babylon to designate such things as man or horse which Plato had termed forms.³⁴ The distinction between the quality of the genus and the quality of the particular, however, was made by Chrysippus. He spoke of the quality of a particular substance as "individually qualified" (ιδίως ποιός II, 396, 397, and 624), and distinguished between the quality of the genus and the quality of the species. In one passage, he argued that the generic pleasure was intelligible (νοητόν), but the pleasure of the species perceptible (αἰσθητόν).³⁵

The term common quality is described at length in a passage in Simplicius (*In Arist. Cat.*, 222, 30 = II, 378).³⁶ Simplicius quoted the Stoics to the effect that the common quality (τὸ κοινὸν τῆς ποιότητος) was a differentiation of substance, not separable by itself, but ending in conception and property (εἰς ἐννόημα καὶ ιδιότητα ἀπολήγουσαν), not moulded by time or power (ισχύι), but by its own individuality (τῇ ἐξ αὐτῆς τοιουτότητι).

According to a passage in Sextus Empiricus, relation (πρός τι) and relative disposition (πρός τί πως ἔχον) were regarded by the Stoics as intelligibles (II, 80 and 404).

³² The brackets were added by Diels.

³³ Compare Posidonius who defined the soul as "the form of the space in which is inherent a harmony of numbers" (τὴν ψυχὴν ιδέαν εἶναι τοῦ πάντη διαστατοῦ κατ' ἀριθμὸν συνεστῶσαν ἁρμονίαν περιέχοντα Plut., *Proc. Animae*, 1023). On this passage see Edelstein, pp. 303-4, and R. M. Jones, *The Platonism of Plutarch* (Wisconsin, 1916), pp. 73-4.

³⁴ Diogenes of Babylon defined a *προσηγορία* as a part of speech indicating a common quality (κοινὴ ποιότης) such as man or horse (III, 22). On this fragment see H. Steinthal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern*, II (Berlin, 1891), pp. 238-42.

³⁵ II, 81 Χρύσιππος τὸ μὲν γενικὸν ἡδὺ νοητόν, τὸ δὲ εἰδικὸν καὶ προσπίπτον ἡδὺ αἰσθητόν.

³⁶ On this passage see Rieth, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-9 and 79.

Should such things as the common quality and relations be considered corporeal or incorporeal qualities? There is no direct evidence on which to base an answer to this question. But since neither the common quality nor the relation seems to have been used as a cause, they should probably be considered incorporeal.

I believe that we can perceive several stages in the development of the Stoic concept of incorporeal quality. The early Stoics recognized only corporeal quality and maintained that that which was not corporeal quality was not being. Chrysippus stated the principles of the Stoic categories, and probably recognized a common quality which he regarded as intelligible. At least as early as Antipater of Tarsus the incorporeal quality was introduced. It probably included the predicate, the common quality (the forms), and the categories.

In a discussion of the possible destruction of our universe, Boethus of Sidon, a Stoic philosopher whom von Arnim assigned to the period of the Old Stoa, mentioned three ways in which a body might be destroyed (III, 7). A composite body such as an army or a chorus (*διστηκότα*) or a body which is joined together (*συναπτόμενα*) might be destroyed by division (*διαίρεσις*);³⁷ or again a body might be destroyed by the destruction of the prevailing quality (*κατὰ ἀναίρεσιν τῆς ἐπεχούσης ποιότητος*). For example, wax that had been moulded into a figure might be smoothed out and the figure destroyed. Or the quality might be destroyed by a mixture which would produce a new quality (*σύγχυσις*). The word mixture or fusion (*σύγχυσις*) seems to be used with the same meaning that it had in Chrysippus but

³⁷ The terms separate (*διστρώτα*) and joined together (*συναπτόμενα*) occur in several passages in Stoic philosophy and show a remarkable consistency in their meaning. The term separate is used by Chrysippus (II, 367) to refer to bodies such as an assembly, army, or chorus. In Boethus of Sidon (III, 7), it refers to herds of goats and cattle, to choruses and armies; again, in Sextus Empiricus (*M.*, IX, 78), it includes armies, flocks, and choruses. Seneca also speaks of bodies composed of things which are separate (*quaedam ex distantibus*) and gives as examples an army, populace, or senate (*Ep.*, 102, 6). The word joined together occurs less frequently. Sextus Empiricus gives as examples of this kind of body chains, cabinets, and ships (*M.*, IX, 78). Seneca too speaks of a composite body (*composita*) such as a ship, a house, or "everything which is the result of joining separate parts into one sum total" (*Ep.*, 102, 6 *quorum diversae partes iunctura in unum coactae sunt*: R. M. Gummere in the Loeb translation).

whereas Chrysippus was discussing fusion from the point of view of mixture, Boethus was interested in the destruction of the component qualities which accompanied this kind of mixture.

Evidence regarding Posidonius' treatment of genesis and change is found in Areius Didymus.³⁸ Posidonius argued that there were four kinds of change, division (*διαίρεσις*), qualitative change (*ἀλλοίωσις*), mixture (*σύγχυσις*), and dissolution from the whole (*τὴν ἐξ ὅλων, λεγομένην δὲ κατ' ἀνάλυσιν*). Substance can receive only qualitative change (*ἀλλοίωσις*); the other three kinds of change apply to quality (*περὶ τοὺς ποιоὺς λεγομένους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς οὐσίας γιγνομένους*). This sentence should be compared with the passage in Chrysippus which I discussed above.³⁹ Chrysippus had recognized substance and quality as substrata, and argued that qualitative change could apply only to the substratum quality, but that division and mixture took place in substance. Posidonius, on the other hand, maintained that a change of quality applied to substance, and division and mixture to quality. By asserting that qualitative change occurred in substance, Posidonius may have been trying to bridge the gap which Chrysippus had made between substance and quality. He seems to have believed that substance was indestructible. Posidonius went on to argue that the identity of the particular was due to the presence of a persistent quality from its genesis to its destruction.

We should notice also in this connection a passage in which Posidonius stated that God was an intelligible and fiery breath (*πνεῦμα*), not having form (*μορφή*), but changing into whatever he wishes, and being assimilated to all things.⁴⁰ We can assume, I believe, that quality in Posidonius' philosophy also was one aspect of God or logos. We might conclude that a capacity to change and be changed, or to act and be acted upon was a distinctive characteristic of God or quality.

The distinction between unified and non-unified bodies in Posidonius' philosophy presents difficult problems. In a passage which seems to have Posidonius as its source, Sextus Empiricus referred to bodies as unified (*ἡνωμένα*), joined together (*συναπτόμενα*), and separate (*διεστώτα* *M.*, IX, 78).⁴¹ He defined unified

³⁸ Edelstein, p. 294, n. 35.

³⁹ See above, pp. 45 f.

⁴⁰ Edelstein, p. 291, n. 22. Edelstein argues, on the basis of this fragment, that God can only become accommodated to that which exists.

⁴¹ See above, note 37.

bodies as those which are controlled by one disposition ($\xi\xi\varsigma$) such as plants and animals, and added that in the case of unified bodies there is a certain sympathy similar to that which exists between a finger and the rest of the body. When a finger is cut off, the body suffers. A little later Sextus stated that of unified bodies, some were bound together by disposition ($\xi\xi\varsigma$) as, for example, wood and stones; some such as plants by nature; and others, as, for instance, animals, by soul (*M.*, IX, 81). Edelstein attributed only the first passage to Posidonius and argued from this that only living bodies such as plants and animals were unified.⁴² He supported his interpretation by a sentence in Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* (II, 82). Cicero writes that the world is not governed by nature like a clod of earth, a piece of stone or something of the sort with no natural cohesion (*nulla cohaerendi natura*), but like a tree or an animal in which there is order and design.⁴³

If one assumes that Sextus Empiricus is using a single source for sections 78 and 81, a slightly different interpretation becomes possible.⁴⁴ In that case, since Sextus Empiricus makes only three divisions (*M.*, IX, 78), we must suppose that every body, which is not formed from separate entities such as an army, or which is not composed of parts artificially bound together such as a house or a ship, must be unified. This would mean that natural objects, both organic and inorganic, were considered to be unified.

Differences among unified bodies were, however, recognized by Posidonius. An important passage based on Posidonius in Diogenes Laertius has been translated as follows: "The world is ordered by reason and providence . . . Only there is a difference of degree; in some parts there is more of it, in others less. For through some parts it passes as a "hold" or containing force ($\xi\xi\varsigma$), as is the case with our bones and sinews; while through others it passes as intelligence, as in the ruling part of the soul."⁴⁵

Our discussion of unified and non-unified bodies can be carried

⁴² Edelstein, p. 299.

⁴³ The manuscript reading is *nulla cohaerendi natura*. Rackham, however, in the Loeb text reads *sola cohaerendi natura*.

⁴⁴ Reinhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-51.

⁴⁵ R. D. Hicks in the Loeb translation of D. L., VII, 138.

a step further by considering a passage in Simplicius (*In Arist. Cat.*, 214, 24-215, 2). According to Simplicius, the Stoics argued that the qualities were dispositions (*ἔξεις*) but applied the term disposition only to bodies which were unified (*ἡνωμένα*), but not to bodies which were joined together (*συναπτόμενα*) such as a ship, or to those which were composed of separate entities (*διεστώτα*) such as an army. The result, as Simplicius points out, is that although all bodies are qualified (*ποιά*), only bodies which are unified under one disposition (*ἔξεις*) possess quality.

A distinction between the qualified (*ποιά*) and quality (*ποιότης*) is made in another passage of Simplicius (212, 12-213, 7).⁴⁶ He tried to define the qualified (*τὸ ποιόν*), and by diaeresis divided it into movement (*κίνησις*) and condition (*σχέσις*), and the latter, in turn, into temporary condition and disposition. A disposition is a condition which has some duration and which is the cause of its own individuality and not dependent upon externals. For example, a man who eats food (*ὀψόφαγος*) can have this condition (*σχέσις*) only if food is available, but a man who is a lover of food (*φίλοφος*) has this natural disposition whether he has food at any given moment or not (cf. II, 393). The quality is the disposition; the qualified includes movement, and condition as well as disposition. Similarly elsewhere in Simplicius (209, 14 ff.) the term *ἐκτόν* applies not only to *ἔξεις* but to movement and condition as well.⁴⁷

Who was the Stoic who believed that not all bodies were unified, and yet identified quality with the disposition (*ἔξεις*) of unified bodies? Such a distinction may have been made by Posidonius. Schmekel suggested that Antipater of Tarsus was Simplicius' source.⁴⁸ Antipater was, in fact, quoted by Simplicius in one passage (209, 24). The evidence is by no means conclusive.

Strong criticism of the Stoic theory of corporeal quality is found in a treatise entitled, *That the Qualities are Incorporeal*,

⁴⁶ On this passage see Rieth, *op. cit.*, 22-6 and 29-35; E. Elorduy, "Die Sozialphilosophie der Stoa," *Philol.*, Suppl. XXVIII (1936), pp. 102-7; Schmekel, *op. cit.*, pp. 624-7.

⁴⁷ According to Simplicius (237, 25-238, 32), the Stoics considered the *διάθεσις* more permanent than the *ἔξεις*. The virtues were *διαθέσεις*. Compare Arist., *Cat.*, 8b25-9a13.

⁴⁸ See above, note 28.

which was published by Kühn as part of the works of Galen,⁴⁹ but was recently attributed to Albinus by Orth.⁵⁰ The writer of the treatise defined body (*σῶμα*) as a three-dimensional solid (*τριχῇ τινα διαστάτῃ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀντίτυπον*), and asserted that an accident cannot be corporeal. He raised problems regarding the divisibility of the quality, place and change of quality. The objections made against the Stoic theory are valid only if the Stoics defined body as a three-dimensional solid. The Stoic concept of quality was criticized by Plotinus also who likewise defined body as a three-dimensional solid.⁵¹

Did the Stoics regard body as a solid of three dimensions? It has been argued that the definition of a solid body given by Apollodorus of Seleucia suggests that they did.⁵² Apollodorus defined a solid body (*στερεὸν σῶμα*) as a body of three dimensions (*τὸ τριχῇ διαστατόν* III, 6). In the same paragraph, however, he defined surface and line. I believe that Apollodorus is giving us a definition of a body of three dimensions as distinct from one of two dimensions, and that his definition has nothing to do with the corporeal as the term was used in regard to the Stoic concept of quality. In my opinion, the term "body" in Stoic philosophy designates a capacity to act or be acted upon, and not a three-dimensional solid.⁵³ This conclusion receives some support from another fragment of Apollodorus in which he argued that substance (*οὐσία*) and the limited (*πεπερασμένη*) were body (*σῶμα*), and went on to point out that substance was acted upon (*παθητή*), for, if it had been unchangeable (*ἄτρεπτος*), that which comes into being would not have come from it (III, 4; cf. Antipater, III, 32). I believe, therefore, that Albinus and Plotinus attacked Stoic philosophy, basing their objections on their own definition of body.

We may summarize our results as follows. Zeno recognized two principles, the active and the passive, and distinguished between universal substance and the substance of the particular.

⁴⁹ C. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, XIX (Leipzig, 1830), pp. 463-84.

⁵⁰ E. Orth, "Les oeuvres d'Albinos le Platonicien," *L'Antiquité Classique*, XVI (1947), pp. 113-14.

⁵¹ Plot., *Enn.*, VI, 1, 26 = II, 315.

⁵² Bäumer, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-6 argued that the Stoic *σῶμα* was a three-dimensional solid.

⁵³ See above, pp. 42 f.

He regarded quality as the disposition of a substratum, and may have regarded the virtues as qualities. Like Zeno, Chrysippus believed that quality was the disposition of a substratum. Quality was one aspect of the logos, a corporeal *δύναμις*, and a cause. He distinguished between universal substance and the substance of the particular, and argued that growth, diminution, and change applied only to the quality and not to the substance. His concept of quality influenced his theory of virtue, and his psychology, and probably made possible the four Stoic categories. Chrysippus may have modified Zeno's theory of mixture by introducing the distinction between a mixture (*μίξις*) in which the component qualities are retained and a mixture (*σύγχυσις*) in which they are lost. The incorporeal qualities were recognized at least as early as Antipater of Tarsus. They probably included the predicate, the common quality, and the categories. Posidonius recognized four kinds of change, division, qualitative change, mixture, and dissolution from the whole, and argued that qualitative change involved a change of substance, whereas the other three kinds of change concerned quality alone.

MARGARET E. REESOR.

THE GENERATION OF PEISISTRATUS.

Jacoby's re-examination of Peisistratean chronology¹ in the light of the Atthidographers' contribution rightly places great emphasis on oral tradition. It was from oral tradition that Herodotus took the two² chronological references in his account of Peisistratus.³ And from oral tradition the early Atthidographers admitted still more dates and converted them into archon years.⁴ Such respect for the usefulness and accuracy of oral tradition accords strangely with Jacoby's rejection of those parts of the oral tradition which are not concerned with periods of time.⁵ And yet it is almost certainly true that oral tradition is most memorable when it concerns personalities, and that in oral tradition chronological relations will be more often expressed by the subjects' coming-of age, marriage, relative youth, etc. than by numbers of years. If stories which imply relative

¹ *Atthis* (Oxford, 1949), pp. 188 ff. I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Jacoby for encouragement and pertinent criticism. The conjectures and conclusions, however, are my own.

² Hdt., I, 62, 1: ten-year duration of Peisistratus' second exile; V, 65, 3: 36-year duration of the tyranny of Peisistratus and his sons.

³ Jacoby, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 189; p. 370, n. 96; p. 196: "Generally speaking the result of our investigation is this: the conviction 'that all datings by Attic archons have a claim *a priori* to be considered of greater age and of particular reliability' (Wilamowitz, *Ar. u. Ath.* i. p. 5) is not justified *a priori*, at least not for the seventh and sixth centuries; it is perhaps justified only in a few exceptional cases (viz. where the name of the archon has been retained in memory or in one of the rare documents). The archon's date primarily merely signifies that a piece of information is taken from an *Atthis*, and that the Atthidographers (*i. e.* Hellanikos at the earliest) noted down the event under a certain archon. These years may have been and often actually were calculated on the basis of heterogeneous statements of time in oral tradition."

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 378, n. 133. Jacoby considers the possibility that Hegesistratus, Peisistratus' son by the Argive woman, might be the same as the archon after Comeas. "But I should not like to treat here the complicated question about the marriages and the sons of Peisistratos." There is only incidental mention in another context of Hipparchus' marriage (p. 92); and there is no consideration of the ages of Hippias and Hipparchus at the time of Peisistratus' first return.

ages of Peisistratus and his sons are to be ignored in the working-out of a Peisistratean chronology which implicitly contradicts them, some explanation of their origin and inaccuracy must be given.⁶

The most recent trend in this much debated chronological question,⁷ exemplified by Adcock⁸ and Jacoby,⁹ limits the first two periods of tyranny and the intervening first exile to the five years between 561/0 and 556/5, in order to use the Herodotean figures of 10 years (Herodotus, I, 62, 1) for the second exile (556/5–546/5) and 36 years (V, 65) for the total continuous rule of Peisistratus and his sons (546/5–511/10).¹⁰ This limitation requires that the intervals given by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 14 ff.) be emended or explained away and presents us with a rationalized chronology outlining what should have happened with little or no regard for the implied chronology of various oral traditions.

Two items in the presumably oral tradition, unlike the invented six- and seven-month tyrannies, fulfil the oral tradition's requirement of being essential and memorable parts of the living fabric of the story. First, Peisistratus' sons, presumably Hippias and Hipparchus, are *neaniai* at the beginning of the second tyranny (Hdt., I, 61, 1); if this is dated in 559 or 558, the two sons should have been born about 579 or 578, thus inflating the ages of the whole family to an improbable if not impossible degree. That is, Hippias would be almost 90 at Marathon and almost 70 at the time of his eviction from Attica, when his

⁶ These traditions are given some consideration in two of the more recent treatments of the chronological question: Gomme, *J. H. S.*, XLVI (1926), p. 174; Schachermeyr, *R.-E.*, XIX, 1, cols. 173 f.

⁷ Bibliography is given in Schachermeyr, *loc. cit.*, cols. 164 ff. (Gomme, *loc. cit.*, pp. 173 ff. should be added, and Jacoby, *Atthis*, pp. 188 ff.) Schachermeyr's chronology belongs to the older school, allowing 5 years for the first tyranny, 6 years for the first exile, 6 months for the second tyranny, and the usual 10 years for the 2nd exile. See also his table of various chronologies. Cadoux (*J. H. S.*, LXVIII [1948], p. 105) is not concerned with the individual tyrannies and exiles.

⁸ *C. Q.*, XVIII (1924), pp. 174 ff. and *C. A. H.*, IV.

⁹ *Atthis*, pp. 188 ff. These two chronologies, though almost identical in result, are based on different methods.

¹⁰ For the validity of this interpretation of Herodotus' 36 years, see below, n. 23.

children were not all grown;¹¹ Hipparchus would be in his mid-sixties at the time of his pursuit of Harmodius; Peisistratus, unless the sons were born to him at an unusually early age, would be 50 on first attempting tyranny and 64 at the battle of Pallene, in which he took an active part. These are not impossibilities, but together they add up to an improbability. Second, Hegesistratus, the son of Peisistratus by the Argive woman whom he married in the first tyranny or first exile,¹² is reported as leading Argive troops at the battle of Pallene,¹³ on the occasion of the second return. If Hegesistratus was born after 559, he could have been no more than 13 in 546.

Because of the time they require, neither of these items can be later accretions to a well-established short chronology for the first two Peisistratean attempts, if such existed, and so must belong to the original story. Both require a long chronology for these two attempts: more time in the first tyranny and exile for Hippias and Hipparchus to grow up, supposing them to have been born at the more probable dates of 570 and 569; more time between the first tyranny and the third for Peisistratus to marry the Argive woman and for their son to reach at least 18 years of age. Such extensions of time do appear in an ancient account (Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 14 ff.) where the five years of the first tyranny and the eleven years of the first exile make it possible for Hippias and Hipparchus to have been born as late as 570-65. Again, using Aristotle's intervals, the long first exile, the six years of the second tyranny, and the ten years of the second exile make it possible for the son of the Argive marriage to mature before Pallene, whether that marriage took place during the first tyranny or the first exile. It might be thought that these intervals were just arbitrarily invented to allow for the time required by the tradition, without any regard

¹¹ Hdt., V, 65, 1: *oi παῖδες* suggests children. That they were being conveyed out of the country suggests that they were not of fighting age. And we know from Thucydides (VI, 55) that, at least of the "legitimate" sons of Peisistratus, only Hippias had children.

¹² Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 17, 4. What happened to her before Peisistratus' marriage with the daughter of Megacles?

¹³ Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 17, 4. It has been suggested that Hegesistratus was assigned this role only because of his name, but this seems a somewhat violent remedy.

for the total chronological picture. For the intervals and dates presented together in the work of Aristotle do involve such inconsistency that they may not be accepted without explanation. This does not mean that they should be explained or emended out of existence, unless (and the attempt must still be made) they cannot be accounted for as they stand. Our first obligation with an ancient source is a sincere effort from every possible point of view to understand what is given and to make what we can of it. Especially in the case of numbers, once the thread of communication is cut by emendation or assumption of interpolation, we lose contact with our source and can claim no other authority than our own rationalism.

Let us start with Aristotle's dates and intervals (Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 14 ff.):

1st tyranny	Archonship of Comeas	561/0 or 560/59 ¹⁴
	5 years	
1st exile, when tyranny was not firmly estab- lished.	Sixth year	556/5 or 555/4
	11 years	
2nd tyranny	Twelfth year	545/4 or 544/3
	6 years	
2nd exile	Seventh year	539/8 or 538/7
	10 years	
3rd tyranny	Eleventh year	529/8 or 528/7
	?	
	<hr/> 32 years plus 3rd tyranny	
Total from Peisistratus' 1st tyranny to death: 33 years (561/0 to 529/8).		
Total rule of Peisistratus: 19 years.		
Archonship dates given for: 1st tyranny (Comeas); 1st exile (Hegesias); death of Peisistratus (Philoneos).		

We find the basic inconsistency to be that the stated periods of tyranny and exile do not fit into the thirty-three years from the archonship of the first attempt to the archonship of Peisistratus' death and still leave a third tyranny of sufficient length (8 years) not only firmly to root the tyranny but also to fill out the nineteen years of rule. Since the archonship dates do not agree with

¹⁴ Both dates are attested and depend on the method of counting from the archonships of Philoneos and Harpactides; for our present purposes the exact year is immaterial.

the stated intervals, both types of chronological evidence must be examined and tested. Merely to measure the intervals against the archon dates and find them wanting is not enough.

We must ask when and how the archon dates for these events became fixed. According to Jacoby's inviting line of argument¹⁵ the archon-list was kept contemporaneously at least from the time of Solon as a simple list, with no notes of contemporary events. This list, however it may have been kept before, was inscribed on stone about 425 B. C.¹⁶ Perhaps then for the first time the ordinary citizen could compare his family traditions with the official chronology. Whether the publication (or republication) of the list at this time was the cause or effect of increased historical interest and activity,¹⁷ it seems likely that for the first time attempts were made to assign past events to archon years. There was material enough for a determined researcher in various official lists and documents as well as decrees to carry this dating back to 511/10 with complete assurance and accuracy.¹⁸ For the period before that, it is likely that the assignment of events to archon years had to be based on traditions (both written and oral) concerning the number of years or generations between events.¹⁹ When there was general agreement on the interval before a fixed point, there was no difficulty and no need for the sometimes arbitrary assignment of an event to an archon year that Jacoby assumes.²⁰ For example, there was general agreement that the sons of Peisistratus ruled seventeen years.²¹ Peisistratus' death could thus be fixed by

¹⁵ *Atthis*, pp. 171 ff.; 175 ff.; 188 ff. Also Cadoux, *loc. cit.*, pp. 80 f.

¹⁶ Meritt, *Hesp.*, VIII (1939), pp. 59 ff.

¹⁷ Cf. the chronicle of the Asclepieion in Athens (*I. G.*, II², 4960) beginning with archon-dating in 420/19 B. C. See Jacoby, *Atthis*, p. 356, n. 24. The archon begins during this period regularly to appear in the prescripts of decrees. The relation of the first Metonic cycle and attendant interest in chronological periods to the archon-list publication has not been completely explored.

¹⁸ Jacoby, *Atthis*, pp. 204 ff.; Cadoux, *loc. cit.*, p. 80.

¹⁹ Jacoby, *Atthis*, p. 186; p. 365, n. 70; p. 370, n. 96.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 224 f.

²¹ Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 19, 6: 17 years; Arist., *Pol.*, 1315b: 18 years; Hdt., V, 65: 36 years for Peisistratus and his sons; subtract the 19 years of Peisistratus' rule (*Ath. Pol.*, 17, 1); the difference between 17 and 18 years results merely from different methods of counting and does not represent a disagreement in the tradition.

counting back seventeen years from 511/10. Inclusive or exclusive reckoning will result in 528/7 or 529/8. Substantial agreement exists also for the thirty-six years of rule for Peisistratus and his sons.²² Peisistratus' rule was thus known to have extended over nineteen years, but as it was also known to have been interrupted by two periods of exile, the archonship of his accession could not be reached merely by counting back nineteen years.²³ There may well have been, however, another tradition to the effect that Peisistratus' first accession was just a generation before his death. This is the sort of chronological detail we expect to find in oral tradition, and it is one which fits our sources with such neatness that we might almost say that since the tradition of a generation between Peisistratus' first accession and his death is not reported to us we must invent it. But this would not be quite fair, since such a tradition has been reported to us, if only indirectly.

Let us go back for a moment to Aristotle's statement concerning the various periods of tyranny and exile. If he is counting inclusively, his two periods of exile add up to 21 years (11 plus 10); if we add to these 21 years of exile the 19 years of tyranny (a number which comes directly from Aristotle and indirectly from Herodotus), we have a total of 40 years from

²² Hdt., V, 65; Arist., *Pol.*, 1315b gives 35 years presumably as a result of inclusive counting.

²³ This seems to me a strong argument against the now popular assumption that Herodotus' figure of 36 years must be applied to the *continuous* rule of Peisistratus and his sons. Cf. Jacoby, *Atthis*, p. 372, n. 106. Elsewhere (*Atthis*, p. 374, n. 109), Jacoby insists that we must not infer anything in particular from the omission of this archon date. He considers Eusebius' date for Pallene (543-539) sufficient proof that the Atthides all mentioned Pallene under a certain year. This assertion is directly contradictory to other statements, e. g., p. 352, n. 56: "Atthidography . . . certainly did not date the battle of Pallene by the names of Kleisthenes, Hippias and Hipparchos, which stood in the list for years in the forties, but quite simply by the duration of the continuous tyranny." And p. 372, n. 103: "in that (Eusebius') chronology the (purely mechanical) shiftings of the various entries are more extensive; the numerous variants in the manuscripts do not permit us to establish the years originally given. Thus the murder of Hipparchus has been moved up to 518/17 B. C. and the battle of Pallene down to a year between 543/2 and 539/8 B. C. (for the entry Πεισίστρατος 'Αθηναίων τὸ δεύτερον ἐβασίλευσεν surely refers to that battle)."

first accession to death. But Aristotle tells us that this period was 33 years. In these two figures of 33 and 40 we have the two definitions of a generation which were current in the fifth century.²⁴ Since both the whole (i. e. 33 years) and the sum of the parts (i. e. 11 plus 10 plus 19) point to one generation, though of different lengths, we must admit the existence of a tradition that a generation passed between Peisistratus' first accession and his death.

An attempt must be made to reconstruct the way in which the oral tradition concerning Peisistratus, most of which appears in Herodotus,²⁵ was developed by those whose aim it was to assign dates by archonships to the various phases of the tyranny. Let us assume a late fifth century historian, to be known temporarily as X. When X dealt with the era of Peisistratus, he found in Herodotus' *History* the duration of the whole tyranny (36 years) and of Peisistratus' second exile (10 years). To this he added the traditions which were presumably still oral of Hippias' seventeen-year tyranny and of the generation between Peisistratus' first accession and his death.²⁶ From these four figures,

²⁴ The 40-year generation seems to have been used by Hecataeus (Ed. Meyer, *Forsch. z. Alt. Gesch.*, I, pp. 153 ff.). Herodotus employed the results of calculation by 40-year generations, e. g. Heracles is 900 years before his time (II, 145, 4) and the generations of Spartan kings before 500 B. C. (VII, 204; VIII, 131) are 21: 21×40 equals 840; 840 plus 500 equals 1340 B. C., which is about 900 years before Herodotus' time. Herodotus also, in at least one calculation (II, 142), allows three generations to a century.

²⁵ Jacoby's judgment in this matter appears to be somewhat contradictory. *Atthis*, p. 373, n. 106: "The arguments in the text are adduced to show that nothing in the way of tradition existed besides the statements of Herodotus, and that it is with these statements alone that the *Atthis* works in assigning events to archons' years." Contrast p. 195: "the data of oral tradition, viz. the 10 years of the last exile, and the 36 years of continuous tyranny, and, I think, the six and seven months as well, which (like many other details) Herodotus did not accept." Cf. also p. 203.

²⁶ It is possible to suggest why Herodotus ignored these details. For the first it is obvious that Herodotus' concern was with Peisistratus in Book I and with the end of the tyranny in Book V. Hippias' tenure did not come at a point when there was a need to digress from the main theme of the history to Athenian affairs. But it is also possible that the 17 years resulted from a calculation based on a combination of oral

others could be reached by simple calculation: Peisistratus' total rule must have been 19 years (36 minus 17); and as a generation was 40 years, Peisistratus' two exiles must have covered a total of 20 years (40 minus 19 equals 21) so that the first of these must have been 11 years (21 minus 10 equals 11). The length of the three tyrannies of Peisistratus would be the only detail which could not be derived in this way. How the five- and six-year lengths of the first two periods of rule which appear in the *Ath. Pol.* along with the eleven- and ten-year exiles were arrived at we can only guess. Perhaps it was on the principle of increasing tenure (5 to 6) in proportion to decreasing exile (11 to 10). At any rate, the resultant picture would be as follows (years are substituted for the names of archons which appeared in X's scheme, but we must remember that X was dealing not with numbers but with names):

- 567/6 Beginning of generation (i. e. 40 archons [years] before Peisistratus' death); Peisistratus' first accession.
- 562/1 Sixth year: Peisistratus' first exile.
- 551/0 Twelfth year: Peisistratus' second tyranny.
- 545/4 Seventh year: Peisistratus' second exile.
- 535/4 Eleventh year: Peisistratus' third tyranny.
- 528/7 End of generation: Peisistratus' death.

It will be noted that according to this scheme Herodotus' synchronism with Croesus falls during the second tyranny and that both first and third tyrannies, in their first full year, appear to have been celebrated by the reorganization or institution of

tradition and study of the archon list, i. e. the memory that Peisistratus died shortly after the annual election of archons, so that Hippias did not hold that office in his first full year of rule, but only in his second; and the observation in the archon list that Hippias was archon in 526/5 (*Hesp.*, VIII [1939], p. 59). Hippias' first full year would then have been 527/6, and Peisistratus would have died toward the end of 528/7, i. e. in the 18th archonship before 511/10, thus leaving 17 years as Hippias' rule. The second detail of oral tradition not found in Herodotus is that of the generation between Peisistratus' first accession and death. Its absence seems to me more natural than its presence. So obvious is it that a generation will intervene between the accessions of father and son that such a statement is unnecessary. And perhaps the tradition itself rests on nothing more factual than this obviousness.

major Athenian festivals: in 566, the Panathenaea; in 534, the Dionysia.²⁷ Furthermore, the personal chronologies with which we began this study fit easily and neatly into this scheme. Hippias and Hipparchus, as *neaniai* in 551/0, may have been born between 573 and 568 so that Hipparchus may be in his fifties when enamoured of Harmodius, and Hippias need be little more than 80 at Marathon. Timonassa, being married in 560 or thereabouts, could give birth in 559 or later to Hegesistratus, who would then be of an age in 535 to lead Argive troops.

Thus X's chronology. But he was only the first to attempt the assignment of events to archonships in the sixth century. Nor was there uniformity in the definition of a generation. Other scholars, firm in their belief that there were three generations to a century, counted back through the archons to the 34th (inclusive) archon before Philoneos (528/7) to find the beginning of the 33-year generation of Peisistratus' tyrannies and exiles. The archonship of Comeas was thus designated as the only true and authoritative date of Peisistratus' first accession, and immediately all calculations concerning the length of rules and exiles within that generation were rendered unusable. But such was the number or authority of those who upheld the 33-year generation that the archonship of Comeas was accepted.

It was Aristotle's scholarship, his praiseworthy endeavor to consult and use variant sources, that produced the combination of chronology which we find in *Ath. Pol.*, 13 ff. Being himself committed to the archon-list attributions that were made by the Atthidographers on the basis of a 33-year generation, he gave the accepted dates by archonships. Then by calculation (whether his own or taken from the Atthidographers) of intervals between archon years he arrived at the figures 17 and 33. But for the generation between Peisistratus' first accession and his death the Atthidographers gave no breakdown into years for the periods of tyranny and exile. Nor could they once they had given up the 40-year generation, since the oral tradition (partially reported by Herodotus) with 19 years of tyranny (36 minus 17)

²⁷ The reorganization of the Panathenaea is dated to 566 by Pherecydes and Hellanicus (Marcell., *Vit. Thuc.*, 2 ff.). The reorganization is attributed to Peisistratus by Aristotle (frg. 637, p. 395 Rose). The Dionysia is dated to 534 by the Marmor Parium.

and two long exiles, of which one was 10 years, could not be taken over into the shorter generation. They could only avoid breaking down the period into exiles and tyrannies, or perhaps assume only one exile.²⁸ But Aristotle, anxious to present all relevant material, even at the risk of inconsistencies, has given us the 40-year generation's breakdown within the 33-year generation's framework.

Thus the traditions, with their long and short chronologies of Peisistratus' career.²⁹ But what of the facts? It appears that we know less than before and that we have given up definite numbers for a rather vague concept of a generation, which is not a generation in fact, to be arrived at by statistical evidence of sixth-century births and deaths, but an idea of a generation. Are we then to say that we cannot date Peisistratus' first accession more accurately than 33 to 40 years before his death? Or are we to accept one of these generations and declare that the other is a later correction? If either one is to be a correction, it should be the more logical and reasonable one, i. e. $33\frac{1}{2}$ years, which represents the age at which a man who marries at 30 might reasonably expect to have a son. Why a generation should ever have been defined as 40 years is more difficult to see. Two possibilities suggest themselves: (1) that the generation was thought of not as the time it took for a man to replace himself but as the period of his effective activity, i. e. from legal adulthood at 30 to death at 70;³⁰ (2) that the 40-year generation came to Greece from the East where it was in use before the time of any of our extant Greek chronologers.³¹

If we find reason to believe that such a person as X not only existed and made use of the 40-year generation to make a framework of Attic chronology, but also was followed by chronologers who preferred a generation of $33\frac{1}{2}$ years, we can at least be certain that the chronological inconsistencies in Peisistratus'

²⁸ Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, I², 2, pp. 288 ff.

²⁹ Cf. Burn's long and short chronologies for the foundation of colonies, *J. H. S.*, LV (1935), pp. 130 ff.

³⁰ For 30 as the beginning of legal adulthood in Athens and Sparta: Xen., *Mem.*, I, 2, 35; Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 63, 3; Poll., VIII, 122; Plut., *Lyc.*, 25. For 70 as the natural end: e. g. Solon, 19 D.; Hdt., I, 32.

³¹ See for example: *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* by G. F. Moore, pp. xxxvii ff.

career arose as outlined above, even though we may be no closer to his actual dates. Since Hellanicus, as the first of the Atthidographers³² and the first to put early Athenian history in some kind of chronological order, is the obvious candidate, let us examine carefully once again the evidence for his definition of a generation.³³

In *F. Gr. Hist.*, 4 F 169 (equals 323a F 22) Hellanicus dates the trial of Orestes with relation to three earlier Athenian trials: later by 9 generations than the suit between Ares and Poseidon concerning Halirrothius; later by 6 generations than the trial of Cephalus, son of Deioneus, for the murder of his wife Procris, daughter of Erechtheus; and later by 3 generations than the trial of Daedalus for the murder of his nephew. Since Orestes belongs to the generation after the Trojan War, we may reasonably expect that Hellanicus dated his trial in the rule of Demophon, since he puts the fall of Troy in the last year of Demophon's predecessor (4 F 152a). If Hellanicus was counting exclusively, his strict parallelism of trials would not work, i. e. 1 plus 3 plus 1 plus 3 plus 1 plus 3 plus 1 (the 1 in each case marking the generation of the trial) does not equal 1 plus 9 plus 1; instead, the formula must be: 1 plus 2 plus 1 plus 2 plus 1 plus 3 plus 1. But if his counting was inclusive of one term, the parallelism of triads may be kept, thus: 3 plus 3 plus 3 plus 3 plus 1 equals 9 plus 1. This suggests that Hellanicus used an Attic king-list which showed 10 kings or generations from, and including, the king in whose reign Ares was tried down through Demophon. But the king-list given in the *Marmor Parium* and Apollodorus (III, 14 ff.) and attributed without any convincing reason to Hellanicus by many scholars³⁴ includes 12 names and presumably 12 generations. Let us try out Hellanicus' dating of the trials on this 12-name list. We must date Ares' trial to Cranaus'

³² Jacoby, *Atthis*, pp. 215 ff.; Pearson, *The Local Historians of Attica*, p. 3.

³³ Costanzi (*Riv. di storia antica*, 1904, pp. 348 ff.) arrives at a generation of $33\frac{1}{2}$ years (sometimes rounded off to 30 years); Pearson (*Early Ionian Historians*, pp. 214 ff.) uses a generation of $33\frac{1}{2}$ years, but as Prakken points out (*Studies in Greek Genealogical Chronology*, pp. 64 f.), this will not fit with Pearson's assumption that Hellanicus dated the fall of Troy in 1240 B. C.

³⁴ See Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, p. 215, n. 1 for bibliography.

	<i>Ex.</i>	<i>In.</i>	generation (by exclusive counting this is 9 generations before Demophon); Cephalus' trial must then fall in the reign of Pandion I, and Daedalus' trial in the reign of Pandion II. Since Daedalus is sometimes (Schol. on Soph., <i>O. C.</i> , 472; Plato, <i>Ion</i> , 533A) made the grandson of Erechtheus, he may belong to the generation of Pandion II; but Cephalus cannot be tried for the murder of Erechtheus' daughter in the
1 Cecrops			
2 Cranaus	T		
3 Amphict.		T	
4 Erichtho.			
5 Pandion	T		
6 Erechtheus		T	
7 Cecrops			
8 Pandion	T		
9 Aegeus		T	
10 Theseus			
11 Menesth.			
12 Demophon	T	T	

generation before Erechtheus. If this was Hellanicus' list, he could not have counted exclusively. By inclusive (of one term) counting on the same list, the trial of Ares must fall in Amphictyon's reign; the trial of Cephalus in Erechtheus' reign; and the trial of Daedalus in Aegeus' reign. Apollodorus (III, 15, 8) and others make Daedalus a great-grandson of Erechtheus and a cousin of Aegeus, so that his murder of his nephew may well belong to the generation of Aegeus; by this dating Cephalus' victim also belongs to the next generation after his trial, i. e. his victim is Erechtheus' daughter and his trial is dated to Erechtheus' generation. Therefore, we should expect that where a young man or girl is concerned, it is the generation of the parents that is operative.³⁵ Alcippe's violation by Halirrothius, which causes Ares' trial for the murder of the young man, should be dated to the generation of her parents, i. e. Aglaurus and Ares. Ares has no generation, but Aglaurus is represented as the daughter of Cecrops, and so belongs to the generation of Cranaus, not to that of Amphictyon. If then we have a right to assume, as I think we must, that Hellanicus used or invented a king-list in which each king represented a generation, this can not be the list which he used. We must not fall into the "modernist" fallacy exemplified in Pearson's treatment³⁶ of this fragment. Pearson assumes that Hellanicus was using "dates" as well as generations, i. e. that Hellanicus assigned numbers of years to the reigns of kings and then dated the trials to specific years under

³⁵ This appears to be unexpected support for the possibility that the 40-year generation defines the effective period of a man's life from 30 to 70 years, since it would be during this period that his daughters and sons would be married and/or murdered.

³⁶ Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, pp. 217 f.

those reigns; then counting the number of years between these trials, he converted those numbers into generations, so that when he says 9 generations he means 300 years (which happens to be 9 kings by Pearson's exclusive counting) or when he says 6 generations he means 200 years (which happens to be only 5 kings by the same method of counting). Although this is a logical approach to the problem, it does not take into account the early chronologers' concept of a generation as an end in itself rather than as a means to a date. For the sake of relative order the early chronologer grouped and classified mythological figures whose activities seemed to be contemporaneous into "generations" (to which he might assign a definite length of time for the sake of absolute chronology). He then used these generations as units, without distinguishing whether an event occurred early or late in a generation,³⁷ so that an event occurring in D's generation, whether at the beginning or end, was later by 3 generations than an event occurring in A's generation, whether early or late. He did not say that events occurring at the beginning of A's generation and the end of D's generation were separated by almost 133 years and so by 4 generations. That is, the generation was primarily the group of contemporaries (or more properly, co-generationists), not a number of years. Thus for Hellanicus the Attic king-list served as a skeleton of generations to which other persons and events in Athenian mythology could be attached; only by considering each reign a generation could he use this framework to produce more order than disorder.

Since this point that the reign and generation must be the same has already been made by Jacoby,³⁸ there is no need further to labor it here. And as Jacoby also stated (*ibid.*), it follows from F 169 that Hellanicus must have had 10 generations where the later chronologers had 12, including the two "namesakes" Cecrops

³⁷ Hellanicus seems to have further refined his system in connection with the Argive priestesses, so that in 4 F 79 the first Sicel invasion of Sicily is dated to the 26th year of Alcione. But this seems to have been arrived at by making the second invasion two generations (80 years) before the beginning of the Trojan War (which ended ten years later with its generation) and so the 31st year of Alcione's generation. The first invasion was allowed to precede by a formulaic five years and so was dated to the 26th year. In this sort of calculation generations are still used as units, but the need to quote specific years leads to some calculation within the generation.

³⁸ *Marm. Par.*, p. 137.

II and Pandion II. A king-list of 10 will not have the two namesakes and must also, to satisfy the requirement of F 169, be arranged so that the trials will fit into the 1st, 4th, 7th, and 10th generations. That is, Erechtheus and Erichthonius must change places; and of the two namesakes Cecrops II and what appears to

1 Cecrops	(Ares)	be Pandion I must be omitted. For keep-
2 Cranaus		ing Cecrops, the earthborn, first of the
3 Amphietyon		dynasty, no justification is needed. But
4 Erechtheus	(Cephalus)	the use of what appears to be the second
5 Erichthonius		
6 Pandion		Pandion must be explained in connec-
7 Aegeus	(Daedalus)	tion with the exchange between Erech-
8 Theseus		theus and Erichthonius. Though appar-
9 Menestheus		ently once identical with Erechtheus,
10 Demophon	(Orestes)	

by the fifth century Erichthonius had attained a separate personality (Roscher, *s. v.*), although his relationship with Erechtheus was not yet defined. Originally both were born of earth (Homer, *Il.*, II, 548; Apollod., III, 14, 6); later the parentage of Erechtheus is humanized, but that of Erichthonius never is. It seems likely that Erechtheus was the original figure, whose etymologizing by-name, Erichthonius, took on an independent existence, taking with it the earth-born characteristics of Erechtheus. Hellanicus himself, as Jacoby suggests (*Atthis*, p. 126), may have been the first to include Erechtheus' by-form in the king-list, so that a position in the list immediately after Erechtheus would have been reasonable. But as Erichthonius developed his earth-born character while Erechtheus became more humanized, the former would seem to be more primitive (closer to Cecrops), and they would change places in such a way that Erichthonius carried along with him his son Pandion to father Erechtheus. But then since Pandion had already developed relationships downward (father of Aegeus) as well as upward, his move facilitated the insertion of a second Pandion.

In this king-list of 10 generations, then, the trial of Orestes takes place in Demophon's reign, the 10th generation (there can be little doubt that the successor of Menestheus and the son of Agamemnon belonged to the same generation, although the absence of both Theseus and his sons from Homer considerably disarranged the Athenian royal family's chronology). The trial of Daedalus takes place in Aegeus' generation (7th), although his victim belongs to the next generation (whatever Daedalus' relationship to the royal line, his activities belong to the genera-

tion before Theseus). The trial of Cephalus belongs likewise to the generation before that of his victim, the daughter of Erechtheus, and so to Erechtheus' generation (4th). And so, following this same principle, the trial of Ares should belong to the generation before that of his victim, Halirrothius, who should in turn be a generation before his victim, Alcippe, the daughter of Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops,³⁹ and hence to the generation of Cecrops.

But this 10-king list of Hellanicus was inflated by the two namesakes to a 12-king list. The explanation and motivation of the inflation lies in the ratio between two definitions of a generation: 12 times $33\frac{1}{3}$ equals 10 times 40. It seems necessary to assume that it was Hellanicus who first put in order the early Athenian chronology and that following Hecataeus he used a generation of 40 years. As a result, even when his successors in Atthidography were converted to a generation of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, they continued to use his framework, by which Athenian generations had been tied in with the generations of general Greek mythology. So for Hellanicus' span of 400 years from the beginning of Cecrops' generation to the end of Demophon's they must have 12 generations instead of 10.

We have come far from the generation of Peisistratus, but can now return, confident that the first Atthidographer who worked out in detail the Peisistratean chronology used a generation of 40 years. We have seen, also, how later Atthidographers turned away from the 40-year generation and adopted one of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years. It was Aristotle, indefatigable in taking notes from various sources which were not always completely digested and reconciled, who took from Hellanicus the internal chronology of Peisistratus' generation but summed up that generation as a whole in accordance with later Atthidographers.

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³⁹ Unless perhaps the second Aglaurus is also a namesake inserted to bring the trial down into Cranaus' generation. This might well have arisen from a deliberate misunderstanding of Hellanicus (323a F 1) where Alcippe is described as the daughter of Ares and 'Αγλαύρου τῆς Κέκροπος (which may be wife or daughter). Also the notice in Suidas *φουρικῆα γράμματα*, where the Aglaurus who is sister to Herse and Pandrosus (usually daughters of Cecrops) is a daughter of Actaeon (Actaeus), suggests a tradition in which Aglaurus is singular rather than dual.

REVIEWS.

ETTORE PARATORE. *Tacito*. Milan and Varese, Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1951. Pp. 849. Lire 4000. (*La Biblioteca Storica Universitaria*, Serie II Monografie, Volume III.)

From Richard Reitzenstein's influential *Tacitus der gestaltende Künstler* in 1926 to Walker's fascinating *The Annals of Tacitus: a Study in the Writing of History* in 1952 it has been customary to praise Tacitus as an artist and to denounce him as an historian. No one will deny the eminence of Tacitus, "the poet of history," as a great artist; but Tacitus wanted to be an historian, and as Klingner in *Die Antike*, 1932, insisted, we cannot take refuge in the esthetic: we must judge him as an historian. The modern way of writing history is not the only way. For all its poetic color and intuitive reasoning the *Annals* of Tacitus cannot possibly be judged by the same standard as the *Aeneid*.

Among students of Tacitus, outside of Italy, there has been a tendency to overemphasize the *Annals* at the expense of the *Histories*, and the, of course, justified objections of modern scholars everywhere to the unfair portrait of Tiberius have thrown light from all sides upon the weakness of Tacitus. However, the irritation which Mommsen and von Pöhlmann felt against Tacitus arose out of the ancient historian's failure to give them easy information about problems in which *they* were interested, not because he failed to treat any problem at all. In a thoughtful study of nineteen pages, *Tacitus als Politiker* (Stuttgart, 1924), Joseph Vogt stressed the interest of Tacitus in the political problems of his own day and in their background. He also stressed the change in attitude between the writing of the *Agricola* and the writing of the *Annals* and attributed it to a disappointment in Trajan. Klingner established the importance of the reign of Domitian upon the thought of Tacitus, but he denied any profound change later. However, others agreed with Vogt that a change occurred after the reign of Domitian. Whereas Vogt rather placed the change before the composition of the *Histories*, Francesco Arnaldi, *Due capitoli su Tacito* (Naples, 1945), argued that it fell between the composition date of the *Histories* and that of the *Annals*. These are the problems which chiefly interest Ettore Paratore in a study, *Tacito*, which deserves to rank as one of the most important books on Tacitus, a book which contains many controversial opinions, some unacceptable statements, much that is new and very stimulating. For all its formidable length it is certainly no mere rehash of the work of other scholars; the progress made by scholars of Continental Europe including Ernst Kornemann, *Tacitus* (Wiesbaden, 1947) and Philippe Wuilleumier, *Tacite, l'homme et l'œuvre* (Paris, 1949)—Britishers and Americans are less familiar to him—is absorbed and reproduced, often in a more accurate formulation, and then carried further.

The differences between the approach of Paratore and that of his predecessors in the analysis of the historian's attitude toward the problems of his age are many, but the most fundamental differences are two. First Paratore rules out evidence from the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* on the grounds that it is not a work of Tacitus. He includes some weak arguments in support of his own opinion, but he faces the arguments for the work's genuineness and faces them fairly. As one rereads, say, Reitzenstein after Paratore, it is striking that prejudices arising from the *Dialogus* have produced quite artificial interpretations of passages in the historical work of Tacitus, and in fact it is not too much to say that for some reason or other the *Dialogus* has confused our understanding of the historian's attitude toward the problems of his age. Perhaps the evidence of the *Dialogus* has not yet been skillfully integrated, but the reviewer is inclined to agree with Paratore that it cannot be used. There is at least sufficient doubt of its authenticity to disqualify it. Secondly Paratore draws a sharp and sound distinction between the Tacitus of the *Histories* and the Tacitus of the *Annals*.

In the Introduction the author reviews with many acute observations the tradition in which Tacitus wrote, his personality and his Thucydidean attitude of mind. Like Joseph Martin he puts emphasis on the speeches and the digressions as the truly Tacitean parts. He protests against those who concentrate on the reconstruction of a moral and religious system as the hinge of Tacitus' personality. Only a unity of a political character really exists in the work of Tacitus: it is the Roman rule, about the existence and destiny of which he meditates and torments himself, his vision of imperial Rome.

In a chapter on the historian's background Paratore first treats the theories concerning the origin of Tacitus, specifically whether the historian came from the city of Rome, from an Italian municipium, or from Gaul. The Gallic origin, he says, while not proved, remains the most likely, and it seems that Gaul is the center from which he looks at the world. The reviewer not only agrees heartily that Tacitus came from Gaul but admires Paratore's plan in which he attempts to reconstruct the society in which Tacitus grew up. However, the stimulating reconstruction is incomplete. There is no realization of the importance of all the difference between Italian families in any province and families of local origin, the merging of local groups or the strain of resistance, the widening or the narrowing of local oligarchies. Yet some of the comments on the attitude of senatorial families are excellent, for instance on the profound cleavage in the ruling class between the austere intransigence of its political ideas and the nature ever more varied and composite of its elements which weakened from within its power to stand up and fight. The Senate, he says, inherited the attitude of Caesar's colleague M. Calpurnius Bibulus: inertia and acquiescence became virtues. The behavior of Agricola in 69 A.D. did not have the coherence which Tacitus, who did not yet understand, tried to give it *post eventum*. Agricola, whose wife had just been murdered by the Othoniani, joined Vespasian whose first troops were Othoniani, because Vespasian had wooed him. He became a favorite of Domitian. Many senators of the Flavian party now had a guilty con-

science: "from this comes that very strong tendency to distinguish the reign of Domitian from those of Vespasian and Titus, to recreate for themselves a certain virginity by proving that joining the Flavians was justified in the excellent example provided by the first two representatives of the dynasty, whereas Domitian, disappointing the Senate's good faith, first made it an involuntary accomplice and then a victim of his unforeseen metamorphosis into a tyrant." Paratore sees Tacitus partly even using the dead Agricola in order to present himself as the voice of those right-thinking circles who had worked with Domitian but who were now trying to gain a place as supporters of Nerva and Trajan; perhaps there is in the mind of Paratore too close an analogy between the situations after Domitian and Mussolini, though undoubtedly he well understands the way men react to tyranny. A new and arresting suggestion is contributed that in the exordium of the *Agricola* Tacitus tries to present his hero as a martyr of liberty, though Paratore speaks of the absurd task of composing for the prudent Agricola a biography like those about Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio. Men like Tacitus and Pliny, who had continued the attitude of Agricola even in the worst hours, had never compromised themselves, but did not renounce, he says, for all that, the halo of martyrs even of the sixth day. Paratore treats interestingly but perforce conjecturally the effect of the recall of Agricola upon the whole family, and he concludes that Tacitus began to write in the spirit of the biographer of Thrasyllus Paetus and then learned from Thucydides and Sallust. Through his family experiences and his own political activity Tacitus discovered his true vocation, that of an historian animated by the need to see clearly in the world where he has hitherto lived.

After a chapter on the problem of the *Dialogus*, which he suggests may well be a work of Trajan's secretary Titinius Capito, he returns again to the *Agricola*, and discusses the influence of Sallust and the Thucydidean approach as in the paired speeches of Agricola and Calpurnius. He finds that despite its incomplete amalgamation and immaturity the *Agricola* has in embryo the two pillars on which the harmonious structure of the *Historiae* will eventually rise, (1) the Tacitean interpretation of the imperial regime or internal policy, and (2) the Tacitean interpretation of the foreign policy or Rome's relation to subject and border peoples. But in both the *Agricola* and the *Germania*, he notes, a motif sonorously orchestrated in the *Historiae* is entirely absent, that of the direct participation of the Occidental lands in the new, laborious, and bloody establishment of the imperial regime. Paratore returns to the old idea of Brunot that the *Germania* is really a fragment of the *Historiae*, except that he gives it a new turn by coupling it with the Jewish archaeology of *Historiae*, V, 5, to form a pair of distantly contrasting digressions, of which one grew too large and had to be published separately. Even on a first reading this seemed artificial to the reviewer, who believes that a more convincing interpretation of the *Germania's* genesis has now been given by Herbert Nesselhauf, "Tacitus und Domitian," *Hermes*, LXXX (1952), pp. 222-45. Still it should be read carefully, also what Paratore says about the rare vision of a youthful force containing a measureless potential of future great-

ness, and the reaction of Tacitus who judges like a true Roman in this, "the first great document of his maturity."

The section from page 341 to 570 constitutes in our opinion the best treatment of the *Histories* to be found anywhere, in its analysis both of the thought and of the style. For example, in Tacitus and especially in the Tacitus of the *Histories*, moralism, says Paratore, always has the function of heightening the narrative with color; it is mere dressing, not the prime substance of it, though it reveals the source of the Tacitean spirit in the choice of means of expression. Precisely that which has hitherto been regarded as the essential aspect of Tacitus, that of the artist, is determined, conditioned by his moralistic tendencies, and these in their turn are nourished by the special political bent which has impelled Tacitus to feed passionately on certain ideological and literary models. The motif of military indiscipline, for instance, is no moralistic motif but part of his interest in the military problem. Notations apparently moralistic obey a rigorously coherent rhythm of both political and artistic intuition. The moral reflections are not just rhetorical topoi but reveal a more solid and factual coherence, based on their precise reference to the situations and events which call them forth. In this spontaneous unity is one of the elements of fascination and dignity in the *Histories*, which even in this indirect way show themselves conceived and guided in obedience to an intimate need for historical and political clarification.

The two pillars of the Tacitean interpretation of the period 69-96 A. D. are formulated as the problem of the succession and the problem of Rome's relation to the provinces. Borrowing from the thesis of Guglielmo Manfrè, *La crisi politica dell'anno 68-69 d. C.* (Bologna, 1947), Paratore emphasizes the close connection between a Roman army of this period and the provinces in which it was recruited and lived, and says that for the first time the provinces through their troops determine who the emperor will be. As two high points he appreciates the speech of Galba on the adoption of Piso and the speech of Petilius Cerialis. For the right of succession Tacitus repudiates both the dynastic principle and the criterion of armed force. He now sees the party of Vespasian in a different light, but he still believes in the possibility of a compromise between the old republic and the new imperial actuality. The big change in Tacitus occurs, not between the *Agricola* and the *Histories*, but between the latter and the *Annals*. The author of the *Histories* still believes in Trajan, and what he really wants is a codification of the comfortable example of Trajan's adoption by Nerva. It is Italy and the Senate which represent the unity of the empire; but the crisis of 69 A. D. was not resolved by these forces but by the dangerous reawakening of the East.

The *Annals* seem to Paratore to have been published in installments, the earlier books under Trajan, the Neronian section under Hadrian. Tacitus, in Paratore's opinion, had already become disillusioned with Trajan and the principate before the semi-scandal of Hadrian's appointment, but the story in the *Vita Hadriani*, 4, that Trajan intended to leave it to the Senate to name his successor is exploited to show what the Senate hoped and expected. In deeply

probing discussion Paratore makes many contributions¹ and comes very close to opening a new door upon the *Annals*, but he seems to lose his way in the pessimism of the last work. He says that the *Histories* reflected Tacitus' own experience, not so the *Annals*. And he regrets that Tacitus is no longer interested in the same problems as the author of the *Histories*. But is it not a personal experience of Tacitus, the realization that the compromise between the constitution of the old republic and the new imperial actuality was impossible and that the Senate no longer had the necessary moral strength and that the principate was a tyrannical institution *per se* which must inevitably corrupt or undermine any incumbent? Is not this too a successful attempt to win historical and political clarity, to penetrate through a maze of false propaganda and credulity to the truth about the very soul of the empire? It seems to the reviewer that it was a man with remarkable historical insight who probably still in the reign of the *optimus princeps*, in a period when almost everyone believed that the emperor represented all segments and embodied the state, deliberately turned away from an appreciation of the new conditions and wrote instead about Rome's increasing servility and despotism. He starts with the decisive moment of the challenge upon the death of Augustus, the institution of the hereditary principate, and carries the reader through failure after failure and through the growth of arbitrary government by the emperor and his favorites and female relatives to the inevitable and almost final collapse in 68 A.D. Tacitus was the first to realize clearly that the Roman world was moving toward despotism and a slave state despite all the superficial improvement in administrative techniques. It was not that he failed to see the greater efficiency which almost everyone else saw. He saw it, but at the same time he saw something which others could not always see: *dum veritati consulitur, libertas corrumpitur*. The violation of the ancient *libertas* did become more open and flagrant under Tiberius, even if Tacitus is wrong in detail, even at times in generalization, and does not, because of the distance, really quite understand this emperor. The weaknesses which he attributes to the characters of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero are not untrue, not irrelevant; and if much that we wish to know about the successful policies of this or that emperor is not stated, his subject, the withering of Roman liberty and order at the core, dispenses him from giving it.

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¹ His interpretation (pp. 637 ff.) of the policy of Domitian as anti-oriental is not the best. At Athens and Delphi Domitian looked like a philhellene.

Aesopica: A Series of Texts Relating to Aesop or Ascribed to him or Closely Connected with the Literary Tradition that Bears his Name. Collected and critically edited, in part translated from Oriental languages, with a commentary and historical essay by BEN EDWIN PERRY. Volume I: Greek and Latin Texts. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1952. Pp. xxvi + 765. \$15.

As the title indicates, the scope of this work as a whole is enormous and demands an almost Scaligerian degree of labor and learning. This magnificent first volume of the projected series of three or four gives ample evidence that Perry is equal to the task. Herein is to be found "the substance, though not the various forms . . . of everything ascribed to Aesop or said about him in Greek literature down to the fall of Constantinople, and in Latin literature through Romulus, together with all the different fables, whether ascribed to Aesop or not, which were plainly regarded by the ancients as 'Aesopic.'" Nothing approaching this in magnitude has existed before and it is safe to say that all future study of the Aesopic tradition will rest on this vast collection and careful sifting of the basic texts.

It is divided into seven parts, of which the first four (pp. 1-291) are concerned with the ancient Lives of Aesop, the pertinent testimonia, and new collections of the Aesopic sententiae and proverbs. The last three (pp. 292-765) contain new editions of the several corpora of the fables, both Greek and Latin, and indices.

The first feature of Part I is an *editio princeps* of the new version of the Vita, found in MS G (No. 397) of the J. P. Morgan Library in 1929. It is a highly remarkable document both in content and form. Textually it is in sad condition, horribly corrupted in many places, permeated with itacisms and other misspellings, and sporadically disrupted by what look like incorporated variants and other marginalia. Furthermore its relation to the previously known "Westermann" branch of the tradition is so peculiar that only partial help in reconstruction can be derived from the latter. The result is that the difficulties which it presents to an editor are tremendous. Perry has overcome some of these difficulties,—often, to be sure, by the use of drastic surgery,—and has produced a fairly readable text. This is in itself a major accomplishment, and it would be unprofitable to single out from his many restorations individual items for commendation or disagreement. The important fact is that the indispensable first step has been taken. Time will doubtless bring further improvements. Meanwhile Perry has gone on with his far larger accomplishment.

As a modest contribution to the continued study of this important text a few suggestions on minor points may not be amiss.

Page 35, line 2. For ἰππρεσίαν read perhaps ἵπεραισίαν (cf. ἵπεραιστος).

" 37, " 10. For ἔλγν read ἑλόν.

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| " 41, | " 28. | For ταροῦ read σταυροῦ. |
| " 42, | " 11. | For τὸ βαθύ read τῷ βάθει. |
| " 43, | " 2. | For κινηθέντα read κοινωθέντα. |
| " 45, | " 28. | For λάθυμι read λάθοιμι. |
| " 56, | " 24. | For τὸν λουόμενον read τῶν λουομένων. |
| " 58, | " 23. | For τῶν σκάφων read τὸν σκάφον. |
| " 61, | " 27. | For λόγου read λογικοῦ. |
| " 62, | " 17. | For ημερα τὸ σκότος ἐφιμήσθην, read σημειοσκόπος ἐφημήσθην. |

The second section of Part I contains a completely new edition of the previously known version of the Vita, published over a hundred years ago by Westermann on the basis of one inferior manuscript. In his article "The Text Tradition of the Greek Life of Aesop" (T. A. P. A., LXIV [1933], pp. 198-244) Perry has analysed the relationships of over a dozen manuscripts and assigned them to three main families. Using the *stemma codicum* which he then constructed, Perry has produced the finished text, supported by seventy-five pages of an exhaustive apparatus.

The marked incommensurability of the text of G with that of W would have made a general inclusion of G's readings more confusing than helpful. Therefore there has been no attempt in this apparatus to correlate the readings of the two traditions. It is quite significant that even in the more closely parallel passages of G and of W, G often presents a synonym which is not identical with the reading of either of the conflicting branches of the W tradition.

Extensive sampling here and there has disclosed no point on which one can seriously disagree with Perry's choice of readings, and the utter smoothness of the whole text, minutely supported at every point, makes it plain that this edition is probably a definitive one.

The third section of Part I is an *editio princeps* of a Latin translation of the Vita found in a single manuscript (Cod. Bellunensis Lollianus 26, s. xiv). Perry has noted that this is a translation from the missing first two-thirds of Cod. Vaticanus gr. 1192, which belongs to one important branch of the W tradition. Herein lies its chief value, rather than in anything new which it contains. The text seems to be adequately corrected and edited.

In the preface to Part I Perry presents his theory of the relationship of the G and W versions and the probable history of the whole Vita tradition. Rejecting as highly unsuited to the tastes of the classical age any early prototype of the Vita in book form, he puts the origin of the tradition in Egypt between the years 30 B. C. and 100 A. D., at which time a Grecizing Egyptian first assembled in book form the floating popular tales about Aesop. To this Greek material, the compiler added the Babylonian-Egyptian, Lyeurgus (Ahikar)—Nectanebo episodes, modifying them to suit Greco-Egyptian tastes. In his narrative the compiler significantly substituted Isis for Apollo as leader of the Muses and portrayed Apollo in an unfavorable light, by making him the enemy of Aesop.

This not only is a sign of Egyptian origin, but it also marks the earliest form of the tradition as deliberately anti-Apollinian, and hence anti-academic and probably anti-Greek. Relics of this stage are apparent in the G Vita which in cc. 4-8 introduces Isis, and not

Apollo, as the leader of the Muses, and in cc. 100 and 127, where mention is made of Apollo's anger at Aesop.

In the stages between the original form and the text of the W recension a gradual process of condensation, substitution, revision, and expurgation was carried on by academically minded rhetoricians, clearest traces of whose activities are seen in Libanius and Himerius in the fourth century. This process had two deliberate and related purposes,—to re-vindicate Apollo and to adapt the primitive Greco-Egyptian folk-narrative in content and form to the cultivated tastes of the Greek readers of their age.

Evidence for this is to be seen in the fact that the greatly condensed chapters four to eight of W have lost nearly every trace of the Isis episode, and chapters 100 and 127 of W contain no mention of the anger of Apollo. All this fits well with the sharp contrast between the rough popular character of the G narrative and the rhetorically polished literary character of W.

This is an attractive theory, forcefully presented and persuasively argued. Doubtless it is somewhat presumptuous for a reviewer who has not devoted long study to the subject as the author has done to offer adverse criticism on so important a point. Yet after careful concentration on the purely textual basis of the theory I am forced to confess to a feeling of profound uneasiness. With all its brilliant ramifications the whole argument is strictly cumulative and stands or falls on two basic assumptions. The first is that the G tradition alone contains the Isis motif and the W tradition does not. The second is that the presence of the Isis motif in G is an indication of an enmity toward Apollo, which, it is implied, appears prominently elsewhere in G. If we focus attention strictly upon the actual texts, what evidence of these two assumptions do we find?

In the first place, Perry's claim that Isis is foreign to the W tradition is very hard to accept. In all three branches of the W recension the most important manuscripts (MPWO) all contain definite evidence of her presence (τῆς Ἰσιδος ἱερείς), as Perry records in his apparatus (p. 136). Moreover the whole Isis episode in G (cc. 4-8) which covers fifty-eight lines of Perry's text reappears in W although it is condensed to sixteen lines. If the main purpose of W's condensation was to *eliminate* Isis, how does it happen that she still appears here so unmistakably? Again, Perry declares correctly (p. 18) that the G text and the W text are so closely parallel throughout in phraseology that the archetypes of both must have come from a single codex. If this is so, why may we not draw the natural conclusion that Isis has come down normally through both branches of the tradition? Perry's explanation (p. 82, n. 1) is that we have here an accidental intrusion into W from the older tradition. But once this episode is finished, Isis does not reappear anywhere in either text. Is it not a little queer that she should be accidentally injected into this one critically decisive passage?

In the second place, the motif of the anger of Apollo is mentioned twice only in the whole text of G, at chapters 100 and 127. In both places it is very loosely incidental to the main narrative and occupies a total of less than two lines. Also it is clearly stated in chapter 100 that Apollo's anger was caused solely by the fact that

Aesop placed *Mnemosyne* instead of Apollo in honor among the Muses in the shrine at Samos. There is no hint anywhere in either text of any connection between this and the Isis motif. The latter comes in chapters 4-8. In chapter 33 of G Aesop is made to refer to Apollo as "leader of the Muses" and "he who is greater than the Muses." The only allusion to the "enmity" of chapter 100 is an incidental one-line cross-reference in chapter 127 when Aesop is in Delphi. Even in the final scene of Aesop's imminent death at Delphi (c. 142 of G) he calls upon τὸν προστάτην τῶν Μουσῶν to avenge his unjust execution, apparently as unaware of any enmity on the part of the god as he is in the W tradition. Surely a Greek-hating Egyptian compiler could have built up a stronger case than this to promote antipathy towards Apollo! And is this worth the trouble for rhetoricians to expurgate?

No one who has read both versions can deny that G is clearly popular and W is relatively literary, but it does seem that there should be some further explanation of their relationship which rests on stronger and more extensive textual evidence.

Part II contains 105 testimonia, including cross-references, on Aesop and the history of his fables. They are collected from scores of authors, Greek and Latin, ranging from Herodotus to Maximus Planudes, and from Phaedrus to Isidore of Seville. It is difficult to add any really significant items to the list. However, I am a little pained to observe that for some reason the one romantic touch in the tradition of Aesop's life has been omitted. Theophylactus Simocatta in his *Epist.* 60 observes sagely, "ἅπαντα τῷ γυναικέῳ φύλῳ δεδουλοῦνται," and then adds "Λαῖδος ὁ Διογένης ἐρᾷ, Σωστράτης ὁ Φρύγιος." I should like to know more about Sostrata.

This section not only constitutes an invaluable aid to all workers in the field, but contains brilliant and challenging suggestions and demonstrations of points on the periphery of the subject. Space permits mention of two or three only.

In notes on Testimonia 5 and 6 Perry demonstrates convincingly not only that the material on Aesop which appears in a fragment of Heraclides' *De Re Pub. Samiorum* (*F. H. G.*, II, 215) goes back to Aristotle's work of the same title,—a previously recognized fact—but also that this passage of Aristotle was in turn derived probably from the *Annales Samiorum* by Eugeon of Samos.

Again in a note on Testimonium 22 Perry gives good reason to think that another fragment of Heraclides (*F. H. G.*, II, 219) hitherto assigned to his *De Re Pub. Magnetum*, really comes from his *De Re Pub. Delphorum*. This turns on a brilliant substitution of the name Φάλης (cf. Plut., *Praec. Ger. Reip.*, 825B) for the MS Φάμυς.

In a note to Testimonium 64, in which Isidore of Seville attributes the origin of the fable to a certain Alemaeon Crotoniensis, Perry suggests that this may have been the origin of "Looman the storyteller" among the Moors of Spain. I discover that the same identification was made in 1848 by W. Hertzberg,¹ except that he reversed

¹ W. Hertzberg, "Abhandlung über den Begriff der Fabel, etc.," in *Babrius: Fabeln, übers. in deutschen Choliamben* (Halle, 1848), p. 125.

the process, deriving Alemaeon from Loeman, apparently the "Loeman Sapiens" of the Qurán. In any case, Perry's chronology is certainly superior!

Part III contains fifty-two of the so-called *sententiae* of Aesop, collected and edited from the Aesopic MSS, from the gnomologies of Maximus Confessor and of Georgides, from Stobaeus, and from other sources, including forty-four anonymous manuscript gnomologies. (Perry promises a new edition of Georgides.)

For some reason the *sententia* on the danger of habituation to grief cited in Stobaeus (IV, 44, 59) under the name of Sotion, but definitely assigned to Aesop by Plutarch (*Cons. ad Ux.*, 609 F) seems not to be included. It obviously belongs with the fable quoted both in this passage of Plutarch and also in *Cons. ad Apoll.*, 112A, which is Perry's Fable 462. Incidentally, the version in *Cons. ad Ux.* is considerably expanded over Perry's 462, but it, also, is not listed by him, presumably because it is being reserved for his commentary.

An interesting feature of this section, aside from its obviously great value as source material, is Perry's ingenious identification of Gregory Theologus as the true source of *sententiae* 31, 31a, which Crusius had mistaken as a fragment of an unknown metrical fable which served as the source of Babrius 86.

Part IV contains the most complete corpus of the Proverbs of Aesop ever assembled. Perry has fitted together the 143 proverbs of the Moscow-Dresden *Αἰσώπων Λόγοι*, thirty-six more from the *Αἰσώπων Κοσμικαὶ Κωμῳδίαι*, twelve from the *Παροιμίαι Αἰσώπων* of cod. Flor. Laur. lvii 24, and nine extracts from Georgides, to make up a total of 200 proverbs. He suggests shrewdly (p. 262) that this number agrees well with that which the Moscow codex (Mosq. 239) may be estimated to have contained before its mutilation. All proverbs have been carefully re-edited after consultation of photostats.

By far the greater part of this large volume, both in extent and in importance, is devoted to the massive re-editing of the whole corpus of the Fables, the general Greek Aesopic corpus in Part V, the Sintypas collection in Part VI, and the whole Latin corpus in Part VII.

One may get some idea of the thoroughness of the work by noting that in his collection of 471 Greek fables, Perry presents at least forty more than have appeared in any previous collection, gathered from the new G Vita, from papyri, Dio Chrysostomus, Himerius, Themistius, Aristides, Nicephorus, and other sources. Some of these are rather doubtfully ascribed to Aesop, but others are almost certainly Aesopic, such as numbers 425, 428, 431, 432, 438, 439, 451, 452, 455, 461. Most interesting of these is 452, on the lawsuit between the wolf and the ass, which Perry unearthed from an anonymous "Progymnasmata" in Walz's *Rhetores Graeci*. This has affiliations with the famous "Reynard the Fox" story in its manifold medieval forms.

It is impossible to summarize Perry's work on the classification and evaluation of the complex manuscript tradition of the fables. All that can be done is to indicate briefly the progress he has made since he laid down the main outlines in his *Studies* of 1936. Since

then he has discovered a new manuscript (Cod. Thessalicus Meteorensis, no. 154, s. xv), a photostat of which he has deposited in the University of Illinois Library (no. 881 A3 1400 f), containing 193 fables and quite similar to Pg (Hausrath's F). He now believes that G (of the Fables) and Pb (the old Augustanus) are derived from the same codex which is more recent than the source of Pg, Mb, Ca (Hausrath's C, F, Cas), and that both of these sources come in turn from a still more ancient common source, which was already contaminated with the still older Ia recension (cf. Hausrath's K) and with the metrical fables.

Only a systematic comparison, fable by fable, with the texts of Chambry and of Hausrath could show the care with which Perry has reworked the older manuscript evidence and incorporated the new evidence from the 226 fables of G, which he considers the star witness for the Augustana tradition, itself the oldest and purest source of the Fables. It is a little disappointing, however, to observe the apparent scarcity of instances in which G actually offers good readings independently of the other manuscripts in the Augustana tradition. A sampling of some fifty fables taken at random throughout the collection revealed scarcely one, although very frequently G supported either Pa or Pb in what was apparently the correct reading. On the other hand the number of solitary errors of G far exceeded that of any other manuscript. If this holds true throughout, it would seem that G's chief value is that of an independent witness of respectable age which may tip the balance toward Pa or Pb in cases of equally possible variants.

In his preface to Part VI, which contains the fables of the "Sintypas" collection, Perry enters the field of the Oriental adjuncts to the Aesopic tradition which are to be further exploited in future volumes of this series. The collection consists of sixty-two fables. In choosing between the readings of the two groupings of the Greek manuscripts, Perry has relied on two criteria. One is the relative closeness of the Greek texts to the Syriac texts, and the other is the closer resemblance of one or the other to the language and style of Michael Andreopoulos whom he identifies as the original translator of these fables from their Syriac original. A non-Orientalist reviewer cannot follow him further but must stop at the border.

Part VII contains 254 Latin fables which have not appeared in Greek form earlier in the volume. These have been excerpted from Phaedrus (85 fables), Avianus (six fables), and most of the rest from the huge collection assembled from various sources by Hervieux (*Les Fabulistes Latins*² [Paris, 1894]). They are included only to round out the corpus and no attempt has been made to re-edit the texts.

A series of eight indices concludes the volume. Of these the title indices of both Greek and Latin fables will be most useful to the general student. All titles are repeated when necessary under different key words in alphabetical order, and fairly extensive subject-matter indices have been added. The only serious mechanical blemish of the volume has resulted from the accidental omission on page 723 of a series of eleven entries after ἀλώπηξ ἀρνίον καταφιλοῦσα καὶ κύων. These are to be inserted as follows:

ἀλώπηξ, ἄρκτος καὶ λέων θηρεύοντες 416.
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ ἄρκτος 288.
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ βάτος 19.
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ γέρας 426.
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ ἐχίνος 427.
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ ἔχινος 96.
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ Ζεύς 107.
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ καρκίνος 116.
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ κολοῖός 126.
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ κόραξ 124.
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ κροκόδειλος 20.

On page 724 add in alphabetical order, ἀλώπηξ, λέων, καὶ ἔλαφος 336.

Whatever reservations one may make on individual points of theory, the fact remains that for the first time in this volume not only classicists, but also medievalists, students of comparative literature, folklorists, anthropologists, and others have before them *all* the original fable materials in Greek and Latin for use in future work in their respective fields. With the impetus provided by Perry's first volume, which will doubtless be intensified by his subsequent volumes, it is reasonable to look forward to greatly increased activity in this highly important branch of literary history. Meanwhile all scholars must congratulate the author on a work which in its massive and brilliant scholarship is easily the foremost contribution of the year to American classical philology and will have but few rivals in the present generation.

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F. KLINGNER, ed. Q. Horati Flacci Opera. 2nd ed. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1950. Pp. xxii + 4 + 378. \$3.75.

Klingner's new critical edition of Horace is not to be regarded as a thorough-going revision of the one which he had published in 1939.¹ Rather, it is intended to satisfy immediate needs for a complete text of the poet with an *apparatus criticus*, and it admittedly differs from the first version only in minor points. However, the restricted circulation of the latter, because of the inauspicious time of its appearance, perhaps justifies a somewhat more detailed consideration of the theoretical basis and other noteworthy features of the present book than would normally be accorded to an only slightly revised volume.

In the *praefatio* to the first edition, Klingner reviews summarily² the several theories held by the various scholars who have concerned

¹ A very brief description of the first edition, reviewed by A. P. McKinlay, can be found in *A. J. P.*, LXII (1941), pp. 122-3.

² To supplement the skeletal account of the preface a reader should turn to the editor's long preliminary article in two parts in *Hermes*, LXX (1935), pp. 249-68, 361-403.

themselves with the text tradition of the poet since the commencement of a new era in this study with K(eller)-H(older)'s monumental work begun in the second half of the last century. K.-H. had sought to import order into the chaotic state of a plethora of codices by establishing, on the basis of variants, three separate classes of manuscripts (I, II, III), the hyparchetypes of which *all* were to be traced back to antiquity and derived from a single archetype of the first or second century. While maintaining the essential independence of these three classes of witnesses to the text of Horace, they nevertheless had observed fairly obvious textual affinities between their first and second classes in the lyric portions and between their first and third classes in the dactylic poems. These relationships had suggested to Christ and Leo further simplification which Vollmer and Garrod embodied in their text editions.³ Vollmer, who preceded Klingner in editing Horace for the Teubner series, combined classes I and II of K.-H. into a single class which he designated as I (\sim Garrod's α), and class III of K.-H. became II in Vollmer's edition (\sim Garrod's β). Further, Vollmer contended that the two classes dated back no earlier than the ninth century when two copies were made from a single ancient exemplar which he derived from the Mavortian recension. However, such over-simplification of a truly complicated tradition does considerable violence to the observable facts of the actual situation, especially in that it obscures and distorts the inter-class relationships and the intra-class alignments of the individual codices in the several works, as they had already in great part been noted by Keller. Consequently, not many scholars were able to approve Vollmer's solution to the problem.

Then Klingner, some five years before the appearance of his first edition, undertook the delicate task of unravelling the intricate relationships of the more important manuscripts. To effect this, he invoked as a significant criterion of classification the titles which are affixed to the individual poems and are believed to go back to an ancient source.⁴ This resort to such a criterion in the case of the Horatian tradition does not spring from academic dilly-dallying over minutiae of microscopic worth but is a matter of practical necessity and a frank acknowledgment that the quality and character of the variants in a tradition with apparent cross-currents are not always sufficiently decisive. The results which Klingner gained from a careful study of the titles were then shown to be confirmed by his interpretation of the evidence of the variants. His conclusions are important for the constitution of the critical *apparatus* which accompanies the text in his edition.

³ Cf. W. v. Christ, "Horatiana," *Sitzb. Münch.*, I, 1 (1893), pp. 83-116; F. Leo, in his review of K.-H.'s 2nd edition of the 1st volume, *Gött. Anz.*, CLXVI (1904), pp. 849-56; F. Vollmer, "Die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Horaz," *Philologus*, Suppl. X, 2 (1905), pp. 261-322; *id.*, *Q. Horati Flacci Carmina*, 2nd ed. maior (Leipzig, 1912); (E. C. Wickham-) H. W. Garrod, *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1912).

⁴ Although Klingner refers to this criterion as "ein neues Mittel," he really means, as he also states, that no one previously had exploited for classification to the same extent that he does the evidence of these titles, which certainly had not gone unnoticed; cf. his article, "Ueber die Recensio der Horazhandschriften I," *Hermes*, LXX (1935), p. 252.

The editor holds the view that the extant manuscripts of Horace can be traced back to *three* hyparchetypes which he designates as Ξ , Ψ and Q . The codices which he includes under each of these classes are, by and large, those which K.-H. placed in their classes II, III and I, respectively.⁵ But here Klingner would have the similarity between his threefold system of classification and that of K.-H. end. For while the latter assign all three to antiquity and state as their general rule (though wisely not always followed), "eas lectiones veras esse diximus, quae in duabus classibus congruae inveniantur,"⁶ Klingner argues that only Ξ and Ψ represent currents which go directly back to antiquity. His theory regarding the Q -class marks his chief contribution to this knotty problem.

Utilizing the evidence contained in the titles,⁷ the editor deduces that the Q -class represents a ninth-century recension based on a collation of Ξ and Ψ , or, more precisely, of the hyparchetypes of the extant manuscripts of the Ξ - and Ψ -classes. In the *Epodes*, where the situation is most transparent, he finds that "im Hyparchetypus, aus dem $\alpha\gamma M$ stammen—wir nennen ihn Q —sind meist beide unvermischte Formen der Ueberschrift voneinander unterscheidbar beieinander gewesen."⁸ For the *Odes*, on the other hand, the form of the titles apparently indicates that the scribe of Q followed a copy of the Ξ -class as his chief exemplar, with but very slight recourse to the Ψ -tradition. Further, a study of the distribution of the text variants in the extant manuscripts shows that this evidence is not in conflict with deductions based upon the titles.⁹ In the dactylic portion of the Horatian corpus, where the testimony of the titles is indecisive, Klingner relies on the variant readings to determine the relationship of Q to Ξ and Ψ and concludes that the scribe of Q "in arte poetica, . . . epistulis . . . utrumque genus diligenter adhibuit, ita tamen, ut corruptelas quidem plures generis Ψ admitteret. quod factum esse existimaverim ita, ut, quoad fieri posset, ad sese adplicaret . . . in fine operum, i. e. in sermonibus, neutri generi addictus utriusque lectiones prudenter expendit saepissimeque verum recepit; ubi dubitabat, utramque lectionem legentibus examinandam proposuit. ita factum est, ut interdum pars librorum generis Q cum Ξ consentiat, pars cum Ψ ."¹⁰

The editor's arguments for attributing Q to early Carolingian times rather than to pre-mediaeval are chiefly based on the observation that Q contains practically nothing characteristic of an old independent tradition, as plainly do Ξ and Ψ ,¹¹ and that the manuscripts

⁵ While the classes are "fixed," an individual manuscript may shift its allegiance from one class to another. It is this shifting which greatly complicates classification of a single codex.

⁶ O. Keller-A. Holder, *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*, I, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1899), p. lxxxiii.

⁷ The titles are helpful for classification only in the lyric poems; cf. F. Klingner, *op. cit.* (see note 2), p. 377.

⁸ *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 257.

⁹ *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 361-403.

¹⁰ F. Klingner, *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1950), p. vii.

¹¹ Cf. *id.*, *Hermes*, LXX (1935), p. 383, "Es dürfte nicht möglich sein, den Textbestand von Q auf Ξ und Ψ zurückzuführen, wenn Q aus dem Altertum stammen sollte."

which the scribe of Q employed in his collation must have been late representatives of the Ξ - and Ψ -classes, "quod . . . in ipsis titulis plerumque formam casu mancam corruptamque generum Ξ et Ψ reddit, qualis in libris manuscriptis eorum generum exstat."¹² Hence, he believes that a date in the early ninth century, at the time of the Carolingian Renaissance, squares best with these facts. Such a line of reasoning, of course, does not so effectively exclude the possibility of a much earlier date for the origin of Q as it admits the probability of a later date. Further, while denying to Q the high dignity of antiquity which K.-H. attribute to their corresponding class I, Klingner's theory by no means wholly deprives Q of importance even where the other two classes are otherwise represented. The editor feels obliged to explain the places where Q offers in the titles certain significant details unattested in the extant manuscripts of Ξ and Ψ (e. g., in *Od.*, II, 4) or in the text a better reading than that of the usual representatives of Ξ and Ψ (e. g., in *Epist.*, II, 1, 27) as most likely due to the circumstance that Q goes back to somewhat older and better copies of Ξ and Ψ than the extant manuscripts of these latter classes. And herein lies the special value of Q as such.

Objectively considered, Klingner's theory of Q constitutes, in effect, a sort of compromise between K.-H.'s three-class system with three ancient hyparchetypes of independent value and a two-class system which, variously modified, found adherents in Christ, Leo, Vollmer, Garrod,¹³ and, most recently, Lenchantin.¹⁴ A study of the text situation makes it amply clear that there are two main currents of tradition in the surviving manuscripts of Horace. But, even apart from the hybrid nature of those codices which might be ranged conveniently under Klingner's Q or K.-H.'s I, the erratic behavior of individual codices or closely related ones which chiefly follow one current or the other strongly suggests that the archetype itself as well as the hyparchetypes carried in the margins and interlinearly a rich store of variants and glosses which in varying degrees appear in the text of the manuscripts which we now have. Because of apparent cross-currents, which may not be always due to later contamination or correction, a rigid classification of the codices is, of course, precluded. One solution to such a problem is to do as Vollmer, Garrod, and Klingner have done. The manuscripts can be arranged according to groups and sub-groups on the basis of agreements *en gros* while cognizance is taken of their individual vagaries as they occur. Such procedure is usually (but not always) conducive to a neat and compact *apparatus*. However, where one class is weakly represented, as Ξ in the *Satires* and *Epistles*, the

¹² *Id.*, *Q. H. Flacci Opera*, 2nd ed., pp. vii-viii.

¹³ See note 3. Christ, to be sure, speaks of "mindestens drei Archetypen des Altertums," but he evidently intends one of them to account for the tradition of the lost Blandinianus vetustissimus, which Klingner also regards as derived, in part at least, from a *tertius fons antiquus*; cf. W. v. Christ, *op. cit.* (see note 3), p. 114, and also *infra*, pp. 91-2 of this review. The older extant manuscripts are apparently divided by Christ into two main groups.

¹⁴ Lenchantin's emphasis on classes of variants rather than of manuscripts will be considered below.

situation often becomes quite uncertain. An example in point is *Epist.*, I, 3, 24. At the bottom of the page, immediately above the *apparatus*, Klingner lists, as usual, according to class, the principal manuscripts used for the constitution of the text:

Ξ: C acc. inter. (= aAγM acc. inter. Rπ)g Ψ: FλδπRQ.

Now, the correct reading *respondere* is found in all manuscripts except C, which gives *responsare*. In the *apparatus* the editor reports the readings thus: *respondere* Ψ *responsare* Ξ. Yet who would venture to deny that *responsare* might be the peculiar error of only a single manuscript and not of an entire class? Again, the classifier can be baffled when, as in *Od.*, I, 21, 5, one or more witnesses to each class part company with their fellows and agree with representatives of another class in an error.

Hence, in their *apparatus*, most editors, like K.-H., Villeneuve, and Lenchantin, deal with the problem of classification (or rather avoid it) by dispensing with class *sigla* and recording for each reading the manuscripts in which it is found. What such a method loses in neatness and brevity is more than amply compensated for by the clear unprejudiced view of the situation which is afforded the reader at every point. Moreover, Lenchantin attempts to supply a theoretical basis on which to justify such procedure by advocating, in lieu of manuscript classification, the principle of variant classification as a criterion for distinguishing in the surviving codices the currents which ultimately derive from antiquity.¹⁵ In this way, he circumvents the difficulty which confronts Klingner wherever the constituent elements of an established class of manuscripts disagree in a reading. But Lenchantin's two-class theory of variants scarcely differs, in its total effect on the constitution of the text, from Klingner's theory of three classes of manuscripts, one of which, Q, is wholly derived from the other two, Ξ and Ψ—with a liberal dash of contamination, real or apparent, in each.¹⁶ Despite their differences of approach to the problem, the fundamental agreement of these two great Horatian scholars of our time can most readily be seen when Klingner concedes, "quid verum sit, nec numero neque auctoritate testium diiudicari potest: expendendae sunt lectiones singulae," and Lenchantin states "ab alterutro genere in restituendo Horatio sumendum est quantum nulla opinione temere concepta veritatis speciem habet."¹⁷

The ingredients of Klingner's critical *apparatus* are compiled principally from a selection of the readings in K.-H.'s second edition. A

¹⁵ Cf. M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis, "Sulla tradizione manoscritta di Orazio," *Athenaeum*, N. S. XV (1937), pp. 137-46; *id.*, "Una nuova edizione critica di Orazio," *Riv. di filol.*, N. S. XVIII (1940), pp. 34-44; *id.*, "Diortosi e critica oraziana," *Rend. Ist. Lomb.*, LXXVII (1943-1944), pp. 310-14; *id.*, *Q. Horati Flacci Carminum Libri IV, Epodon Liber, Carmen Saeculare* (Turin, 1945), pp. xxxi-xxxii.

¹⁶ Büchner, while heartily approving Klingner's demonstration, is much too severe in condemning Lenchantin for steering clear of the intricate problem of determining the class relationships of contaminated manuscripts; cf. K. Büchner, "Horaz. Bericht über das Schrifttum der Jahre 1929-1936," *Burs. Jahresb.*, CCLXVII (1939), p. 21, n. 1.

¹⁷ Klingner's 2nd edition, p. xi; Lenchantin's edition (see note 15), p. xxxii.

collation of K (=codex S. Eugendi, nunc St. Claude n. 2, *saec.* xi), which was unknown to Keller, is added from Vollmer's second edition. Klingner's own contribution here is limited. After clarifying the position of R (= Vat. Reg. lat. 1703, *saec.* ix *med.*) in the tradition,¹⁸ the editor learned that a portion of that manuscript (*Sat.*, II, 1, 16 *poteras*—II, 8, 95) which Keller and others had neglected because of its apparent lateness was actually written by different scribes in the same century and from the same source or sources as the rest of R. Hence, he incorporates into his *apparatus* significant readings from this portion of R along with a few from one quire, containing *Sat.*, II, 5, 30—II, 8, 95, in Vat. Ott. lat. 1660. This one quire, which appears to show strains of the Ξ -class, otherwise weakly attested here, is believed to have been written *saec.* ix *ex.*, although the rest of the manuscript is assigned to *saec.* xiv. Klingner also renders a useful service in the *apparatus* by rectifying K.-H.'s confusing report of the readings in the Munich manuscript (Monacensis lat. 14685, *saec.* xi). He properly departs from their use of the symbol C to designate its readings in *Od.*, I, 1, 1—III, 26, 12 and from their use of E to mark its readings in the *Epistles*. It is much more logical to reserve one symbol, E, for those portions of the codex which belong to the Q-class (\sim K.-H. I) and to keep another, C, for those parts (*Od.*, III, 27, 1—*A. P.*, 440; *Sat.*, I, 4, 122—I, 6, 40; II, 7, 118—II, 8, 95; *Epist.*, I, 1, 1—II, 2, 216) which go with the Ξ -class (\sim K.-H. II).¹⁹

So far as the now traditional problems of the Mavortian recension and of Cruquius' ill-fated Blandinianus vetustissimus are concerned, Klingner has little or nothing to offer. Indeed, a reader may be somewhat surprised at first to learn that the editor does not even mention in his preface the Mavortian subscription which is found in some manuscripts at the end of the book of *Epodes*. Surely, a brief word on the subject, even if it raises more questions than it answers regarding the tradition, would not be wholly out of place in a critical edition.

In the case of the Blandinianus vetustissimus, Klingner follows the school of those scholars who acknowledge the importance of its testimony. However, when he states that some of its peculiar readings are to be traced back to a third ancient source, one other than Ξ and Ψ , he is assuming what has yet to be demonstrated.²⁰ The one reading to which this now destroyed manuscript most owes its reputation is, of course, that in *Sat.*, I, 6, 126, where, with the

¹⁸ Vaticanus R, which is especially noteworthy for its preservation of old orthographical forms, is derived by Klingner from older representatives of Q and Ψ than those which are now extant. Since R is assigned to about the middle of the ninth century, a *terminus ante quem* for the origin of Q is established; cf. F. Klingner, *Hermes*, LXX (1935), pp. 366-71, 375-6, 384-9, 390, 399-402.

¹⁹ Cf. F. Klingner, *ibid.*, pp. 380-1. The appearance of E in Klingner's *apparatus* at *Epist.*, I, 1, 71 and 72 must be a slip. A few other slight errors in the *apparatus* may conveniently be listed here: on *Od.*, III, 4, 29 read *om.* B; on *Od.*, III, 11, 30-31 read *31, 30* M; on *Sat.*, I, 3, 4 after *possit* read Ξ (*acc.* γ) for Ψ (*acc.* γ); on *Sat.*, I, 4, 60 omit the dittography; on *Sat.*, I, 7, 8 read Ψ (*acc.* K) for Ψ (*acc.* Q); on *Sat.*, II, 5, 24 read *seu* for *sen*.

²⁰ Cf. p. viii of his new edition.

Gothanus and Paris. 9219, it offers the attractive *campum lusumque* (*lusitque* Gothanus) *trigonem* for the vulgate *rabiosi tempora signi*. But an examination of the witnesses to the text at this point shows that there is no cogent reason why the reading of the Blandinianus cannot here derive from the Ξ-class. In fact, a survey of the situation prompts the general conclusion that Klingner's Ξ-class in the *Satires* (and *Epistles*) is usually so weakly constituted that the assumption of a third ancient source to explain peculiar readings in the Blandinianus is precarious, if not gratuitous. Further, when, as in *Od.*, IV, 6, 21, he adopts, whether rightly or wrongly, as correct the reading *flexus*, found in the Blandinianus, in preference to *victus* of Ξ (including Q) and Ψ, which are apparently well represented here, the circumstance does not so much indicate the existence of a third ancient source as it illustrates the inherent limitations of editorial procedure which relies mainly upon the past labors of others for the testimony of manuscripts. For the reading *flexus* is now known to exist as a second-hand entry in two manuscripts, Vat. lat. 3866 (*saec.* xi) and Flor. Laur. 34, 1 (*saec.* x-xi),²¹ both of which show marked characteristics of the editor's hybrid Q-class.

Klingner came to know about the former of these manuscripts, Vat. lat. 3866, which he had studied in facsimile, too late to incorporate its readings into the *apparatus* of his first edition, and the *temporum iniquitas* prevented him from using it even for his second edition. Similarly, while he claims to have recognized the value of Laurentian codices for the text since the spring of 1940, he was unable to avail himself of Flor. Laur. 34, 1 for the present edition. The editor was evidently unaware of the collation of the Laurentian codex which was published in 1892,²² or of the superb facsimile reproduction which appeared in 1933,²³ or of Lenchantin's learned article on the manuscript in 1939.²⁴ However, a glance at some readings in the Laurentianus prompts Klingner to say that although it belongs to his Q-class, "potest tamen fieri, ut Laurentianus L peculiari quodam vinculo cognationis cum Ξ coniunctus ad invenendas agnoscendasque lectiones eius generis quibusdam saturarum locis non inutilis esse videatur. eam quaestionem iniudicatam relinquo."²⁵

Whatever special relationship between the Laurentianus and Ξ may later be determined,²⁶ the reviewer wishes here to suggest and

²¹ Cf. M. Lenchantin's edition (see note 15), *ad loc.*

²² P. Rasi's collation of the Laurentianus was printed in the preface of H. Stampini's *Q. Horati Flacci Opera* (Modena, 1892), pp. xxxvii-lxi. A list of some readings from this manuscript may also be found, under the designation I, in the *discriptio classium* of K.-H.'s 2nd edition (see note 6), I, pp. lxxxiii-cvii.

²³ Cf. E. Rostagno, *L'Orazio Laurenziano già di Francesco Petrarca* (Rome, 1933).

²⁴ M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis, "Quale posto occupi nella tradizione manoscritta di Orazio il cod. Laurenziano xxxiv, 1, già in possesso di Francesco Petrarca," *Rend. Ist. Lomb.*, LXII (1939), pp. 429-35.

²⁵ F. Klingner's 2nd edition, p. xix.

²⁶ Klingner is perhaps suggesting a special connection of the Laurentianus with Ξ and Q in the *Satires*; compare his derivation of the Vaticanus R from Q and Ψ, on which see note 18.

A cursory examination of the facsimile edition of the Laurentianus

recommend that before any attempt is made to establish the affinities of any Horatian codex, a thorough and systematic examination should be conducted to ascertain, so far as possible, the date and source of the corrections and additions in the manuscripts with which it is compared. This is often difficult, sometimes impossible, but nevertheless indispensable if any degree of precision is to be achieved. Anyone who has himself wearied his eyes in reading manuscripts might sympathize with those who would avoid this laborious task, but the advance of palaeographical studies during the last half century has been such that a close re-examination of the source material for the text is eminently desirable. It is regrettable that in a critical edition of Horace so little space is devoted to a consideration of the various hands at work on codices which are employed to establish the text. Where this has been done, as in the case of Vaticanus R, much has been learned.²⁷ Further, a comparison of Klingner's *apparatus criticus* with the fuller one of K.-H. shows how extremely cavalier the present editor has been in recording the errors, corrections, and additions of the manuscripts which he cites. If, as is probable, this was done for economy of space, then the principles governing the selection should be clearly stated in the preface and adhered to in the *apparatus*.²⁸ It makes a

shows that it contains in the text many readings which differ from those attributed to Q in Klingner's *apparatus criticus*. In such instances, the Laurentianus usually agrees either with one of the other classes or with both of them. However, it should be observed that this agreement in the former case (i.e., Laurentianus with Ξ or Ψ) usually involves what is generally considered the correct reading, in the latter case (i.e., Laurentianus with Ξ and Ψ) it always does. There are also places where the Laurentianus agrees with Q in the text but contains variants (apparently by different hands at times) which can be referred to one or both of the other classes. Before any definite conclusions can be drawn, a direct inspection of this codex by a competent palaeographer is needed to determine, with a detailed precision such as has not yet been done, the date of the very many corrections and additions in it. But, unless an intricate relationship between the Laurentianus and the other classes is to be constructed, its Ξ- and Ψ-readings, which are not found in Klingner's current Q-class and are not due to later contamination or interpolation, can still with some plausibility be attributed to a rather amorphous hyparchetype Q, crammed full with interlinear and marginal variants and glosses.

²⁷ Cf. F. Klingner's 2nd edition, pp. viii-xii.

²⁸ Klingner, it is true, does make it plain that he is interested in the readings of the individual manuscripts insofar as they reflect class relationships, "omissis levioribus mendis, quibus generis color non obscuratur"; cf. his 2nd edition, p. xvi. However, this procedure can sometimes be deceiving as new material is uncovered. For example, by omitting the reading *agnam* of M(ellicensis 177, saec. xi) at *Od.*, I, 4, 12 the editor would have the reader believe that Q, to which M belongs, had only the correct reading *agna*. But now the reading *agnam* is found in Vat. lat. 3866 and in Flor. Laur. 34, 1 by the first hand, and both these codices are believed to go with the hybrid Q-class; cf. M. Lenchantin's edition (see note 15), *ad loc.* Similarly, despite Klingner's silence, not all his Ψ-representatives give the correct *tamen* on *Od.*, I, 7, 22, for φψδπ offer *ter*, an obvious but significant error. Again, at *Sat.*, II, 5, 36, it might have been well to record in the *apparatus* that

difference whether the reader knowingly is getting an incomplete view of the situation or unwittingly is receiving a distorted picture of the textual behavior of the individual manuscripts.

As for the text itself, the editor displays, on the whole, studied conservatism and self-restraint. None of the passages deleted (cf. *Od.*, II, 16, 21-24; III, 11, 17-20; IV, 8, 17 and 33; *Sat.*, I, 10, *1-8; *Epist.*, I, 18, 91) is bracketed solely on his own authority; no transposition (cf. *Epod.*, 16, 61-62 after v. 52; *Epist.*, II, 1, 101 after v. 107; *A. P.*, 45 after v. 46) originates with him; no emendation is made or proposed by him, and out of about a score of emendations admitted into the text none is apparently later than the first half of the nineteenth century, most being considerably earlier—an interesting indication of the editor's own opinion of recent efforts at text correction in Horace.²⁹ The brief *testimonia*, which are conveniently given on each page between the text proper and the *apparatus*, are, for the most part, abstractions from the copious collection in K.-H.'s second edition.³⁰ Klingner claims as his own chief contribution on this score a careful re-examination of the Horatian *scholia* to determine more precisely than has heretofore been done the reading which the scholiast had before him. In view of this, it is somewhat surprising to find that he believes that on *Od.*, III, 24, 4 Porphyrio read, instead of *Tyrrhenum* of the codices, *terrenum*, which Lachmann "restored" to the text. But Porphyrio's note, taken for what it is worth, surely gives no warrant to think this. When he says, "... aedificiis novis non terram tantum, verum etiam maria occupantem," the point of emphasis is not on the first member of the expression, *terram*, the mention of which in Horace's coordinate phrase would be rather weak, but on the second part, *maria*, which incidentally is plural and may well indicate the mention of two seas in the poet's verse. Further, the use of specific geographic names is characteristic of his style. Hence, too, the variant *publicum*, which Klingner adopts in the same verse, is extremely dubious.

Finally, as in his first edition, Klingner concludes his volume with a series of appendices which he has taken over, with slight modifications and corrections, from Vollmer's edition. They contain useful information arranged under the familiar headings *Conspectus Metrorum*, *Metrica et Prosodiaca*, *Notabilia Grammatica*, and *Index Nominum*.

In summary, we have here the second edition of a text with an *apparatus* which is more the product of an independent reassessment of the known evidence than of an original investigation for new material. A novel feature upon which it is based is the extent to which the titles affixed to the poems are employed in the classi-

most codices offer *quassa* instead of *cassa*, which the editor adopts, especially since the former reading has been retained and defended by some scholars; cf. P. Lejay, *Oeuvres d'Horace, Satires* (Paris, 1911), *ad loc.*

²⁹ One or two errors detected in the text may be noted here: *Epod.*, 17, 11 for *additum* perhaps *addictum*, the reading of most manuscripts, was intended—Klingner is silent in the *apparatus*, and *additum* is also found in Vollmer's edition, but cf. K.-H.'s edition *ad loc.*; *Epist.*, II, 1, 43 for *poneter* read *ponetur*.

³⁰ The scholion on Pers., 3, 93 is wrongly referred to *Sat.*, II, 4, 53. The reference should be to *Sat.*, II, 4, 55.

fication of the manuscripts. Its chief merit lies in redefining and illuminating some of the main problems of the text tradition. While it by no means renders obsolete the major editions of the past, still it can take a worthy place alongside most of them under the towering shadows of K.-H.'s elaborate second edition.

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GERHARD MÜLLER. Studien zu den platonischen Nomoi. Munich, C. H. Beck, 1950. Pp. 194. Bound, DM. 15. (*Zetemata: Monographien zur Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, herausgegeben von Erich Burek und Hans Diller, Heft 3.)

It is the thesis of this book that *Epinomis* and *Laws* stand together among the works of Plato in contrast to other works. After a brief statement of the problem there are chapters on the philosophy of the *Laws*, the style of *Laws* and *Epinomis*, and the political ideal of the *Laws*. A brief statement of conclusions and an index of references to passages in Plato complete the book.

The author concludes that the *Laws* was not left incomplete by Plato, was not a hasty production, was not in the least revised by an editor, and that *Laws* and *Epinomis* are separated from earlier works of Plato by a profound gulf. In these later works the lack of conceptual clarity, the awkwardness and artificiality of style, and the inconsistency of the political ideal betray a bastard mixture of genuine Platonism with trivialities that weaken and pervert it, and prepare the way for Hellenistic philosophy.

It is unusual to find a scholar who maintains that the *Epinomis* is genuine Plato, but not the *Epistles*. Müller thinks that the latter may be a work of fiction. He ignores the fact that, so far as we know, no ancient Greek ever wrote lively and moving prose fiction. To be sure the youthful Plato could write lively fiction. But who else could have produced anything as vivid and personal as the *Epistles*? The major concerns that appear in them, the oracular bursts of style, the apparent lack of organization, the sudden shifts of interest, and the heightened eloquence that betrays hidden springs of feeling are also found in the early books of the *Laws*.

Müller does not attempt to solve the problem why Plato wrote as he did in the *Laws*, and he avoids psychological analysis. He rightly notes that Wilamowitz was wrong in speaking of the tone of the work as pessimistic. Actually Plato seems never to have given up his belief in the fundamental rationality and goodness of life. Hence his readiness to grasp at any new discovery or new argument that might persuade the young to devote themselves to the task of political and moral reform. Failure made him only more determined. He wrote as he did because he was a man of many insights and great confidence in his own superiority. Jaeger and Wilamowitz rightly seek in his personality the clue to his variety.

If I were trying to demonstrate the genuineness of the *Epinomis*, I should lay chief stress on Raeder's statistics for hiatus and on Billig's for the clausulae. To avoid hiatus entirely or to imitate a fluent style like that of Isocrates might not be too hard, but to reproduce and exceed the tortured grandiloquence of the *Laws* and to show almost exactly the preference of Plato for certain clausulae is too much to expect of a forger on the scale of the *Epinomis*. Anyone with a feeling for rhythm must recognize the likeness of *Epinomis* to *Laws* in style at least. It is a much greater feat to find a formula that demonstrates statistically the identity of rhythm in the two works. Müller knows Raeder's work (*Platons Epinomis* [Copenhagen, 1938]) only through a review in *Gnomon* (XVI [1940], pp. 289 ff.) that does not mention his statistics for hiatus. He seems not to know the work of L. Billig ("Clausulae and Platonic Chronology," *Journal of Philology*, XXXV [1920], pp. 254 ff.), a work that has been most undeservedly neglected by nearly all scholars. It provides a much stronger argument for the genuineness of *Epinomis* and *Epistles* than the sort of evidence afforded by slight variations of vocabulary or syntax.

In fact the quest for a special rhythm may well account for much circumlocution and for such words as ἀλληλοφαγίας (975 A 5) and διαλεγόμεθα (990 C 1), which end or begin with Plato's preferred fourth paeon. It is usual to compare awkward writing in the *Epinomis* with inoffensive passages from the *Laws*. Müller's method is to cite awkward bits from the *Laws* to match the *Epinomis*. But parallels are so often inexact and interpretations or text so often uncertain that doctors are likely to go on disagreeing. Many arguments can be turned either way. I agree with Kurt von Fritz (*R.-E.*, s. v. "Philippos von Opus") that considerations of style do not prove the *Epinomis* to be un-Platonic.

The statement of Diogenes Laertius that Philip of Opus copied off the text of the *Laws* from wax tablets should not be taken to indicate that the *Laws* was not published until after Plato's death. Few old men can read without glasses. Plato presumably suffered from presbyopia and was unable to read his own writing or to use ink. The legislative part of the *Laws* must have been known to Isocrates before 353 B. C. when in his *Antidosis* (79-83) he belittles the writing of laws. See my article "The Preludes to Plato's *Laws*" (*T. A. P. A.*, LX [1929], pp. 1-24) for refutation of the arguments that are supposed to prove that the *Laws* was begun after 356 and for evidence that Books 1-5 come from the period before 361 when Plato hoped to educate the tyrant Dionysius. Plato's outlook shifted as he wrote, and as he became dependent on his amanuensis, he could no longer revise his work personally. Yet where there is corruption in our text of the *Laws*, it is sufficiently explained by normal errors of scribes. The *Laws*, be it noted, was much less read and corrected by readers than more popular works of Plato. The *Epinomis* was even less read. It was in fact totally neglected by one editor (A²O³) whose notes for the *Laws* appear in our two best manuscripts. Müller gives his opinion on textual questions, being in general against emendation. He intends to produce a new edition. His statement that nothing has been done for the text since Wilamowitz' book is

unjust to the editors of the Budé series and to others who have collated manuscripts of Plato.

One whose thesis compels him to seek inconsistency and obscurity in the *Laws* is armed against explanations that clarify the meaning. The first two books of the *Laws* are an argument against drunkenness using the indirect approach that teachers of rhetoric called "insinuation." There is more insinuation in the next book, still aimed at Dionysius the young tyrant, and pointing to his need of Dion and Plato to guide him. In Book 5 constitutional organization is discussed and from this point Plato has a less personal message. When later he discusses laws in detail there is another shift. He forgets his reformed state and produces a digest of Greek law as it existed in unreformed Athens or elsewhere with some changes.

Plato is fascinated by mathematical explanations of motion. I have noted cryptic references to cycloids (893 D, E) and to the principle of the lever (893 C, D) in the *Laws* (see *A. J. P.*, LXV [1944], pp. 339 f.). So sure was Plato that the motion of the planets could be explained by "circular movement" that he makes this an article of faith and raises astronomy to the position of highest wisdom. The *Epinomis* introduces new details, but I agree with Müller that Plato made the decisive step when in the *Laws* he apotheosized the physical heavens. It was nearly two thousand years before this error was retrieved.

Yet Plato would have classed the planetary motion, I suppose, as secondary, a motion of transmission, not of initiation. *Nous* is still the creator; hence *nous* is still prior to *logos*, which is only a partial formulation or expression of intelligence. It has not, I believe, been observed that *logos* in *Epin.* 986 C (συναποτελῶν κόσμον ὃν ἔταξεν λόγος ὁ πάντων θεϊότατος ὁρατὸν) is part of a circumlocution for *theologia*. Since popular etymology has turned "good-spell" into "God-spell" in English, as the pronunciation indicates, we might translate: "Bringing to completion an ordered array that was marshaled by the gospeliest gospel of all." *Logos* is not the creator, but the creator's design (λόγου καὶ διανοίας θεοῦ, *Tim.* 38 C), which becomes the visible pattern of celestial movement, a *logos* displayed in the sky (*Tim.* 47 B, C), which, when made a subject of study, becomes theology in the usual sense of the term. The order of God produces the order in the heavens, which in turn makes men who understand it orderly and capable of ordering the lives of others. Thus there is always a distinction between *nous* and *logos* in Plato, though Müller denies this.

To point out other cases where I do not accept Müller's interpretation would be tedious. It is not surprising that some of his many references are not quite accurate. Furthermore not all are included in the index. But no flaws can obscure the fact that this book argues an important matter and must be considered in any future discussion of its subject.

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MARCEL HOMBERT et CLAIRE PRÉAUX. Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte romaine. Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1952. (*Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava*, Vol. V.)

P. Bruxelles Inv. E. 7616 is part of a roll recording the census of 174 A. D. It is of special interest since few documents have been preserved from the Prosopite nome. Individual returns had been glued together for filing in the office of the royal scribe. After the necessary data had been recorded the rolls were sold for private use, and the verso of this document was used for farm accounts apparently within a year after the census was taken. Two returns from the village of Theresis are preserved on the recto (numbered 98-99), and the remainder (numbered 92-107) came from Thelbothon Siphtha.

Literacy was not high at Thelbothon Siphtha. Only two householders were able to make their own declarations. Apparently an itinerant commission appeared at this village on Epiph 25-26 going from house to house. They may have brought their own scribes with them. It is of interest to note that Pantbeus and his three brothers made two reports on the same day, one of the house where they and their families lived (Col. X), another of an unoccupied house and lot which they owned (Col. XVI). Different scribes wrote each declaration.

The text offers few difficulties. In Col. XII $\nu\upsilon\beta()$ is probably not a place name but a building of uncertain nature. It is found frequently in Marmarica (*P. Vat.* 1). The abbreviation $\alpha\nu\lambda$ in Col. V is not easily resolved. Is it possible to read $\alpha\pi(\epsilon)\lambda(\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma)$?

The publication of this roll has led the editors to make a comprehensive study of the Egyptian census, and this constitutes the major portion of the monograph. The evidence from the First Dynasty to Diocletian is conveniently summarized. Under the early Ptolemies, extant records are limited to registrations for the salt tax, but since this was a slight levy (4 ob. per man, 1½ ob. per woman), it is probable that this registration served other purposes as well. Documents from the second century have as yet yielded no evidence for a census, but in the first century the *taographia* at Tebtynis indicates a census of the male population for the purpose of levying a capitation tax. Whether this was annual or taken at longer intervals cannot be determined with the available evidence. The editors reject the theory that a fourteen-year cycle existed in the Ptolemaic period and believe that the existence of such a cycle cannot be proved before 33/34 A. D.

The acute observation of the editors (p. 48) that the *epicrisis* of Tryphon and his family at Oxyrhynchus in the 41st year of Augustus was really a census return furnishes an important clue to the nature of the census under Augustus. Tryphon, aged 64, was a master weaver, and he had four sons aged 37, 34, 21, and 3 years, respectively (*P. Oxy.* 288). Obviously, this was not the usual *epicrisis* of lads about to be enrolled in the privileged class of taxpayers. They should have noted *P. Oxy.* 314, where the *epicrisis* of the same family is recorded for the 42nd year of Augustus. These documents

establish the fact that there was an annual census of males, or at least a census of males of the privileged class, in 11/12 and 12/13 A. D. We may call this a census of the *epicrisis* type to distinguish it from the later 'domicile' (κατ' οἰκίαν) type of the fourteen-year cycle. The former listed only male members of the household with ages and trade. Since minors were included, it may have been limited to the privileged class. There is insufficient evidence to determine the nature of the *graphe* of 4/5 A. D. (*P. Oxy.* 257, 1266; *P. S. I.* 457), but it may also represent an annual *epicrisis* (cf. *P. Oxy.* 255, 17). This annual census may be a continuation of the Ptolemaic *taographia*, but it should be noted that the latter is recorded only in villages, while the *epicrisis* of Augustus may be limited to metropolitans. There is no certainty about the meaning of the registration of public farmers at Theadelphia in 19 and 18 B. C. "wishing a subsidy" (θέλων σύνταξιν). A similar registration at Hermopolis under Macrinus and Quietus (Wilcken, *Chr.*, 425) was made in a period of famine. I agree with Wallace in questioning Wilcken's suggestion that τελών should be read instead of θέλων in the Theadelphia papyri. There seems no reason why public farmers should register as taxpayers.

While there is definite evidence of an annual census of the *epicrisis* type as late as 12/13 A. D., this may have been limited to the privileged group of metropolitans, but it is not impossible that all classes were numbered. Luke (2.1) implies that there was a universal registration of the Empire ordered by Augustus, and that the Syrian-Palestinian enrollment took place under Quirinius as governor. This registration may not have taken place in every province simultaneously, and there is no proof that the Syrian census was related to that in Egypt.

Was there a fourteen-year cycle for the registration of the entire population along with an annual *epicrisis* of the privileged metropolitans? I think that such a procedure is unlikely. In the post-Augustan period the census included all citizens of every age and sex, while the *epicrisis* was limited to sons of the privileged class to determine whether they were eligible for admission to the group. There was some reform between 13 and 34 A. D. Can this reform be dated with any certainty? There is nothing in the history of Egypt which seems to warrant dating this in 34 A. D., the first datable return of the new type, but if we carry the cycle back to 19/20 A. D. the evidence, though perhaps not conclusive, is more decisive. It is true that *P. Oxy.* 254 and *P. Milanese* 3 bear no actual date, but internal evidence indicates that both are dated about this time, when Eutychides and Theon were in office at Oxyrhynchus (*P. Oxy.* 252) and Harthotes, even if one allows for some inexactness in giving his age, must be contemporary. Both documents definitely belong to the 'domicile' type and neither one bears any affinity to the annual *epicrisis* of the Augustan period. Moreover, Tiberius was deeply concerned in Egyptian affairs at this time. Germanicus had been sent to Syria with an extraordinary command to settle affairs in the East. After Asiatic problems were settled, he visited Egypt. Tacitus would have us believe that he went as an ordinary tourist and without imperial knowledge or consent, and that

the emperor rebuked his son for violating one of the *arcana* of empire. Yet Germanicus evidently believed that his *imperium* extended over Egypt (*cura provinciae praetendebatur*) and he so acted in opening the granaries for the benefit of Alexandrians. Whether it was due to his recommendation or not, Tiberius made far-reaching reforms in Egyptian currency, and we may suspect that others were carried out at the same time. While it cannot be urged that there is definite proof that the fourteen-year cycle was inaugurated in 19/20 A. D., the cumulative effect of the evidence here cited points to that date.

The cycle of fourteen years remained in use until 257/8 A. D. It is uncertain whether Rome was in effective control of Egypt in 271/2, and there is no evidence of a census in that year. The *epigraphe* established by Diocletian in 287 seems to be based on a five-year cycle devised for the purpose of providing the military *annona*. This cycle, which had long existed in Egypt for land rentals and tax farming, was apparently the model for the *epigraphe*, and after 297 for the indiction. Although Diocletian called for a census of the people in proclaiming the indiction of 297, the revolt of Achilleus and Domitianus seems to have delayed the plan (*C. P.*, 1950, p. 13).

The remainder of this monograph is devoted to a study of the Egyptian census. The reviewer must here limit himself to a summary of important points. The doctrine of the *idia* or *origo* is examined for the first time in the light of the census returns. The *forma censualis* is set forth in the same way with all its manifold variations. Most valuable is a study of the purpose of the census. This was a numbering of the people primarily, but the returns were made not only to single officials, but also to groups of officials. In the latter case the returns passed through the various bureaus and pertinent facts were noted. The census thus provided material for various capitation taxes, army recruiting (though not so much in Egypt as in other provinces), liturgies, etc. The paper work involved not only for the declarer but also for the various bureaus was enormous. Finally, our modern editors use these returns in a valuable series of demographic studies. They rightly warn that statistics based on comparatively few surviving documents cannot be regarded as authoritative, but the results are no less interesting in dealing with various social phenomena such as brother-and-sister marriages, proportion of males to females, age of marriage, fecundity, and mortality.

This monograph is invaluable not only for a study of the Egyptian census, but also for social conditions. It is fully documented under each phase of the subject. Conflicting theories are stated fairly and impartially. The evidence is cited and the reader is able to form his own conclusions. From their familiarity with the sources, they have been able to suggest many new readings. This reviewer declines the function of proof reader but in reviewing this monograph he has verified many of the citations and in every case found them correct. For sound and accurate scholarship, this work is to be highly commended.

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VIGGO BRØNDAL. *Théorie des Prépositions. Introduction à une sémantique rationnelle.* Traduction française par Pierre Naert. Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1950. Pp. xxii + 145. \$2.50.

Viggo Brøndal, who died in 1942, has been regarded in this country, rightly or wrongly, as occupying one pole in the so-called Danish school of structural linguistics, the other pole of which is held by the rather better known linguist, Louis Hjelmslev. In a recent article entitled "Directions in Modern Linguistics," *Language*, XXVII (1951), pp. 211-22, Einar Haugen gently reproved American structuralists for neglecting the parallel efforts of their Danish colleagues. He confessed that Hjelmslev's system of descriptive analysis ("glossematics") does indeed emphasize a factor of meaning which is anathema to some members of the American school. But at the same time he indicated that Hjelmslev, like his American counterparts, aimed at analysis of a language through criteria inherent in the language under discussion. With commendable fairness, Haugen went on to direct some well-merited criticisms against the circularity implicit in any such analysis which is made in terms of its own constituent utterances.

This was a palpable hit. Rulon Wells, *Language*, XXVII, pp. 554-70, in a long and arduous review of a volume of Danish structuralist essays, *Recherches Structurales 1949* (Copenhagen, 1949), interpreted with considerable subtlety the main ideas of Hjelmslev and his disciples. As a fugleman of the American descriptivists, Wells rose gamely to the defense of the "metalinguists," to use the name which Haugen had appropriately coined. Wells confined himself to the relatively limited field of phonemics; here, since the elements of selection are minimal, structuralist analysis has been applied with most success. He granted that "to ascertain the phonemic contrasts of a language without considering meaning would be a grotesquely inefficient method, which no one in his senses would propose" (much as Bernard Bloch in *Language*, XXIV, p. 5, "A Set of Postulates for Phonemic Analysis," admitted that an appeal to meaning, though not theoretically justified, is so convenient a short cut that "any linguist who refused to employ it would be very largely wasting his time").

But even on this terrain, Wells was not very convincing. He argued that the house of science contains many mansions, and a hypothesis can be tested in several theoretically equivalent ways: supposing that it is a clumsier and infinitely less efficient procedure to determine the phonemes of a language solely on the basis of distributional data, without recourse to meaning, still the structuralist is a free agent and can pick his own methods. "Some people," he added approvingly, "believe that the expressions of language do admit of being studied in complete and rigorous abstraction from all facts about the contents of those expressions, and these people call the science that studies these things 'linguistics' and believe that linguistics in this sense is worth studying."

By "some people"—invidious term!—is meant the more intransigent fringe of the structuralists, whether American or foreign. One

has only to open *An Outline of English Structure* by George L. Trager and Henry Lee Smith, Jr. (*S.L.O.*, Occasional Papers, 3 [Norman, Oklahoma, 1951]), to find the exclusion of meaning raised to a dogma. It is perhaps of incidental interest that this pamphlet, described none too modestly by its authors (p. 3) as "a description of English that will be acceptable as the best currently available," did give a very satisfactory account of American English phonemes, albeit in the dry-as-dust manner dear to the structuralist heart. In morphemics, the authors showed to poorer advantage; and in dealing with stylistics and related matters, they were completely at sea. If this be "linguistics" in the particular sense commended by Wells, one perceives how extraordinarily difficult it is for a rigorous structuralist to come to grips with really subtle distinctions, once the factor of meaning has been excluded. In passing, it is noteworthy that Trager and Smith are troubled by an occupational malady endemic in most native structuralists—unreadability. *An Outline of English Structure* runs true to type by perpetuating a tradition of muddy prose.

By way of transition, we may remark that Brøndal and Hjelmslev also seem to have affected a dense and difficult style, although for a different reason. The American "metalinguists" have implicitly imitated the social sciences. In their Danish confrères, the techniques, and consequently the style, are patterned more on the mathematical sciences.

In his preface to the book under discussion, Brøndal indicated a particular debt to his earlier scientific and philosophical studies. As we might have expected, his linguistic lineage can be traced to Saussure and the Prague school. It is probably by design that Hjelmslev's name never occurs in the book. On the other hand, the use of the English phrase "the meaning of meaning" (p. ix) makes one wonder whether the book of that title by C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards should not have figured in the bibliography.

To a reader unversed in modern logic, including the present reviewer, the general theme of this study is clear enough though its elaboration is often obscure. In an earlier work (*Essais de linguistique générale* [Copenhagen, 1943], p. x) Brøndal had set himself the task of discovering "dans le langage les concepts de la logique, tels qu'ils ont été élaborés par la philosophie depuis Aristote jusqu'aux logiciens modernes." This means, as Maurice Leroy noted recently ("Tendances au doctrinarisme dans la pensée linguistique contemporaine" in *Mélanges Georges Smets* [Bruxelles, 1952], p. 52), that he has tried to "expliquer les grands faits de la structure morphologique en ramenant les catégories qui en sont l'expression à des relations fondamentales s'ordonnant dans des cadres bien arrêtés." Here it is the concept of relation which concerned him particularly, since he held the view that the class of prepositions was sufficiently defined (p. 11) as expressing relation in general. In the course of his development of this theme, he has singled out some eleven types of relations (pp. 29-37), of which the most pertinent to his discussion are symmetry, transitivity, and connexity. Much in the spirit of Bertrand Russell's investigation of the articles and indefinite pronouns (p. 30), Brøndal tried to show that a preposition can be

defined uniquely in terms of these categories. Furthermore, he argued that the prepositions of a given language formed a system (p. 51); here, psychological factors place a limitation on the number of imaginable relations represented by separate prepositions. Samples of such systems for various languages are to be found in schematic form in an appendix (pp. 133-40). Brøndal has indicated various criteria which can be applied to such a system—its degree of differentiation and tension, its center of gravity, and so on. Within the framework of his categories he has sought to deal even with minute and troublesome differentiations of prepositions (e.g., Italian *tra* and *fra*). He suggested, moreover, that whole systems can be profitably compared with useful results (p. 63): Vulgar Latin and Greek show surprising similarities; Spanish and Catalan show equally surprising dissimilarities. He even asserted (pp. 102-7) that the substratum theory could be tested by comparisons of this sort. The book is rounded off with some reflections on linguistic change (pp. 108-21); for Brøndal, any linguistic system contains elements of disharmony within itself, but these cannot begin to operate until external forces are also brought to bear: "L'impulsion qui mène à un changement doit donc nécessairement venir du dehors, éventuellement d'une autre langue" (p. 117).

The summary just given, while sketchy enough, does not do too much violence to the book, if Brøndal's work be regarded from the vantage point of a linguist rather than from that of a logician or even a linguistic philosopher. From our own admittedly limited point of view it is clear that this variety of linguistic analysis cannot be applied to linguistic materials except by an adept in symbolic logic. This is a great deal to ask of most practicing linguists. For most of us, that realm whose Bible is the *Principia Mathematica* is blocked off by inaccessible cliffs, like Virtue in the well-known poem of Simonides. Brøndal will not find many disciples in his attempt to harness language and logic.

Nevertheless, however one may value Brøndal's theoretical aims and the highly specialized techniques employed to achieve them, his linguistic material in itself inspires certain misgivings. There is no gainsaying Brøndal's solid grounding in linguistics; still, he was not primarily a linguist, and in the ensuing remarks, the reviewer has listed some of the particular points which appear faulty.

First, a matter of definition. According to Brøndal, prepositions are characteristic of languages of "our family and more generally of our civilization, e.g. of Egyptian" (p. 1; similarly, on p. 18 prepositions are termed "characteristic of languages of our civilization, e.g. Indo-European, Semitic, and Egyptian"). Brøndal was evidently under no compulsion to adopt the concepts of a Spengler or a Toynbee, but still, in what sense are Egyptian and Semitic "languages of our civilization"? For Brøndal, prepositions are "a logical instrument acquired only at a relatively advanced stage of civilization" (p. 18), and he would not admit that Turkish or Finno-Ugrian possessed true prepositions (p. 19).

Yet the criteria adduced by Brøndal to exclude Finnish prepositions from consideration would apply with equal force to the older Indo-European languages, where post-position is frequent (cf. Lat.

mêcum; Umb. *tota-per*), and situative, i. e. adverbial, use of prepositions a commonplace (see the standard handbooks for Vedic and Homeric usage).

Brøndal's argument, that a linguistic system changes only under the stress of external influence, is most difficult to support precisely wherever prepositions are concerned. Despite his claims to the contrary (pp. 117-18), borrowing of prepositions from one language to another is a fairly unusual phenomenon.

The charts of prepositional systems (pp. 133-40) show few errors in form (Rum. *fară* here and elsewhere in the text should be *fără*; the Russian prepositions might better appear in the new spelling). But in several cases the charts are based on a serious fault, the confusion of several dialects or periods of a language under discussion. For example, the schema entitled "Albanian" is worked up from Gustav Weigand's *Albanesische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1913): Weigand's book, however, described a particular Geg dialect (that of Elbasan). The Albanian prepositions vary widely from dialect to dialect. In place of the forms cited by Brøndal (*ne*, *prej*, *afër*), the written language of today offers *në*, *nga*, and (in the sense of It. *presso*) *pranë*.

Again, in his Latin chart, presumably based on classical Latin, is it fair to include the preposition *penes*? Ernout and Meillet note of this word in their etymological dictionary that it is "rare, et de couleur archaïque." The same question arises in the table for Ancient Greek—presumably grounded on Attic Greek: *ἀνέυ* appears in its proper place, and while we would not expect to find *ἀνέπ*, still we look vainly for *χωρίς*, which is well-attested (and was later to drive *ἀνέυ* from the field—see E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, II, p. 546).

These indications, which could be multiplied, suggest to the reviewer that Brøndal's charts are incomplete or require a vast amount of correction and amplification. The comparison of one linguistic system with another, when both are reduced to this diminutive format, is always an absorbing parlor diversion, but its probative power must then be confirmed by other evidence. In particular, the controversy which rages over the substratum theory may not be resolved in so off-hand a fashion.

GORDON M. MESSING.

Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson. Edited by P. R. COLEMAN-NORTON. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951. Pp. xiii + 373. \$5.00.

No less than twenty-three distinguished scholars contributed to this impressive volume of studies in honor of Allan Chester Johnson. Their articles are arranged as far as possible in chronological order beginning with C. H. Coster's "The Economic Position of Cyrenaica in Classical Times" and ending with a paper by Peter Charanis entitled, "The Aristocracy of Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century."

Foreign contributors include J. G. Milne, André Piganiol, Michael Grant, Ronald Syme, M. P. Charlesworth, Harold Mattingly, and Andreas Alföldi. It is interesting, but hardly surprising, to discover that more than half the papers in this volume are numismatic, epigraphic, or papyrological in content.

Opinion with regard to the value of individual contributions to this volume will no doubt vary. Some of the papers, even though they lead to no world-shaking conclusions, must nevertheless arouse the greatest admiration by reason of the deft workmanship displayed by their authors. Especially notable is H. C. Youtie's reinterpretation of the so-called Heidelberg Festival Papyrus, long presumed to contain "a list of festival days on which a priest participated in sacred processions." Youtie puts the matter in quite a different light: the papyrus is shown to be a record kept by a master craftsman setting forth the work performed by an apprentice and a list of the latter's absences because of illness, attendance at festivals, and the like. Also in this category is Syme's "Tacfarinas, the Musulamii, and Thubursicu" in which he very neatly demonstrates, among other things, that Thubursicum Numidarum (Khamissa) rather than Tubusuctu (Tiklat) is the "Thubuseum" mentioned by Tacitus in *Ann.*, IV, 24, 1.

The paper which will probably arouse the most general interest is Charlesworth's resurvey of Roman trade with India especially in view of the publicity given the new finds by the American lecture tour of R. E. Mortimer Wheeler last year. One of the most significant contributions to this volume is "New Evidence on Temple Estates in Asia Minor" by T. R. S. Broughton in which it is concluded that the temple estates were augmented rather than diminished during the Hellenistic and Roman periods; thus, the long accepted view that Hellenistic kings followed a policy of breaking up the estates is found to be untenable.

Of the six papers dealing with numismatic subjects, the non-specialist will no doubt find Alföldi's "Initials of Christ on the Helmet of Constantine" most interesting, but there is a very fine article by Milne on silver and bronze coinages of the Hellenistic period, and Mattingly advances some novel ideas with regard to the currency of the late third century of this era in his "Clash of the Coinages."

All things considered, one may say that this volume is highly successful and a fitting tribute to the great scholar in whose honor it is published.

TOM B. JONES.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

CONSTANTINE VOURVERIS. *Classical Philology as an Intellectual Science* (in Greek). Athens, 1952. Pp. 112. \$2.70.

Constantine Vourveris, former student of Professor Werner Jaeger (now of Harvard) at the University of Berlin, and currently Professor of Greek and Dean of the Faculty of the School of Philosophy at the University of Athens, embodies in the form of a

book what was a series of lectures given in the academic year 1951-52 as a regular course at the University of Athens, entitled "Classical Philology as an Intellectual Science." Vourveris' avowed purpose in publishing this series of lectures is to fill a need in Greek bibliography. Vourveris believes that he answers certain questions that are basic for every classical philologist and intellectual: (1) What is the meaning of classical philology and what is the task of the philologist? (2) What is the position and character of philology in the field of ancient studies and of the intellectual sciences in general? (3) What is the methodology of philology and what is the meaning of philological interpretation? (4) What is the social role of classical philology in the life of man?

The division of the book is arranged in accordance with the preceding questions. Vourveris uses an essentially Jaegerian philosophical approach to these problems. His book is written in flowing "puristic" Greek of which he is a fervent supporter. The book falls into three main parts, of which the first is entitled "The Essence of Classical Philology." In this section, Vourveris ably discusses the problem of the definition and subject matter of classical philology, and what he verbosely terms the "historical-phenomenological view" as opposed to the "systematic-ousiological-deontological view." In this same section, the author discusses the intellectual character of philology, the task of philology and its scientific classification, the nature and character of the intellectual sciences, one of which is classical philology, intellectual and physical phenomena, the difference in subject matter and methodology in the intellectual and natural sciences, and the essence of interpretation as a means of dealing with intellectual phenomena in general.

The second main division of the book deals with philological interpretation. It is split up into three general parts, covering (1) the monuments of the written word; (2) the premises of philological interpretation, which Vourveris says include a knowledge of Greek and Latin, a trustworthy series of texts, a knowledge of the historical period in which the work of literature was produced, and a knowledge of the personal factors involved in the production of the literary work; (3) the theory of philological interpretation, including interpretation of form ("formalism"), interpretation of content ("realism"), interpretation by translation and the problem of translation, analytic and synthetic interpretation, the unity of a work of interpretation, and the life of a work of art.

The third main portion of *Classical Philology* deals with the relation of classical philology to life. The contributions of classical philology, in this respect, are twofold: (1) it plays a purely scientific role by contributing to knowledge and truth, and to the progress of modern scholarship; (2) the second role of classical philology is social and educational: it brings to society and the public the classical authors who first and alone comprehended the highest values of life. The classical philologist relates the experiences of the past to modern life. In the last portion of the book, Vourveris discusses the typology of the classical philologist, philology as humanistic *paideia*, and finally concludes the book with a passionate plea for the establishment of an Institute of Greek Humanistic Studies in Greece.

The book is a noble effort in Greek scholarship. It is an honest, capable attempt to explain and justify classical philology, and deserves to be looked at by all those who profess interest in classical studies, humanities, and literature. Some may find that the author's chief weakness lies in the use of a great many complex terms that eventually turn out to mean quite simple things, a tendency unfortunately quite prevalent in all fields of scholarship.

JOHN E. REXINE.

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Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson. Edited by GEORGE E. MYLONAS. St. Louis, Eden Publishing House, 1951. Pp. lix + 876; 111 plates. \$25.00.

I think the Homeric epithet most fittingly applied to Professor Robinson is *indefatigable*. The present volume presented to him on his seventieth birthday lists, after the biographical sketch, the masters and doctors who received their degrees under his guidance, his published writings and reviews. As teacher, as scholar, as editor of learned studies, as excavator, as officer in classical organizations, he has displayed an energy and unflagging enthusiasm which are rarely equalled. A volume of a thousand pages comprised of articles by leading scholars in America and half a dozen and more countries of Europe is no unworthy tribute to such a leader. Yet this is but half, for a second volume will appear shortly dealing with subjects not covered by the one hundred and five articles in Volume I. Truly the work is appropriately cast in an heroic mold.

The *Festschrift* has certain advantages. The writers are allowed to choose their own topics and within limits to present as much or as little as they desire. It gives opportunity, therefore, for the note such as the suggestion of a word in the Cretan inscriptions by C. D. Ktistopoulos, or the valuable collection of material on ancient Cretan dances by L. B. Lawler. The span of time and place is exemplified by the conjecture of H. P. L'Orange that the form of the round Viking castles at Trelleborg and Aggersborg is related to the round camps and cities of the Arabs. Thus a late northern European ground plan is traced back ultimately to the Sassanians and Assyrians. Present and future are considered by Karo's article dealing with restorations on the Acropolis.

More personal than the periodicals and the yearly volumes of *Studies*, the volume gives opportunity for each scholar to present his special interest. Just the broad topics allocated to the present volume: prehistoric Greece, Egypt and the Near East, architecture, topography, sculpture, monumental painting and mosaics (as opposed to vase painting, coins, inscriptions, literature, history, the private life of Greeks and Romans, mythology, religion, philosophy, and miscellaneous objects relegated to the second volume), show the breadth of the board and the variety of the fare. The Roman fort at the mouth of the Rhine is discussed by Oelmann, the Sumerian

school by S. N. Kramer. Very appropriately W. A. McDonald deals with one of Robinson's famous discoveries, the house of *Agathe Tyche* at Olynthus. His suggestion that the building may be an inn is most interesting though it brings a shudder to those of us who regarded this establishment as the finest example of fourth-century Greek home.

Naturally and fortunately, it seems to me, the largest number of articles are concentrated on Greece and Italy and Crete, with Rome and Athens receiving the major attention. I say fortunately, for, as scholarly interests become more and more subdivided, it seems valuable to return occasionally and repeatedly to the fountain heads of classical culture. Dinsmoor presents a penetrating analysis of the periods in the fifth-century theatre at Athens, Stevens explains the porous tripod blocks on the Acropolis, Schuchhardt reconstructs parts of the Parthenon frieze. Attic bronze mirrors are treated by S. P. Karouzou, an Attic grave relief is described by H. N. Fowler and the grave relief of an Athenian poet by T. B. L. Webster. Naturally it is impossible to list all the articles which deal with subjects related to Athens and its culture or even all that are concentrated in Athens itself.

It would be hazardous in the extreme to attempt to pick out the most valuable of the studies. To comment learnedly on all would tax the breadth of knowledge of a David M. Robinson himself. Most startling, I found, was the suggestion of Gjerstad that the *agger Tullius* should be allocated to the first half of the fifth century and that the era of the Roman Republic did not begin until the middle of the fifth century. This fitted rather well with the article by Sjöqvist, "Pnyx and Comitium," in which it was suggested that the Roman place of assembly was not laid out until 450 B. C. and was based on the plan of the Pnyx. On the face of it, as Gjerstad remarks, it seems difficult to believe that Rome should be free from Etruscan control during the first quarter of the fifth century when Etruria was at the peak of her development, and at the time when the ford across the Tiber at Rome would be most important to her empire.

J. D. S. Pendlebury, whose death in the war brought irreparable loss to Cretan archaeology, has a most valuable article on Cretan chronology ("Egypt and the Aegean") in which he suggests the Neolithic period in Crete should go down to 3000 B. C., sometime in the second dynasty of Egypt. He still assigns eight hundred years to the Early Minoan period but does not feel there is really material enough to fill these centuries and suggests that perhaps the Egyptian date of Menes should be brought down to 3000 B. C. From Crete also comes a new contribution in the form of a bull's head rhyton of olive-green mottled steatite even finer, according to Seltman, than the famous black Knossian head discovered by Evans.

Pendlebury incidentally returned to Evans' theory that the Greeks overthrew the Cretan power at the beginning of the Mycenaean period (still placed at 1400 B. C.) and suggested the overthrow was reflected in the Greek story of Theseus and the Minotaur. If the Cretan power remained after the expedition of Theseus, it seems strange, indeed, that the final overthrow should not have been re-

flected in Greek myth. On the other hand, the Theseus story, as it stands, is clearly an account of a daring venture and almost miraculous escape, not of a successful and devastating attack. I mention it because Albright's interesting article on the eastern Mediterranean in the eleventh century calls to mind the tremendous raids of the Sea Peoples on Egypt in the second half of the second millennium. It was a Mycenaean but non-Greek speaking people from Asia Minor, Albright believes, who inhabited the coast of Palestine about 1200 B. C. and who twice by boat attacked Egypt savagely though unsuccessfully. Pendlebury states that all the important towns in Crete: Knossos, Phaestos, Palaikastro, Mochlos were destroyed at the same time. Many of the Cretan artisans fled to Egypt. I suggest that an attack from Asia Minor by boat would be easier against Crete than from Greece, and such an attack would account for the lack of story or at least of an echo of the catastrophe in Greece. Furthermore, the more we study Mycenaean Greece, the less likely it seems that Greece was strong enough in 1400 B. C. to launch a large-scale expedition. Perhaps the myth in Crete that Minos led an expedition to Sicily and Italy from which he never returned reflected his retreat from Crete and the choice of the West rather than Greece recognized the growing strength of Mycenae.

Bérard desires to reverse the present tendency to reduce the dates of past events by raising the Dorian invasion to 1200 B. C. or earlier, partly on the basis of evidence in Tarsus. This is particularly hazardous in view of the fact that excavations both in Troy and Palestine tend to confirm the traditional date of the fall of Troy.

Mylonas makes out a very good case, I think, for the belief that there were no regular cults of the dead in Mycenaean times except at Mycenae (could it be at Mycenae a sort of deified emperor type?). I should like to suggest, however, that burning the relics from an early burial to make room for a second would not be likely to cause the spirit of the first occupant to remain, but rather send the offerings to the land beyond whither the soul had already departed. This might constitute a first step toward cremation of the body; at least make the transition to cremation easier. The late Geometric cults in the *dromoi* of ancient tombs probably derive less from the need to immortalize a leader than to propitiate the earth spirits of the dead or perhaps the hostile soul of one whose lands have been taken.

Three articles were of particular interest to me because they threw new light on phases of my present investigations. Hanfmann remarks in his "Prehistoric Sardis" that the alleged emigration of the Etruscans from Lydia to Italy receives more support from linguistics and general considerations than from the archaeological material found in Lydia. I believe the evidence is mounting that we must look to southwest Asia Minor, Cyprus, and to northern Syria for the origins of the Etruscans. E. v. Mercklin traces the evolution of the capital with Hathor head in Egypt and shows its later influence in Cyprus and Rome. This strong Egyptian tradition explains best, I believe, both the capitals of the Hauran adorned with heads and the Corinthian capitals with heads found in the Michigan excavations at Seleucia. In Karouzou's excellent and most valuable

account of Attic bronze mirrors, he contrasts by chance the volute capital decoration with the barbarous variation of the Scythians, the incurving crescent representing opposing animal heads and horns. It reminds me that the famous *antennae* swords of Hallstatt may have antecedents among the northern nomads, where the incurving crescent is at home, as well as among Cyprians who carried the lotus with incurving sepals as the crowning element in their sacred tree. Perhaps I should mention also Childe's grouping of neolithic Greece with the East rather than the North or with Egypt on the basis of the evidence for the use of the sling to the exclusion of the bow. These personal chance interests illustrate the wealth of material in the volume's mine of information.

Perhaps the greatest drawback to independent volumes of studies such as this is that the book lies apart on the shelf and the articles may consequently be neglected. The excellent index of the present work remedies this in part and certainly in this generation there will be few who will forget Professor Robinson or overlook the volumes presented on his seventieth birthday.

It is the pleasurable duty of the reviewer to express his opinions on the basis of evidence collected by the authors. Even this can go too far! I welcome this opportunity to felicitate Professor Robinson on his seventieth birthday, and to congratulate him on the tremendous achievements of his fifty years and more of archaeology since he first entered the American School in Athens in 1901. Nor must I neglect to express my sincere admiration to the editor for his excellent presentation of this monumental volume.

CLARK HOPKINS.

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JEAN GAGÉ. Huit recherches sur les origines italiques et romaines.

Paris, E. de Boccard, 1950. Pp. 252. 750 fr.

The eight essays of M. Gagé's book concern basic questions in the story of primitive Italy: the possible connection of the Lemnian stele with Etruscan history, the interpretation of the Iguvine tablets, the basis of the legendary immigration from the Troad into central Italy, the stories centering about the Gallic sack of Rome, the archaic inscription of the Comitium, etc. The book, which is well-indexed, is rich in suggestion because of the wealth of material assembled from historians, linguists, archaeologists, and anthropologists. Furthermore, I applaud the basic premises that the composite and polyglot culture of central Italy must be regarded always against the background of its motley origins; that Rome, being a late foundation, may be far more frequently than is generally recognized the borrower rather than the lender of customs and beliefs; that the Etruscans, if they came to Italy from the East, can hardly have appeared all at the same time from the same place. However, the promises of the foreword and the learned author's previous reputation do not prepare the reader for the disappointment of finding the method faulty and the conclusions unconvincing. As one instance

out of many, let us consider the so-called funeral ritual of Caere (p. 15) with which Gagé begins his exposition of the Lemnian stele. There was a story (Hortensius in Servius, *ad Aen.*, VIII, 485-8) that "Etruscan" pirates put their captives to death by binding them to corpses and leaving them to waste away (p. 17). There is nothing to associate the practice specifically with Caere except the exiled Caeretan tyrant Mezentius in *Aeneid*, VIII, 485 ff. Vergil has taken a short cut to indicate the extent of the latter's cruelty and depravity by accusing him of an Etruscan atrocity of which the Roman public had already been informed when the *Aeneid* was written. The poet accomplishes his purpose, but as historical evidence that such an act ever occurred in Caere, the passage in the *Aeneid* is worthless. There is even less reason to suppose that wherever it was practised it had any ritual meaning. Next we are asked to accept the identity of this hypothetical "rite funéraire" with the famous stoning of Phocæan captives on the beach at Caere (Herod., I, 167): "La 'lapidation' des prisonniers a du faire partie de ce rituel d'extermination." What possible connection can there be between a good clean death by stoning and the horrors of the method described above? Similar leaps in logic are frequent throughout the work (cf. Ratumena and the "éphèbes-cavaliers" of pp. 79-86). What the author claims to be a "rigoureuse analyse d'une filiation nécessaire" (p. 14) will, I fear, appear to many readers a series of unwarranted assumptions with no better starting point than questionable etymologies (cf. *perduellium*, pp. 32, 34; *aequimaellium*, p. 158; *bipennis*, p. 136). Archaeology is slowly providing us with concrete evidence: it has recently shown that the Veientine temple Gagé assumes (p. 75) to be that of the Pythian Apollo belongs to Minerva. Actual finds do not support the theory of immigration from the east into Umbria at the early period Gagé suggests (p. 216). Topographical relations are casually handled. Fidenæ is not at the junction of the Tiber and the Anio (p. 175), but two miles away, a long distance in that country in prehistoric times. Moreover, a distinct community never mentioned by Gagé, Antemnae, controlled the confluence point from the Stone Age, as we know from actual artifacts discovered there. June 24, the date of the *descensio Tiberina* of page 173 is not the time of the lowest water, which comes in August. Some sharp and useful observations such as that on Fors Fortuna (p. 173, note 3) and on the dependence of Roman cults on other towns (p. 176) stand out like honest rock ledges in a region of quicksands. While Roman religion is still so full of unexplained puzzles it is difficult to avoid building bridges of theory between the solid bits of evidence we find so rarely. Let us at least use for the piers of our bridges evidence which has actual physical existence or good traditional support. To build speculation on speculation can only result in an airy structure truly deserving of the name the Italians have so often given to bridges more marvelous than human works—"ponte del diavolo."

LOUISE ADAMS HOLLAND.

Historia, Vol. II, Fasc. 1. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1953.
Pp. 128. DM 12; to subscribers DM 10.

In 1950 there appeared the first fascicle of a promising periodical, *Historia*, described as a quarterly for Ancient History. The editors were Gerold Walser (Basel) and Karl Stroheker (Tübingen). Since contributions from all over the world were invited, they were assisted by an international committee of historians, among whom the American representative was T. Robert S. Broughton, a wise choice indeed. However, there were difficulties, delays ensued, the fourth fascicle of vol. I did not appear until 1953, and a rumor spread that the periodical had failed. But *Historia*, II (1953), fasc. 1 shows that the periodical, now supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, is very much alive and will be indispensable in any library of Ancient History. The press and the publisher have been changed, while Hermann Bengtson (Würzburg), best known as the author of the excellent handbook, *Griechische Geschichte*, has been included among the editors.

The distinguished first issue of vol. II contains an article on Thucydides II 13, 3 by A. W. Gomme, one on the *comitia centuriata* by Ernst Schönbauer, and one on the accession of Antiochus IV by André Aymard. Furthermore, there are two reports, one by A. J. B. Wace on the history of Greece in the third and second millenniums B. C. and the other by W. Schleiermacher on the Roman Archaeology of the Rhineland; also Nesselhauf's review of De Laet's *Portorium*, and Spuler's summary of the articles which appear in the *Vestník Drevnej Istorii*.

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL, but all pertaining to the classical field are listed under BOOKS RECEIVED. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

Benson (Jack Leonard). *Die Geschichte der korinthischen Vasen*. Basel, Benno Schwabe & Co., 1953. Pp. 142; 12 pls.

Blegen (Carl W.), Caskey (John L.), Rawson (Marion). *Troy, Vol. III: The Sixth Settlement*. Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press for the Univ. of Cincinnati, 1953. Part 1: Text: pp. xxx + 420; Part 2: Plates: pp. xxxvi + 512 illus. \$36.00.

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A MUCH MISREAD PASSAGE OF THE *TIMAEUS* (*TIMAEUS* 49 C 7-50 B 5).

In 1906 Fraccaroli declared that this passage of the *Timaeus* had been misunderstood in whole or in part by all earlier commentators. In 1928 A. E. Taylor in his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* agreed with this judgment but included in the condemnation Fraccaroli's own interpretation as well. Despite the appearance of Taylor's commentary, Bury's translation, Cornford's translation and commentary, the careful translation by Robin, and a special note by Hackforth on part of the passage, it remains true in my opinion that the passage has not been correctly translated and explained. Since in consequence it is often cited as evidence for a doctrine that it does not espouse, I have here undertaken to set down first what I hold to be the correct translation of 49 C 7-50 A 4, followed by a detailed commentary to defend and explain this translation point by point, then the translation with commentary of the illustrative passage, 50 A 4-B 5, and finally some supplementary remarks upon the significance of the whole passage in its context.

In *Timaeus* 48 E ff. Plato has said that his account of the universe now requires the introduction of a third factor besides the two that he has hitherto been employing. In an attempt to explain this third factor he speaks of the fact that phenomenal fire, air, water, and earth seem to be constantly changing and giving rise one to another. It is to these phenomena that *τούτων* in 49 D 1, the second word of the translation, refers.

Timaeus 49 C 7-50 A 4

TRANSLATION

- 9 C 7-D1 Since these thus never appear as severally identical, concerning which of them could one without shame firmly assert that this is any particular thing and not another? ¹ It is not possible, but by far the safest way is to speak of them on this basis:—
- 49 D 5 What we ever ² see coming to be at different times in different places, for example fire, not to say "this is fire" but "what on any occasion is such and such is fire" nor "this is water" but "what is always such and such is water" ³ nor ever "<this>", as if it had some permanence, "is some other" ⁴ of the things
- 49 E 1 that we think we are designating as something when by way of pointing we use the term "this" or "that." ⁵ For it slips away and does not abide the assertion of "that" and "this" ⁶ or any assertion that indicts them of being stable. ⁷ But <it is safest> not to speak of these as severally distinct ⁸ but so to call the
- 49 E 5 such and such that always recurs alike in each and all cases together, ⁹ for example <to call> ¹⁰ that which is always such and such ¹¹ fire and so with everything that comes to be; ¹² and, on the other hand, that in which these severally distinct characteristics ¹³ are ever and anon being manifested as they come to be
- 50 A 1 in it and out of which again they are passing away, it is safest to designate it ¹⁴ alone when we employ the word "this" or "that" but what is of any kind soever, hot or white or any of the contraries and all that consist of these, not in turn to call it ¹⁵ any of these.

COMMENTARY

¹ ποῖον αὐτῶν ὡς ὃν ὁτιοῦν τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο παγίως δισχυρίζομενος. Stallbaum (1838) construed ποῖον αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὃ τις παγίως δισχυρίζομενος ὅτι ὁτιοῦν αὐτῶν τοῦτό ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο. This is syntactically possible but it is nonsensical to say: "of which of them could one without shame assert that any of them is this and not another." Now, in 49 B 2-5 Plato has said: "For it is hard to assert of each of these severally ὁποῖον ὄντως ὕδωρ ἢ πῦρ καὶ ὁποῖον ὁτιοῦν μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ ἅπαντα καθ' ἑκαστόν τε (. . . "and which one must call any particular thing rather than everything at once as well as severally"). This indicates that in the present passage τοῦτο is the subject of ὃν and ὁτιοῦν καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο the predicate, the antecedent of τοῦτο being ποῖον αὐτῶν. The result is the translation that I have given, which is perfectly logical and in accord with

49 B 2-5 in intention as well as in grammar. So far as I know the commentators and translators of the passage, only Eva Sachs (*Die Fünf Platonischen Körper*, p. 189) has clearly got this sentence right, though Robin in his translation (*Platon: Oeuvres Complètes*, II [1942]) may have construed it correctly (. . . "qu'il est celui-ci ou celui-là et non point un autre"). Archer-Hind made τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο the predicate and neglected ὅτιοῦν altogether (. . . "which of them can we positively affirm to be really *this*" . . .); and Cornford, construing in the same way, tried to account for ὅτιοῦν as a kind of modifier of τοῦτο ("which of them can we stedfastly affirm to be *this*—whatever it may be—and not something else"). Martin's translation seems to follow Stallbaum's construction. Apelt, Bury, Fraaccaroli, and Rivaud are unclear, but all of them either neglected τοῦτο altogether or took ὅτιοῦν τοῦτο together somehow as predicate of ὅν. Taylor in his *Commentary* does not express himself on this matter. The construction of this sentence has real significance, for anyone who takes τοῦτο here as predicate of ὅν is almost bound to misconstrue all the rest of the passage.

² ἀεὶ δὲ καθορῶμεν ἄλλοτε ἄλλη γιγνόμενον. Eva Sachs (*op. cit.*, p. 189, n. 1) says that ἀεὶ belongs to προσαγορεύειν in D 6 just as ἀεὶ in 49 D 7 does; and Taylor (*Commentary*, p. 319, n. 1) criticizes Fraaccaroli for taking "the ἀεὶ of 49 D 4 and that of D 7 apart from the καλεῖν to which they belong." (Since there is no καλεῖν in this sentence, Taylor presumably means προσαγορεύειν in D 6, as Miss Sachs does.) If the ἀεὶ in D 7 goes with προσαγορεύειν, however, the ἐκάστοτε of D 5-6 does too; and, if ἐκάστοτε modifies προσαγορεύειν, the ἀεὶ here in D 4 surely does not, for ἀεὶ . . . ἐκάστοτε προσαγορεύειν would be at least redundant and to construe so would deprive δὲ καθορῶμεν . . . γιγνόμενον of the generalizing adverb that it clearly requires. Even if ἐκάστοτε in D 5-6 and ἀεὶ in D 7 do not modify προσαγορεύειν, as I believe they do not (see note 3 *infra*), both the word-order and the logic are against taking ἀεὶ here with προσαγορεύειν in D 6 and in favor of taking it with the whole phrase δὲ καθορῶμεν . . . γιγνόμενον, practically meaning: "whenever anything is seen happening now here and again there." Cf. in the parallel sentence at 49 E 7 ff. (see notes 3 and 14 *infra*) ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἐγγιγνόμενα ἀεὶ . . . ἀπόλλυται . . .

³ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐκάστοτε (D 5-6) and τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀεὶ (D 6-7) are clearly parallel and have the same meaning. This is expressed more circumstantially by τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀεὶ περιφερόμενον ὅμοιον in E 5, where ἀεὶ modifies not περιφερόμενον alone (as Taylor implies [*Commentary*, p. 319, n. 1]) but περιφερόμενον ὅμοιον, i. e. ὅμοιον no less than περιφερόμενον. In E 6-7 τὸ διὰ παντὸς τοιοῦτον is explicitly given as the shorter equivalent of the phrase in E 5; and this in itself shows that τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐκάστοτε and τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀεὶ in D 5-7 are to be taken as unitary phrases, i. e. that ἐκάστοτε and ἀεὶ are not to be separated from τὸ τοιοῦτον and construed with προσαγορεύειν.

That τοῦτο ἀλλὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐκάστοτε and τοῦτο ἀλλὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον αἰεὶ are primary objects of προσαγορεύειν (i. e. subjects of the statement itself) and πῦρ and ὕδωρ are secondary objects (i. e. predicates) is shown by the use of τὸ τοιοῦτον rather than τοιοῦτον and by the fact that ὁ καθορῶμεν . . . γιγνόμενον, which in fact is what men commonly call "fire," "water," etc., is taken up by τοῦτο (cf. ἐν ᾧ . . . ἀπόλλυται, μόνον ἐκεῖνο αὖ προσαγορεύειν . . . [49 E 7-50 A 2] and note 14 *infra*). Thus τοῦτο here (D 5 and 6) corresponds to τοῦτο in D 2 correctly understood as the subject of ὄν, and πῦρ and ὕδωρ here correspond to the predicate ὁτιοῦν there (see note 1 *supra*). The injunction therefore is "not to call this transient phenomenon fire or water." So Martin construed these words, and so did Fracaroli and Ritter (*Platons Dialoge* [1903], p. 115, note: "nicht dieses Bestimmte sondern eben was eine bestimmte Beschaffenheit habe sei Feuer"); Eva Sachs (*op. cit.*, p. 189) apparently construed correctly but confused herself by translating τοῦτο "die Substanz" and τὸ τοιοῦτον "die Qualität." Taylor (*Commentary*, p. 316) says explicitly that Martin is wrong and that τοῦτο and τὸ τοιοῦτον are predicative (i. e. secondary objects): "we must in every case call fire not 'this' but 'this-like';" but the only reason that he gives for rejecting Martin's construction is that it "makes the text really untranslatable," and this is not true. In fact, if τοῦτο were predicative, the πῦρ in D 6 would be worse than redundant; this Cornford seems to have recognized, for he proposed to excise it (*Plato's Cosmology*, p. 179, n. 1) since he too took τοῦτο ἀλλὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον to be predicative. So it had been taken by Archer-Hind, Apelt, and Bury; before them Stallbaum had so construed it as the natural consequence of his misconstruing ὡς δὲ ὁτιοῦν τοῦτο in D 2. Rivaud appears to waver (. . . "du feu par exemple, il ne faut jamais l'appeler 'ceci,' une chose déterminée [i. e. τοῦτο as predicative], mais dire 'ce qui a telle qualité' c'est du feu; ni de l'eau, mais toujours 'ce qui a telle qualité' c'est de l'eau" [i. e. τὸ τοιοῦτον as subject of the statement]), while Robin in his translation appears to construe τοῦτο ἀλλὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον in D 5 as subject of πῦρ but the same phrase in D 6 as predicate of ὕδωρ.

⁴ μηδὲ ἄλλο ποτὲ μηδὲν (D 7) is parallel to the preceding πῦρ and ὕδωρ (D 6) and like them must be a secondary object (i. e. predicative). As the preceding προσαγορεύειν is "understood" with μηδὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο in D 6, so τοῦτο προσαγορεύειν is "understood" with μηδὲ ἄλλο ποτὲ μηδὲν here. So Taylor also understands the supplement, though he takes this τοῦτο once more as secondary object (i. e. predicative). This τοῦτο, however, being the same as that in D 5 and D 6, refers to ὁ καθορῶμεν . . . γιγνόμενον and is the primary object of προσαγορεύειν, i. e. the subject of ἄλλο μηδὲν, and ὡς τινα ἔχον βεβαιότητα modifies this τοῦτο, not ἄλλο μηδὲν as Taylor supposes. The point is that as we should not say of the transient phenomenon "this is fire" or "this is water," so we should not

imply that it has any permanence by saying of it "this is air," "this is earth," or "this is" anything else either (see note 5 *infra*).

Taylor thinks (*Commentary*, p. 317) that Martin's periphrastic translation implies his own construction, but it seems to me rather to imply the construction that I have adopted. Eva Sachs (*op. cit.*, pp. 189-190) may also have construed this clause as I do, but her translation like Fraccaroli's is too compendious to be clear in this matter. Apelt, Bury, Rivaud, and Robin translate as if they "supplied" only *προσαγορεύειν*, with ὡς τινα ἔχον βεβαιότητα as the predicate of ἄλλο μηδέν (e.g. Cornford: "nor must we speak of anything else as having some permanence . . ."); but the parallelism of the preceding two clauses, *προσαγορεύειν* with primary and secondary objects, is against the introduction of such a construction here. Archer-Hind's translation, on the other hand, implies ἄλλο μηδέν as primary object of *προσαγορεύειν*, ὡς τινα ἔχον βεβαιότητα in agreement with this, and ὅσα δεικνύντες . . . ἡγούμεθα τι as predicate of ἄλλο μηδέν. Archer-Hind translates this last clause: "such predicates as we express by the use of the terms 'this' and 'that' and suppose that we signify something thereby." As Taylor has said (*Commentary*, p. 317) this mistranslates the words δεικνύντες and δηλοῦν, and in saying "this" of something one does not apply a predicate to it; but possibly Archer-Hind meant by his translation only "such words as we put into the *grammatical* predicate when we mean to signify something by saying 'This is X'." In that case, however, his translation would mean "we must not imply stability of *anything* by saying of it that it is e.g. fire, water, etc."; but this the passage cannot mean, for, far from saying that nothing can be called "fire," etc. it explicitly states what should and what should not be so called.

⁵ ὅσα . . . ἡγούμεθα τι = (τούτων) ὅσα . . . ἡγούμεθα τι and depends upon ἄλλο μηδέν, which it thus specifies (so Taylor, Cornford, Bury and apparently Fraccaroli, Apelt, and Robin); but "the antecedent to ὅσα" is not, as Taylor says it is (*Commentary*, p. 316), the "things which we mistakenly suppose to be permanent," i.e. the ever-changing phenomena. Taylor supports this interpretation by saying: "For the subject of the following φεύγει cannot well be anything but the ὅσα, and it is the things falsely supposed to be permanent which φεύγει." Martin, Fraccaroli, Apelt, Rivaud, Cornford, and Robin would all appear to admit this argument of Taylor's, for they all translate as if the subject of φεύγει were plural. It must be singular, however, as οὐχ ὑπομένον proves (of this Archer-Hind, Bury, and Eva Sachs were evidently aware); and the subject of φεύγει, therefore, is not ὅσα but the τούτο which is the primary object of *προσαγορεύειν* and of which ἄλλο μηδέν (τούτων) ὅσα . . . ἡγούμεθα τι is the predicate.

The clause, ὅσα . . . ἡγούμεθα τι, does not itself mean "phenomena"; it means simply "X, where X is what we mean to designate as something when by using the deictic pronoun we say 'this is

X'." In short it means what Archer-Hind's inaccurately expressed translation of it may have intended, though not in the construction that he gave it (see note 4 *supra*), for the point is not that you should not designate a phenomenon "this" or "that" (the fact that you *cannot* do so is in the next sentence given as the reason why you *should not* do what this sentence enjoins) but that you should not call the phenomenon anything (like "fire" and "water," the examples already given) that is designated in such statements as "this is X."

⁶ I have omitted *καὶ τὴν τῷδε* in E 3 (instead of which according to Rivaud W, Y, and Parisinus Graec. 1812 have *καὶ τὴν τοῦτου*) because it is absent from Simplicius' quotation of this passage (*Phys.*, p. 224, 4-5). It is not, however, open to any of the objections raised against it by Eva Sachs (*op. cit.*, p. 190, n. 1 and p. 204, n. 1), Apelt (n. 140), Taylor (*Commentary*, pp. 317-18), and Cornford (p. 179, n. 3); and the "emendations" of Eva Sachs (*τὴν τοῦ δέν*, which she herself doubted but which is adopted by Rivaud and Robin), Cook Wilson (*τὴν τοῦ ὁδε*), Richards (*τὴν τῷδε*), and Taylor (*τὴν τοῦδε*) are either no improvement or betray misunderstanding of the passage. To say that a phenomenon does not abide the assertion *τῷδε* does *not* mean that it cannot be said "to exist *for* so and so" (as Taylor puts it, *loc. cit.* [if it did, his *τὴν τοῦδε* would be open to the same objection]) but that you cannot designate *it* *τῷδε* just as you cannot designate *it* *τόδε* or *τοῦτο*. To designate something *τῷδε* is to indicate that *this thing* has *something else* as a predicate (cf. the Aristotelian formula *τὸ ὑπάρχειν τόδε τῷδε*, where *τῷδε* is "subject" and *τόδε* "predicate" [e.g. *Anal. Prior.* 49 A 6]), just as to designate *it* *τοῦδε* is to indicate that *it* possesses something else or is the object of an action, thought, or assertion (not that *it* is "relative to a *this*," i. e. to something else, as Taylor presumes). If because a *γυγνόμενον* is constantly changing you cannot point to it and say *τόδε* ("this"), it is obvious that you cannot point to it and say *τῷδε* ("to [or] for *this*") or *τοῦδε* ("of *this*") either (cf. *Parmenides* 142 A 1-2: *ὃ δὲ μὴ ἔστι, . . . εἴη ἂν τι ἀντὶ ἢ αὐτοῦ*).

⁷ The plurals, *μόνιμα ὡς ὄντα αὐτά* (E 3-4) are at first sight strange after the singular subject of *φεύγει οὐχ ὑπομένον* (E 2, see note 5 *supra*), to which *αὐτά* should refer. They present no problem, of course, to the interpreters who erroneously represent the subject of *φεύγει* as plural. On the other hand, Archer-Hind and Eva Sachs, who correctly translate that subject as singular, improperly translate *μόνιμα . . . αὐτά* as singular too. Bury tries to preserve the change in number by translating "For such an object shuns . . . which indicates that they are stable"; but "such an object" is an evasion calculated to soften the transition, which neither he nor anyone explains. Apparently Plato, just because he has said that "it," the phenomenon, does not abide, immediately and without further explanation refers not to "it" as a single thing but to "them," the

multiple and transient phases of the phenomenal flux that cannot be identified as distinct objects.

⁸ ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἕκαστα μὴ λέγειν (E 4). Archer-Hind took ἕκαστα as primary object of λέγειν and ταῦτα as secondary object (i. e. predicate of ἕκαστα): "The word 'this' we must not use of any of them." Eva Sachs, Apelt, and Bury construed in the same way and to the same effect. So did Hackforth (*C. Q.*, XXXVIII [1944], p. 36: "... not to speak of the several things in question as 'these'"), though Taylor had already objected (*Commentary*, p. 318) to the supposed use of ταῦτα as the plural of τοῦτο in this sense. Taylor himself took ταῦτα ἕκαστα together as object of λέγειν and interpreted the clause to mean: "one should use none of these phrases." Cornford struck a compromise, construing as Archer-Hind had done but taking ταῦτα to mean "these expressions": "we should not use these expressions of any of them."

Apart from the dubious assumption that Plato would have written μὴ . . . ἕκαστα if he had meant only μηδὲν αὐτῶν, all these interpretations make this clause a mere repetition of the preceding sentence, which has already said that no phenomenon can be designated τοῦτο or τόδε. What is new in this clause is the word ἕκαστα; and, since the *datum* from which the whole of D 4-E 4 has proceeded is the "fact" that phenomena are processes in which no clear distinction of separate phases can be made (C 7 f.: *τούτων οὐδέποτε τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκάστων φανταζομένων*), it seems probable that here the word ἕκαστα is itself a significant part of the injunction consequent upon this fact. I have shown that τοῦτο is the primary object (not the secondary object or predicate) of *προσαγορεύειν* in D 5 and D 6 and is to be supplied as such in D 7 (see notes 3 and 4 *supra*). It is only reasonable to construe ταῦτα in the same way here, taking it to mean the transient phases of phenomenal process to which the immediately preceding αὐτά refers (see note 7 *supra*), and to construe ἕκαστα as predicative. Martin *may* have construed the words in this way ("il ne faut jamais nommer à part, comme une chose distincte, aucun de ces objets"), and so may Rivaud ("il ne faut jamais les désigner comme des objets isolés"). Robin must have understood ταῦτα to refer to the phenomena, but he seems to have taken ταῦτα ἕκαστα together as the object of λέγειν ("mais ce sont là, dans leur singularité, êtres à ne point nommer"). This rather obscure translation, when read in the light of Robin's note (p. 1473: "le sujet sensible . . . , détermination passagère . . . , est proprement innomable") appears to approximate the intention of the Greek; but the implied construction can hardly be right, for it leaves οὕτω in E 6 with no reference (as Robin must have sensed, since he evades this difficulty by rendering οὕτω "uniformément"). Fraccaroli clearly took ταῦτα ἕκαστα in the way Robin later did, but he seems to have "supplied" οὕτω with λέγειν by anticipation of οὕτω καλεῖν in E 6 ("non si chiamo quindi così queste cose singole"); this is not only an improbable

device in itself, but it would require οὕτω either to have different references in the two places (i. e. not to call the several phenomena "this," etc. but to call τὸ τοιοῦτον "fire," etc.) or to have the wrong reference in one of the two (i. e. not to call the several phenomena "this," etc. but to call τὸ τοιοῦτον "this," etc.).

⁹ τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἀεὶ περιφερόμενον ὅμοιον ἐκάστου πέρι καὶ συμπάντων οὕτω καλεῖν. Fraecaroli, Eva Sachs, Robin, and Hackforth take τὸ τοιοῦτον . . . συμπάντων as a single phrase. Martin, Rivaud, Taylor, and Cornford take τὸ τοιοῦτον . . . ὅμοιον as a single phrase but construe ἐκάστου πέρι καὶ συμπάντων with καλεῖν. Stallbaum, Archer-Hind, Apelt, and Bury all separate ἀεὶ περιφερόμενον ὅμοιον from τὸ τοιοῦτον, which they take to stand alone as the designation to be used of "each and all" the phenomena. Stallbaum, changing ὅμοιον to ὁμοίως, interpreted: "to use τὸ τοιοῦτον, since it is always in flux, equally of each and all of them." Archer-Hind adopted Stallbaum's emendation but construed it differently; his translation, supplemented by his notes, is: "but *such*, applying in the same sense to all their mutations (i. e. keeping pace with the elements in their transformations), we must predicate of each and all (i. e. τοιοῦτον can always be applied to any of them in the same sense [ὁμοίως])." This seems to imply: τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἀεὶ περιφερόμενον ὁμοίως ἐκάστου πέρι καὶ συμπάντων, οὕτω καλεῖν (= ὁμοίως περὶ ἐκάστου καὶ συμπάντων καλεῖν), which at least gives a function to the οὕτω, which Stallbaum disregarded altogether. Apelt retained ὅμοιον, but by "understanding" τῷ γιγνομένῳ with it (see his note 141) interpreted in the same general sense as Archer-Hind: "sondern nur 'das Derartige' dürfen wir als eine in ihrer Bedeutung sich entsprechend wandelnde Bezeichnung von jedem einzelnen wie von allen zusammen brauchen." Here again οὕτω is disregarded, as it is by Bury too, who furthermore, while keeping ὅμοιον, changes περιφερόμενον to περιφερομένων: "but in regard to each of them and all together we must apply the term 'such' to represent what is always circling around (ἀεὶ περιφερομένων ὅμοιον)." Bury's "emendation" is alone enough to condemn his interpretation, since it imports into the text a construction, ὅμοιον with the genitive, unexampled in Plato and questionable in any good Greek (cf. Kühner-Gerth, II, 1, p. 413, n. 10; Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, V [1851], 1966-67). The interpretations of Stallbaum, Archer-Hind, and Apelt all are determined by the erroneous assumption that περιφέρεσθαι must connote a change of nature and that τοιοῦτον must therefore be meant to be the proper denotation of anything so changing (e. g. Archer-Hind: "that is to say τοιοῦτον . . . denote[s] . . . a variable attribute"; Apelt: "Dieser [der Name] . . . ist also in einem beständigen Bedeutungswandel begriffen"). Nothing is ever said here or elsewhere, however, to suggest that the word τοιοῦτον itself implies transience or instability of what it is used to denote, and the verb περιφέρεσθαι need not and in fact usually does not connote change of nature or character in its

subject. An exact parallel to περιφερόμενον here is to be found in *Republic* 402 A (ὅτε τὰ στοιχεῖα μὴ λανθάνοι ἡμᾶς ὀλίγα ὄντα ἐν ἀπᾶσιν οἷς ἔστιν περιφερόμενα) and 402 C (πρὶν ἂν τὰ τῆς σωφροσύνης εἶδη . . . πανταχοῦ περιφερόμενα γνωρίζωμεν . . .). The letters and the εἶδη there are all severally the same wherever they recur (cf. the same example in *Politicus* 277 E-278 D and observe τὴν αὐτὴν δμοιότητα καὶ φύσιν [278 B 1-2] used for the identity of a letter that recurs in two different syllables); and ἀεὶ περιφερόμενον ὅμοιον here must have the same meaning: "always recurring alike," i. e. "always self-identical in its recurrences." τὸ διὰ παντὸς τοιοῦτον in the next line, which in the particular example there given must be the equivalent of τὸ τοιοῦτον . . . here, both confirms the meaning of ἀεὶ περιφερόμενον ὅμοιον and shows that these three words at least must form a single phrase with τὸ τοιοῦτον (the predicative position being not unusual but normal for participial modifiers [cf. Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Classical Greek*, Part II, §§ 622, 623, 634]); and it is the stranger that Apelt, Archer-Hind, and Bury did not so construe them, for they all took τὸ διὰ παντὸς τοιοῦτον as a single phrase. There are at least two reasons for taking ἐκάστον πέρι καὶ συμπάντων also as part of this phrase instead of construing it with οὕτω καλεῖν. For one thing it is wanted to emphasize the identity of the characteristic through all its manifestations. The other and decisive reason is the meaning of οὕτω καλεῖν itself.

As has been said, Stallbaum, Apelt, and Bury simply disregarded οὕτω. Taylor (*Commentary*, p. 318) took it to refer forward to the example which follows (as Martin also had done) and interpreted: "in each case and in all to give the name (i. e. the name of 'fire' or 'water,' etc.) to the this-like which is perpetually turning up as similar." Cornford (*Plato's Cosmology*, p. 179, n. 4), on the other hand, took it "as resuming the long phrase that precedes" and translated: "'that which is of a certain quality and has the same sort of quality as it perpetually recurs in the cycle' (τὸ τοιοῦτον . . . ὅμοιον)—that is the description we should use (οὕτω καλεῖν) in the case of each and all of them" (ἐκάστον πέρι καὶ συμπάντων). The "them" which we are so to describe are according to Cornford the phenomena, of which we are not to use the expressions "this" and "that"; and accordingly he tries to interpret τὸ διὰ παντὸς τοιοῦτον (E 6-7), which we are to call "fire," etc., as fiery stuff of which there is at all times a certain amount and of which the quality is sufficiently "alike" to be recognized and named (*op. cit.*, p. 179, n. 5). It is more difficult to be sure just what Taylor conceived τὸ τοιοῦτον . . . ὅμοιον to be, but his references to τοιοῦτον as meaning a "phase," "occurrence," or "passing phase" (*Commentary*, pp. 318-19, 321) suggest that like Cornford he supposed it to be phenomenal appearance for which the designation τοιοῦτον is here recommended. The following words, καὶ δὴ καὶ πῦρ τὸ διὰ παντὸς τοιοῦτον, whether in the original or in the translations of Taylor or of Cornford, comport

ill with such an interpretation, however. Hackforth, therefore, who holds (*op. cit.*, pp. 36-7) that "the purpose of the whole context is not to correct our ordinary *reference* of the terms, fire, air, etc. . . .," objects that the interpretations of Taylor and of Cornford make Plato give a positive injunction that the words "fire," etc. are to be used in a new reference; and he proposes to cure this by placing a colon after *καλεῖν* and taking *τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον . . . καλεῖν* to mean: "rather that quality which in the case of each and all of them is from time to time recurring as a similar quality we ought to designate accordingly (i. e. the right way to indicate a quality is by an adjective, such as *πυρῶδες* or *ὕδαρές*)." In fact, however, the whole point of 49 D 3-E 4 (of which Hackforth says nothing in his note) is that the proper reference for the terms "fire," etc. is *not* the phenomenal flux of which men do erroneously try to assert them (see notes 3 and 5 *supra*). Neither has there been anything in the passage so far to suggest that phenomenal fire should properly be called *πυρῶδες*; and, if *οὕτω* did refer to *τοιοῦτον*, as Hackforth makes it do, it ought to mean simply "to call the such and such . . . such and such (the construction which Eva Sachs had long ago put upon it) and not "to call it by adjectives." Hackforth objected to the clumsy Greek implied by Cornford's construction; but worse than clumsiness is its assumption that *τὸ τοιοῦτον καλεῖν περὶ ἑκάστου* is Greek for "to call each such and such." This construction is implied by the translations of Archer-Hind, Bury, and Apelt too, and Apelt tried to defend it (note 141); but he offers no example of *τοῦτο καλεῖν περὶ τινος* meaning "to call something this," and I have neither been able to find one nor do I believe that any exists. Cornford and Hackforth, on the other hand, are right as against Taylor and Martin in seeing that *οὕτω* must get its meaning from something that precedes it, not from what follows.

The fundamental mistake made by these and most interpreters, however, is their assumption that Plato must here be saying what name or kind of name the phenomenal "phases," "moments," or "occurrences" should be called, whereas he has already said that these transient moments of flux cannot be called anything distinct from anything else. This so many have overlooked simply because they have misconstrued the *τοῦτο* in D 2, D 5, and D 6 and consequently the *ταῦτα* in E 4. When it is seen that *ταῦτα μὲν ἕκαστα μὴ λέγειν* means "not to speak of these phenomenal phases as severally distinct," the very balance of the sentence, *τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον . . . οὕτω καλεῖν*, "but so to call the such and such . . .," reveals the meaning necessarily to be that "severally distinct," *ἕκαστον*, is properly predicated rather of the characteristic that is identical in each and all of its recurrences; and in fact a few lines later (E 8) *ἕκαστα αὐτῶν* is used of these characteristics that are manifested in the medium. (For the interpretations of *οὕτω καλεῖν* implied by the translations of Fraccaroli and Robin see note 8 *sub fin. supra*. Rivaud apparently makes *οὕτω* refer to the *τοῦ δέν* that he adopts in

E 3; the improbability of that emendation apart [see note 6 *supra*], the reference could not be to τοῦ δέν without being to the τόδε and τοῦτο there [E 2-3] at the same time, and that would amount to making this passage say that τὸ τοιοῦτον κτλ. should be called τοῦτο καὶ τόδε.)

¹⁰ Hackforth (*loc. cit.*) would take this as a separate sentence: "and in point of fact fire is perpetual quality, as also is everything that comes into being." His reason for doing this is determined by his erroneous interpretation of the whole passage, however (see note 9 *supra*); and καὶ δὲ καὶ is best taken in its usual sense as introducing a particular example of the general rule just enunciated, not, as Hackforth does, to introduce a minor premise in a supposed syllogism, the conclusion of which is in fact not expressed.

¹¹ Eva Sachs (*op. cit.*, pp. 190-2) takes τοιοῦτον in E 7 as predicative to πῦρ τὸ διὰ παντός in E 6, which she translates "Feuer in seiner Gesamterscheinung" and distinguishes as "das Feuer im All" (i. e. the "non-substantial" idea of fire) from ἅπαν ὅσονπερ ἂν ἔχῃ γένεσιν, which in turn she takes to mean "jedes Feuer das ein Werden hat," i. e. "die Einzelercheinung 'Feuer'." The very fact that whenever τοιοῦτον appears in this passage it appears with the article (τὸ τοιοῦτον in D 5, D 6, E 5) is enough to condemn such a construction and to make it practically certain that here too the article governs τοιοῦτον, i. e. that τὸ διὰ παντός τοιοῦτον is a single phrase to which πῦρ καὶ ἅπαν . . . γένεσιν is to be taken predicatively. (τὸ ἐν τῷ παντὶ πῦρ of *Philebus* 29 B-C will not support either term of Eva Sachs's equation: it has nothing to do with an "idea of fire," and it cannot be a parallel to τὸ διὰ παντός in this passage.)

τὸ διὰ παντός τοιοῦτον is the equivalent of τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀεὶ περιφερόμενον ὁμοιον ἐκάστων πέρι καὶ συμπάντων, i. e. it is the characteristic X which is always X, always identical with itself. The only other possible meaning of διὰ παντός is "thoroughly," "altogether"; and, if that meant anything here, it would come to the same thing. Most interpreters translate by "constantly," "perpetually," "at all times"; but some of them clearly seek to give this a distributive or aggregative implication which approximates the interpretation of Eva Sachs, who baldly translates τὸ τοιοῦτον in E 5 by "Aggregatzustand" and τὸ διὰ παντός in E 6 by "in seiner Gesamterscheinung." So according to Cornford (see note 9 *supra*) τὸ διὰ παντός τοιοῦτον refers to a fiery stuff of which there is *at all times* (i. e. at any given time) a certain amount that can be recognized and named. Apart from the fact that διὰ παντός cannot bear such a meaning any more than it can the still freer translation of Apelt ("alles . . . was überhaupt als ein derartiges erscheint"), τὸ τοιοῦτον has *not* been prescribed as the proper designation of a single phenomenal occurrence, and so τὸ διὰ παντός τοιοῦτον cannot be prescribed as the designation of any phenomenal aggregate, all of which together must be as transient and indistinguishable as the transient components.

¹² ἅπαν ὁσονπερ ἂν ἔχη γένεσιν like πῦρ is predicate of τὸ διὰ παντὸς τοιοῦτον, and this itself proves that τὸ διὰ παντὸς is a general formula in which τοιοῦτον is a "variable." I.e. the only factors in generation that can properly be called by the distinct names, "fire," "air," "water," etc. are the characteristics which being perpetually identical are severally distinct, not the unstable manifestations in phenomenal flux that cannot be clearly distinguished from one another.

¹³ ἕκαστα αὐτῶν (E 8), i.e. the perpetually identical characteristics which are severally distinct, each being τὸ διὰ παντὸς τοιοῦτον and which are properly called "fire," "water," etc. See note 9 *supra* (sub *fin.*).

¹⁴ ἐκείνο (50 A 1) resumes ἐν ᾧ . . . ἀπόλλυται and is the primary object of προσαγορεύειν. This is exactly parallel to the construction in 49 D 4-6 where τοῦτο resumes ἀεὶ ὁ καθορῶμεν . . . γιγνόμενον and is the primary object of προσαγορεύειν (see note 3 *supra*).

¹⁵ ἐκείνο in 50 A 4 is the primary object of καλεῖν (just as ἐκείνο in 50 A 1 is the primary object of προσαγορεύειν [note 14 *supra*]) and μηδὲν τούτων, which resumes τὸ ὁποιοῦν τι . . . ἐκ τούτων is predicate to this. Just as 50 A 1-2 means "to designate it (i.e. the receptacle) alone when we employ the word 'this' or 'that'," so 50 A 2-4 means "not to call it (i.e. the receptacle) any of these (i.e. any *kind* of thing [cf. *Theaetetus* 152 D 4 for ὁποιοῦν τι])." This clause was correctly construed by Stallbaum and Martin; but Archer-Hind perversely took ἐκείνο to refer to τὸ ὁποιοῦν τι . . . ἐκ τούτων and the antecedent of μηδὲν τούτων to be τῷ τε τοῦτο καὶ τῷ τόδε in the preceding clause (50 A 1-2), and the translations of Apelt, Bury, Cornford, and Hackforth all adopt this misconception (e.g. Hackforth, *loc. cit.*: "to a qualitative entity, whatever it be, . . . we must not apply any of these terms [i.e. terms like 'this' or 'that']"). Fraccaroli and Rivaud have the same misinterpretation, but they seem to have reached it by another way. They appear to have taken μηδὲν τούτων as referring to τὸ ὁποιοῦν τι . . . ἐκ τούτων but to have made this the primary object of καλεῖν and to have taken ἐκείνο as predicative (e.g. Rivaud: "pour ce qui est qualifié de quelque manière que ce soit . . . nous ne le designerons jamais du terme *cela*"). As for Taylor, I cannot find that he expresses himself on the matter in his *Commentary*. Robin in 1919 (*Études sur . . . la Physique . . . de Platon*, p. 20, n. 2) adopted Archer-Hind's translation, which he says agrees with that of Cousin; but in his own translation of 1942 he silently discarded it and construed correctly: "mais toute détermination qualitative, chaud ou blanc etc. . . , aucune de ces appellations ne lui (the receptacle) doit être assignée," simply referring to 50 D-51 B, which shows conclusively that this is the meaning of 50 A 2-4 (e.g. 51 A 5-6: τὴν . . . ὑποδοχὴν μήτε γῆν μήτε ἀέρα μήτε πῦρ μήτε ὕδωρ λέγομεν μήτε ὅσα ἐκ τούτων μήτε ἐξ ὧν ταῦτα γέγονεν).

Timaeus 50 A 4-B 5

There follows immediately a visual figure intended to illustrate what has just been said in 49 C 7-50 A 4.¹⁶ Suppose that golden figures of all kinds are continually being remoulded each and all into all others, and suppose that someone points to one of them and asks "What is it?" In reply to this question, Plato says:

By far the surest answer so far as truth is concerned is to say "gold"; but as to the triangle and all the other figures that were coming to be in it, <the surest thing is> never to say "these are,"¹⁷ since they <i. e. what would be denoted by "these">¹⁸ are changing even while one is making the statement, but to be content if with some assurance he may be willing to accept <the statement> "What is such and such <is>." ¹⁹

¹⁶ With the use of *σαφέστερον . . . εἰπεῖν* here (50 A 4-5) cf. *σαφέστερον παράδειγμα* in *Sophist* 233 D 3 ff. and *τὸ σαφέστατον* in *Laws* 691 B 11 ff.

¹⁷ The reply "gold" (i. e. "this is gold") corresponds to the admonition to designate only the receptacle by the statement "this is . . ." or "that is . . ." (49 E 7-50 A 2). The continually remoulded gold (*not* the figures themselves that come and go in it) stands for the transient phenomena; and to the injunction not to say of the latter "this is fire," etc. (49 D 5-E 2) corresponds the injunction here *μηδέποτε λέγειν ταῦτα ὡς ὄντα*. This, since the reason given for the injunction (B 3-4: *ἂ γὰρ . . . μεταπίπτει*) is the same as that given (E 2-4: *φεύγει γὰρ . . . φάσις*) for not calling the phenomenon anything of which we say "this is X" (D 7-E 2, see notes 4 and 5 *supra*), must mean "never to say that these are" in the sense "never to say 'this is triangle,' 'this is square,' etc."

This construction and interpretation are in fact implied by Taylor's paraphrase (*Commentary*, p. 321: To the question "What is this I have in my hands?" he says "it would be safer to say 'gold' than to say 'a triangle' or 'a square,' since the figure [i. e., the golden figure to which one would point and say: 'this is . . .'] would be actually changing as you spoke"). All interpreters, so far as I know, elicit an entirely different meaning from the Greek, however, for they take *ταῦτα* as merely resumptive of *τὸ τρίγωνον . . . ἐνεγίγνωτο* and *ὄντα* as existential and translate "never to speak of them (i. e. the triangle, etc.) as existing" or the equivalent. Cornford too translates in this fashion, but in a note (*op. cit.*, p. 182, n. 2) he suggests as preferable: "never to speak of a triangle, etc. as *these* (things), as though they had being." This is to take *ταῦτα* as the secondary object of *λέγειν* (i. e. predicative to *τὸ τρίγωνον*

κτλ.), which is in accord with the erroneous construction of τοῦτο in 49 D 2, D 5, D 6 and ταῦτα in E 4 as predicative. Just as in ὥς ὃν ὁτιοῦν τοῦτο (49 D 1-2), however, τοῦτο is the subject of ὃν (see note 1 *supra*), so here ταῦτα is the subject of ὄντα, for ταῦτα ὥς ὄντα, being the forbidden reply to the question τί ποτ' ἐστί, to which ὅτι χρυσός is the correct answer, must represent ταῦτα τρίγωνον ὅσα τε ἄλλα σχήματά ἐστι just as ὅτι χρυσός stands for τοῦτο χρυσός ἐστι. The displacement of ὥς in such phrases is not uncommon (cf. *Theaetetus* 188 A 3, *Sophist* 255 C 1, *Laws* 878 A 5) nor is the construction ὥς with accusative participle after λέγειν (cf. *Sophist* 263 B 9, *Laws* 643 D 8); *Laws* 641 C 8-D 1 exemplifies both at once, the accusative participle with ὥς after λέγειν and the hyperbaton of ὥς.

In taking ταῦτα as merely resumptive of τὸ τρίγωνον . . . ἐνεγίγνετο interpreters have failed to observe that the figures ὅσα ἐνεγίγνετο <ἐν τῷ χρυσῷ> correspond to the ἔκαστα αὐτῶν ἐγγιγνόμενα <τῇ ὑποδοχῇ> (49 E 8), each of which can be defined by the formula τὸ διὰ παντὸς τοιοῦτον, and that as those are not to be identified with their phenomenal manifestations, which cannot be clearly distinguished from one another (οὐδέποτε τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκάστων φανταζομένων [D 1]; see note 13 *supra*), so these are not to be identified with the golden figures (σχήματα ἐκ χρυσοῦ). These interpreters would make Plato here deny existence to τὸ τρίγωνον, etc., whereas what he says is simply that you must not point to the continually changing golden shapes and say "these are triangle, square, etc."

¹⁸ From what has been said in note 17 *supra* it should be clear that the antecedent of ἃ γὰρ . . . μεταπίπτει is not τὸ τρίγωνον ὅσα τε ἄλλα σχήματα but ταῦτα—or rather in a strict sense the golden shapes (i. e. the phenomena) to which the naïf answerer is likely to point and say "these are triangles, squares, etc." It is the fact that these are being remoulded even while he says "this is . . ." that makes it wrong to say of them "this is" anything but "gold." Cf. φεύγει γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομένον κτλ. (49 E 2) and note 5 *supra* on the subject of that sentence.

¹⁹ ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον μετ' ἀσφαλείας ἐθέλῃ δέχεσθαι τινος, ἀγαπᾷν (50 B 4-5). Martin goes wildly wrong here, translating: "mais si quelqu'un demandait à savoir d'une manière certaine comment se nomme une telle apparence (i. e. τὸ τοιοῦτον), il faudrait le lui dire." He seems to have taken ἐθέλῃ δέχεσθαι to mean "wants to know," "asks" and ἀγαπᾷν to mean "to comply with the request," "to content him," neither of which is a possible interpretation of the Greek. Archer-Hind, Fraccaroli, Bury, and Cornford took the subject of ἐθέλῃ to be τὸ τρίγωνον ὅσα τε ἄλλα σχήματα. So Cornford translates: "if they so much as consent to accept the description 'what is of such and such a quality' with any certainty"; and the others translate to the same effect. The whole sentence from 50 A 7 to the end, however, is determined by the hypothesis that someone asks a question (δεκνύντος δὲ τινος . . . καὶ ἐρομένου τί ποτ' ἐστί)

and is framed as the recommendation of a reply to that questioner (. . . ἀσφαλέστατον εἰπεῖν . . . τὸ δὲ . . . μηδέποτε λέγειν . . . ἄλλ' . . . ἀγαπᾶν); and consequently the person who asks the question, not the thing about which he asks, must be thought of as the one who will accept or decline to accept this answer. So the clause must mean "but to be content if the questioner is willing to accept (as a reply) . . ."; and so far at any rate Rivaud, Robin, and apparently Apelt translate the clause correctly. The reply itself is represented only by τὸ τοιοῦτον, and it is difficult to be sure what these three translators took this to mean. Robin, having construed 50 B 3 to mean "never to designate the triangle, etc. as ὄντα" translates this: "mais si . . . l'interlocuteur . . . accepte qu'on lui nomme *ce tel* que devient la chose." Apelt and Rivaud appear to have interpreted the whole context to mean that you must not speak of the figures as ὄντα but may speak of them as τὸ τοιοῦτον. Taylor too, despite his implied construction of 50 B 3 (see note 17 *supra*), interprets the present clause to mean "you could not safely go further than to call the shape of the moment a τοιοῦτον, a 'phase' in the history of the piece of gold" (*Commentary*, p. 321). Archer-Hind, Fracearoli, Bury, and Cornford certainly take the meaning to be that the triangle, etc., which should not be spoken of as existing (ὄντα), may admit the predicate "such" (τὸ τοιοῦτον). All such interpretations make τοιοῦτον and ὄν alternatives, a notion that is suggested by nothing in the passage that this sentence is meant to illustrate. τὸ τοιοῦτον here is the abbreviated alternative to the forbidden statement ταῦτα ὡς ὄντα. With it therefore must be understood ὡς ὄν from the preceding ὡς ὄντα and τὸ τοιοῦτον must be related to this ὄν just as ταῦτα is to ὄντα. So those who interpret the former phrase to mean "never to speak of them (i. e. the triangle, etc.) as existing" ought to take τὸ τοιοῦτον here not, as they do, to mean that you may "speak of them as τοιοῦτον" but rather to mean that you may "speak of τὸ τοιοῦτον (contrasted to the triangle, etc.) as existing." Cornford's alternative suggestion for ταῦτα ὡς ὄντα, "never to speak of a triangle, etc. as *these* (things), as though they had being," would permit him to take τὸ τοιοῦτον as parallel to ταῦτα and to understand it to mean "but to speak of the triangle, etc. as τοιοῦτον"; but it would do so only if 1) ταῦτα were the *secondary* object of λέγειν, 2) the subject of ἐθέλη δέχεσθαι were τὸ τρίγωνον κτλ., and 3) τὸ τοιοῦτον were the proper expression of such a predicate object of δέχεσθαι. None of these conditions is acceptable, however. In note 17 *supra* I have shown why ταῦτα must be the subject of ὄντα, not the secondary object of λέγειν, and at the beginning of the present note why the subject of ἐθέλη δέχεσθαι must be the questioner and not the things about which he asks. τὸ τοιοῦτον, then, being the statement which the questioner may be induced to accept and thus replacing ταῦτα, must be the subject of that statement; and the only verb that can reasonably be understood with it is ὄν (or ἐστί) from the preceding ὄντα. This in effect yields as the total injunction

over, are emphatically said not to enter into anything [52 A 2-3 and C 5-D 1]). They are occasionally called εἶδη, γένη, and μορφαί (50 C 1, 50 E 5, 51 A 3, 52 D 6), but these words in their context mean only "characters." It is misleading to call them "qualities," as many translators and commentators do, for they are not confined to qualities (the μῦμα of fire, water, earth, air, etc. are on the same footing as those of everything else [cf. 51 B 5-6 and 51 A 5-6]) and the use of τὸ τοιοῦτον in 49 D-50 B has nothing whatever to do with the distinction between "quality" and "substance."²¹ On the other hand, they are not the same as the transient phenomena either, for phenomena are the apparent alterations of the receptacle as a result of their continual entrance into it and exit from it (50 C 3-4). Phenomenal fire is the region of the receptacle that has at any moment been affected by fire, phenomenal water the region that has been affected by water, and so on according as the μῦμα enter into the receptacle (51 B 4-6, cf. 52 D 4-E 1). The intensity and limits of the apparent affections of the receptacle are continually changing and so are indeterminable as fire, water, or anything else. Plato, having said that what fire is cannot be said to be "this" or "that" phase of the phenomenal flux but only to be the perpetually self-identical characteristic that is the determining factor of the indeterminable affection, neither says nor suggests, as he is so often said to do, either that the unidentifiable phases of phenomenal flux can be called τοιοῦτον,²² "such as" the perpetually self-identical characteristic, or that this characteristic can be called τοιοῦτον, "such as" the unidentifiable phase of phenomenal flux. In the *Cratylus* (439 D 8-12) Socra-

²¹ Cornford's use (*op. cit.*, p. 183) of τὸ ὁποιοῦν τι κτλ. (50 A 2-4) to support the statement that they are "qualities" depends upon his misconstruction of that passage (see note 15 *supra*).

²² E. g. Zeller, *Phil. Griech.*, II, 1, p. 724, n. 1: "49 D f.: man dürfe keinen der bestimmten Stoffe (wie Feuer, Wasser u. s. f.) ein τόδε oder τοῦτο nennen, sondern nur ein τοιοῦτον . . ."; Robin, *La Physique dans la Philosophie de Platon*, p. 19; Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Plato*, I, p. 316, note 216 (which should be corrected in accordance with the present note); most of the translators and commentators discussed *supra*; and most recently G. E. L. Owen, *C. Q.*, XLVIII = N. S. III (1953), p. 85, n. 6 ("... the lame plea of the *Tm.* [49 D-E] that even if we cannot say *what* any mere γηγρόμενον is we can describe it as τὸ τοιοῦτον").

tes says that of what is always in flux ²³ you cannot say, in the first place, *ὅτι ἐκείνó ἐστιν* or, in the second, *ὅτι τοιοῦτόν <ἐστιν>*, and *Timaeus* 49 D-50 B, when rightly read, neither says nor implies anything at variance with this statement.²⁴

The self-identical characteristics are not identified, then, by reference to their transient phenomenal manifestations. They are *μυήματα τῶν ὄντων αἰεί*; and it is therefore necessary that, having distinguished from the phenomenal flux the receptacle and the determinate characteristics that are manifested in it, Plato should at this point defend his assumption of the intelligible realities of which these characteristics are "copies" or "images." This he does succinctly in 51 B-E;²⁵ and in the conclusion of the whole section (52 A-C) he can now assert that it is with reference to the ideas that the determining characteristics of phenomena have meaning as it is by their entrance into space that they have existence (52 C). Of the phenomenal flux itself nothing more can be said than that it is the resultant of these entrances and exits in the receptacle.

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²³ He is not here talking of phenomenal flux but is putting for the sake of argument the case that *αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν* and *αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθόν* and such entities are in continual flux (439 C 7 ff.).

²⁴ Owen (*loc. cit.*), misinterpreting the passage of the *Timaeus* in the usual fashion, concludes that *Cratylus* 439 D and the similar statements in the *Theaetetus* (152 D, 182 C-D) are corrections or refutations of the theory of the *Timaeus* and urges this as one of his arguments for making the composition of the *Timaeus* antedate that of the *Theaetetus* and the *Cratylus*. There are no serious grounds for doubting that these two dialogues antedate the *Timaeus*, however, so that the passages in question are in fact supporting evidence to prove that the usual interpretation of *Timaeus* 49 D-50 B is erroneous; but because of Owen's thesis I have not used them for that purpose.

²⁵ This argument in fact sums up the results of the argument in the *Theaetetus* (cf. *A. J. P.*, LVII [1936], pp. 453 and 455; Ross, *Plato's Theory of Ideas*, p. 103).

PEISANDER.

Of all the leading figures of Athenian history in the period between the Peace of Nicias and the final stages of the Peloponnesian War, none seems to have met with such general disapproval at the hands of historians as Peisander of Acharnae. In the studies of the later fifth century he is regularly regarded, explicitly or implicitly, as a selfish hypocrite, turncoat, and traitor—a character in keeping with the indications that he was a fat, greedy man, cowardly, corrupt, and venal to a degree.¹ Yet there is much to be said on his behalf, and indeed there is room for a new and unprejudiced assessment of a man whom it is important to understand for the history of his time. It will, as I hope, appear that there were in Peisander's outlook and conduct a reason, coherence, and (at any rate until the last stage of his career) genuine public spirit which in the usual accounts they seem singularly to lack.

Before considering his career, it may be best to review those personal characteristics of Peisander which have so coloured assessments of him. The evidence for them comes in the main from the comic poets (and secondary authorities deriving from them), whose caricatures and exaggerations have too frequently been treated as if they were sober historical facts. Indeed, much of what they say may be discounted as the stock "smear" of politicians in comedy. Venality and cowardice, for instance, are charges met with elsewhere. The former Peisander shares with Cleon, for example, and yet it is fair to suggest that neither man could so long have held the confidence of a *δημος* so touchy on this point had he been obviously corrupt. Pericles himself had had to face the same accusation, and Antiphon also was similarly attacked.² The imputation of cowardice Peisander

¹ E. g., Glotz and Cohen, *Histoire grecque*, II (*La Grèce au V^e siècle*), pp. 708, 719; G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, III, pp. 1291-2, 1460-1, and nn.; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, III, § 697; W. Ferguson, *C. A. H.*, V, p. 323; K. J. Beloch, *Attische Politik seit Perikles* (Leipzig, 1884), p. 70; G. Gilbert, *Beiträge zur innern Geschichte Athens in Zeitalter des Peloponnesischen Krieges* (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 254-8.

² By Plato the Comic Poet in his *Peisander*, fr. 103 (Kock). All

shares in comedy with Cleonymus the *ρίψασπις*, and the tradition of Peisander the coward became proverbial.³ It may have had more foundation in fact than the charge of venality,⁴ but as defeat in battle usually involved running away on the part of the survivors it was nothing singular or uncommon. Peisander's want of physical courage is indeed an important factor which must be taken into account in his later career, but it cannot be held against him that he did not stand and die at his battle station when the day was lost, and the comic poets' remarks should be treated with some reserve.

He is said to have been of bulky appearance. The evidence really amounts to no more than that he was well built, not grossly fat, and the comparison with *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ξύλων* made by Hermippus (*Ἀρτοπωλίδες*, fr. 9) tends to the same conclusion. That he was greedy and fond of food (a quality also shared by Cleonymus) rests mainly on the evidence of Athenaeus and Aelian:⁵ if he was the son of Glaucetes (see below), it may have been an inherited failing. But it is in any case a slight charge, even if genuine, and hardly needs to be seriously considered. To characterise Peisander as a "géant vorace et bête," as Glotz does (*op. cit.*, p. 719), is to be uncritical and probably unhistorical. Moreover, such a description is bound to prejudice the reader. That he was a warmonger is again part of the stock invective against demagogues, and that he stirred up war to conceal his own venality is, once more, reminiscent of charges against both Pericles and Cleon.⁶ We may also gather, as will appear from his conduct in 415 and 412/11, that he was capable of intense activity, not afraid of a crisis, and able and persuasive as an orator.

references to the fragments of the comic poets in this paper are according to the edition of Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1880-1888).

³ Cf. Suidas, s. v. "Πεισάνδρου δειλότερος." For Cleonymus see Ar., *Clouds*, 353.

⁴ It finds its way into Xenophon—*Sympos.*, II, 14.

⁵ Athenaeus, X, 415d; Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, I, 27. It may perhaps be used as an additional indication that Peisander's family was wealthy and could afford to live well.

⁶ Ar., *Babylonians*, fr. 81; *Peace*, 394-5; *Lysistr.*, 489-91. Plato Comicus named a comedy after him—a distinction he subsequently bestowed also on Cleophon. The charge of warmongering, it may be observed, is hardly consistent with that of cowardice, at any rate under ancient conditions of warfare.

This activity and energy may perhaps indicate that in 412/11 he was not more than middle-aged. If the earliest reference to him belongs *ca.* 430/29, he could have been born in the fifties of the fifth century and in 411 have been some 45 years old—young enough to display no lack of vigour yet old enough to assume, and be readily accorded, a leading position. He may be identified with Peisander the son of Glaucetes who appears as one of the *ἐπιστάται* supervising the making of statues of Hephaestus and Athena for the Hephaestion in 421/20.⁷ Such a duty, involving as it did the supervision of public expenditure, may have been reserved for men of property, as in the case of the *ταμίαι* of the sacred funds. In any case we may be confident that Peisander was by no means poor. Landed property of his was confiscated after his flight to Decelea (Lysias, VII, 4), and he may well have served as trierarch with the fleet. He was presumably well qualified by census for inclusion among the Five Thousand in 411. Poverty is not among the reproaches levelled at him, as it is in the case of Androcles (Schol. Ar. *Wasps*, 1187) and Phrynichus (Lysias, XX, 11); nor is he said to be of low birth, as are Hyperbolus and Cleophon. References to him as a “muleteer” (Eupolis, *Maricas*, fr. 182) and a “donkey” (Hermippus, *loc. cit.*) perhaps also indicate that he possessed substantial agricultural holdings.

He was sufficiently well known by 426 to be jibed at by Aristophanes in the *Babylonians* (*loc. cit.*, n. 6 *ante*). The reference in Eupolis' otherwise undated *Ἀσπράτενοι* probably also belongs to the period of the Archidamian War. In the MSS the first line of this fragment (no. 31) reads

Πείσανδρος εἰς Πакτωλὸν ἐστρατεύετο

but editors have emended to *εἰς Σπάρτωλον* (somewhat wrong-headedly, for we should certainly expect a name *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*).

⁷ *I. G.*, I², 370, lines 1-3, where he is also named as *Ἀχαρνεύς*. The name Peisander is surprisingly uncommon at Athens. Of the three in *Prosopographia Attica* (nos. 11768-70), the first is an otherwise unknown casualty in *I. G.*, I², 951, and the second is *ὁ στρεβλός*, carefully differentiated from “the great Peisander” by Eupolis in the *Maricas*. Glaucetes (*P. A.*, 2944) is, like Peisander, accused of being overfond of his food (Ar., *Peace*, 1008; *Thesmoph.*, 1033; Plato Com., fr. 106). The identifications here made, while they cannot be certain, are extremely likely. For the supposition of a son of Peisander also named Glaucetes see p. 145 below.

If this emendation is correct, the reference would presumably be to the battle of Spartolos in 429 (Thuc., II, 79). The campaigns of Nicias and Cleon in 423 and 422 did not affect Spartolos, which was still independent in 421, remaining autonomous under the terms of the Peace of Nicias. But, as Kock realised, there are no compelling grounds for the abandonment of *εἰς Πακτωλόν*, simply because a reference to Spartolos would be historically more familiar to us. Indeed, the expedition referred to may well be that of Melesander, who, sent to collect tribute in 430/29, was defeated and killed in Caria (Thuc., II, 69). In *A. T. L.*, I, 193⁸ payments made "to a military force" in Tribute List 25 (430/29) by the cities of the Erythraean syntely are plausibly connected with Melesander's expedition. It is perhaps unlikely that Melesander went into the hinterland of the Erythraean peninsula as far as the Pactolus, but for the comic poet to suggest so is a reasonable exaggeration; he is in any case in the right geographical area when he makes the suggestion. Furthermore, the mention of the Pactolus, the river of gold, might also indicate (*a*) that the expedition was in search of money, and (*b*) that Peisander was personally susceptible to the same lure.

At the time of the Peace of Nicias he was active in opposing a settlement—if we may deduce as much from Ar., *Peace*, 394-5—and for the year following he held the post of *ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἀγαλμάτων* already mentioned. Casual references to him in undated comedies may belong to this period, and if so would indicate his continued prominence. As a democratic leader he was, like Androcles, no doubt overshadowed by the personalities of Alcibiades and Hyperbolus, but the removal of the latter by ostracism in 416 or 415 eliminated one rival, and Peisander was perhaps content to remain a supporter of Alcibiades (see below). It was Androcles who was eager to seize the chance of getting rid of Alcibiades which presented itself when, on the eve of the expedition to Sicily, the representations of Hermes which stood about the city were, with a single exception, defaced and mutilated.

The mutilation occurred on the night of June 7th, 415, the night of the new moon.⁹ Exactly a month later, on July 7th, the

⁸ *The Athenian Tribute Lists* (Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor), I (1939).

⁹ New moon—Plut., *Alc.*, 20. For the equation with the Julian calen-

first prytany of the conciliar year 415/14 took office. It has been argued that Peisander, Charicles, and Androcles were all members of the incoming βουλή.¹⁰ The grounds are, briefly, that Charicles and Peisander were appointed to the board of ζητηταί to probe the matter to its depths, and Peisander appears as speaking before the βουλή in that capacity (Andoc., I, 36; 43). Peisander proposed μήνυτρα for information which would assist the inquiry (Andoc., I, 27). Finally, the proxenia of Lycon of Achaëa (I. G., I², 93) was proposed by Peisander and may well be attributable to 415/14. But none of these arguments is cogent, and it is in any case highly unlikely that these three leading citizens should find themselves all on the same βουλή, even though the chance of the lot *could* have fallen out so. The proxeny decree might date anywhere between *ca.* 425 and the regime of the Four Hundred, and the proposal of decrees was not restricted to βουλευταί. This last point also eliminates the evidence of Andoc., I, 27, the proposal of μήνυτρα being no criterion of membership of the βουλή. Further, in such important and disturbing circumstances it would be very natural (*a*) to appoint to the commission men of well-known democratic and patriotic sentiments (Andoc., I, 36), and (*b*) to give that commission free access to the βουλή which had already (Andoc., I, 15) received the fullest powers.¹¹ We have here, therefore, no real evidence

dar, and the chronology of the departure of the Sicilian expedition see B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents* (Ann Arbor, 1932), p. 171.

¹⁰ All the ζητηταί—B. Keil, *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), p. 354, n.; Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade* (2nd ed., Paris, 1951), p. 162, n. 4; p. 170; p. 191, n. 6. Androcles—Gilbert, *Beiträge*, pp. 82, 259, 268; Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 190, n. 3; F. Täger, *Alkibiades* (Munich, 1943), pp. 103-4. Cf. Andoc., I, 27.

¹¹ In any case the board of ζητηταί must have been appointed by the βουλή of 416/15, and would have done their initial work in the last prytany of the old conciliar year. Peisander and his colleagues can hardly have been members of both βουλαί. The testimony of Andromachus is to be dated *ca.* June 17th, Teucer's after the departure of the fleet (*pace* Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 167, n. 4, and Täger, *loc. cit.*) but, if it was a riposte to Andromachus and Androcles, not long after. That of Diocleides belongs to July and to the new βουλή. Peisander's proposal of a higher reward for information need not have been made in the new conciliar year, as Hatzfeld believes.

B. Keil (*loc. cit.*) argues mistakenly in the opposite direction, that: ζητηταί must have been βουλευταί, Peisander was a ζητητής and was therefore a βουλευτής, and hence that his appointment and the whole affair of the Hermae took place in the conciliar year 415/14.

that Peisander and his colleagues were *βουλευταί*,¹² but it is made very apparent that their fidelity to the *δῆμος* was beyond question. And they reinforced that opinion by the zeal and determination with which they went about their task.

But it would be a mistake to assume that they were all like-minded. There must have been a deep cleavage of opinion between Androcles and Peisander as to the complicity of Alcibiades in the mutilation. Androcles was Alcibiades' most bitter opponent, and bore the chief responsibility for his exile (Thuc., VIII, 65, 2; Plut., *Alc.*, 19). Alcibiades was never denounced as a mutilator of the Hermae, and, as his enemies sought to attack him on vaguer charges of having profaned the Eleusinian mysteries, he probably had a well-substantiated alibi for the night of June 7th. Androcles, however, made an early attempt to confuse the two issues by saying that a man denounced as a profaner of the Mysteries could hardly have been guiltless of the mutilation of the Herms. Indeed, he was thought to have committed similar acts of sacrilege in the past (Thuc., VI, 28, 2; Plut., *Alc.*, 19). Though this attempt came to nothing, Androcles was clearly ready to seize upon any stick with which to beat Alcibiades, whose superior influence with the *δῆμος* he resented. He belonged to that group of *οἱ μάλιστα τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ ἀχθόμενοι*, who wished to be rid of a hated rival (Thuc., *loc. cit.*), and it was as an intended favour to Alcibiades that he was eliminated in 411 (Thuc., VIII, 65, 2).

Peisander, on the other hand, belongs to the category of Alcibiades' supporters (Thuc., VIII, 53; Plut., *Alc.*, 26, 1). He was chosen to head the deputation to Athens advising his recall, which argues that he had taken the lead in opposing Phrynichus and was regarded as thoroughly loyal to Alcibiades' cause. This may have been additional recommendation for his leadership of the embassy which afterwards went to treat with Tissaphernes. He can hardly, therefore, as Hatzfeld rightly saw (p. 191, n. 6), be accused of having caused Alcibiades' exile, and E. Meyer¹³

¹² Reincke (in *R.-B.*, s. v. "Peisandros [9] ") merely says that Peisander "must have filled important public offices between 415 and 413," on the evidence of Ar., *Lysistr.*, 490 and *I. G.*, I², 93. But on that basis we are not entitled even to this more vague inference.

¹³ *Gesch. d. Altert.*, III, 2, § 651.

and W. S. Ferguson ¹⁴ must be regarded as mistaken in grouping Androcles and Peisander together as having worked to that end. Thus the two demagogues may well have worked at cross-purposes in the course of the enquiry into the mutilation.

Indeed, the whole series of denunciations in 415 appears to form a pattern whereby an attack on Alcibiades is countered by a defence of him diverting suspicion in another direction. Andromachus named him—probably with Androcles' collusion, for Androcles seized avidly upon his testimony (Plut., *Alc.*, 19); Teucer, however, did not. Agariste implicated Alcibiades in a new denunciation, but he was not among those named by Lydos, slave of Pherecles. Similarly, although Alcibiades was not concerned with the mutilation, Diocleides' evidence was certainly inspired by connexions of his, and came remarkably soon after Peisander had raised the reward for information from one thousand to ten thousand drachmae. Peisander, who was well aware of Alcibiades' value and importance for Athens' success, may have used his position as *ζητητής* to secure the kind of evidence he wanted. Teucer's evidence was in fact supported by Andocides, and, so far as we can tell, seems to have been near the truth. But it is perhaps a suggestion worth considering that it was Peisander who found him out and persuaded him to give it, and that Peisander may have produced Diocleides (and possibly, after his ignominious failure, Lydos also) as a counter to the suspicion of Alcibiades recently renewed by Agariste.

In the whole Hermocopid affair, therefore, Peisander played an active and energetic part, wholeheartedly defending the democracy from what he interpreted as an attack upon its security. That he did this so zealously and convincingly while being a complete hypocrite, as Meyer suggests, is hardly to be believed. His patriotism and loyalty to the democracy and (if the suggestion above be accepted) to Alcibiades convinced his contemporaries and should convince us. To believe that, because he later openly joined the oligarchic party, he was always a secret oligarch in his previous career is to argue from that erroneous assumption of ancient biography that true character can never change though it may be concealed.

In the three years following the mutilation of the Hermae we

¹⁴ *C. A. H.*, V, p. 286. See also Täger, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

lack definite information of Peisander's activity, but it is generally and reasonably assumed that his leading position in the state remained secure. There is, however, no evidence for Beloch's assertion that he and Androcles were *στρατηγοί* in 414/13 and the following year, nor for Müller-Strübing's claim that he was *Staatsschatzmeister* (*ταμίης τῆς θεοῦ*) in 418/14 and 414/10.¹⁵ Aristophanes looses further shafts at him in the *Birds* (414) and the *Lysistrata* (411, but before the oligarchic revolution), from which one may gather (*a*) that he was a man still in the lime-light and (*b*) that he was still regarded as a democrat (*Lysistr.*, 489-91). It is legitimate to argue that he advocated the second Sicilian expedition in 414/13, though there is no evidence to warrant the dogmatism of Glotz in this detail (*op. cit.*, p. 692). Energy in the prosecution of the war was a characteristic of democratic politicians and, as has already been mentioned, formed a stock accusation of them by the comic poets. The determination with which every assistance was sent to Nicias in Sicily ill accords, as A. W. Gomme has cogently pointed out,¹⁶ with Thucydides' analysis of the causes of the disaster of 413.

The disaster in Sicily brought with it, as Thucydides expressly tells us (VIII, 1), a revulsion of feeling at Athens. Its effect not only on public morale but on the private political convictions of individuals cannot be overemphasized. The democratic politicians who had championed the expedition fell into disfavour—Androcles probably among them; but to judge from the evidence of the *Lysistrata* Peisander seems to have weathered the storm, and may well have emerged as the leader of a fighting "backs to the wall" programme, which pressed the thousand-talent reserve into use and nerved Athens for a new and resilient effort. That Peisander did weather this storm suggests that his political standpoint or his oratory (or both) suited the mood of the Athenians at the time. But, in common with many others, he may well have entertained private and genuine misgivings about the constitution he had so long defended. The appointment of the ten *probouloi* indicated the uneasiness of the public at large in their assembly. Privately (and who can blame them?)

¹⁵ Beloch, *Att. Politik*, p. 63: Müller-Strübing, *Aristophanes und die historische Kritik* (Leipzig, 1873), p. 422, n.

¹⁶ *J. H. S.*, LXXI (1951), p. 72.

Peisander, Charicles, Phrynichus, and others had good reason to question the principles they had long regarded as sacred, and to come to believe that the war could only be energetically and efficiently waged by a smaller political group, based on those who contributed most to the state *χρήμασι* or *σώμασι*. Such an attitude is reasonable enough. The full democracy had not measured up to its responsibilities; a democracy temporarily restricted would, in the present emergency, serve Athens' interests better and more effectively. This is not to deny that it became expedient for Peisander, if he were to maintain his political prominence, to consider joining the oligarchic party. But it is certainly arguable that to the promptings of expediency was added a sincere change of political conviction.

Unhappily, the events of 411 and 404, and the voice of the democratic politicians, have bequeathed to the word "oligarchy" in Athenian history a sinister flavour. It is equally unfortunate that to change sides and, as it were, cross the floor of the House tends to be regarded as dishonest and even treacherous. Before the revolution of 411 an oligarchy must have seemed attractive and even necessary in some degree, not only to Antiphon and the "aristocratic circle" which had long advocated it from conviction, but also to the *ci-devant* democrats who had come to doubt their own principles. In view of recent events there was every reason to consider a change of constitution. Furthermore, to conclude that one's cherished principles are mistaken, and to change sides accordingly, may, and frequently does, demand the highest qualities of decision and courage. These qualities Peisander possessed in good measure, as his actions of 415 and 412 (if correctly diagnosed above) and later of 411 amply demonstrate.¹⁷ The reason for his change of party given by Lysias in a piece of special pleading (XXV, 9) would appear, in this light, to be the very opposite of the truth.¹⁸ On the con-

¹⁷ As Grote saw long ago (*History of Greece*, VIII, p. 11, n.): " (Peisander's) forwardness and energy . . . in taking the formidable initiative of putting down the Athenian democracy is to me quite sufficient evidence that the taunts of the comic writers against his cowardice are unfounded." And, in much the same terms, Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 236, n. 3. Cf. also E. Abbott, *History of Greece*, III, p. 395: "In his public advocacy of the revolution Peisander acted a part as legitimate as it was courageous."

¹⁸ Lysias' client is here trying to minimise the importance of a change

trary, we may note the praise which Aristotle, more sympathetic to the oligarchs, gives to his γνώμη and σύνεσις ('Αθ. Πολ., 32, 2).

We may thus claim with some justification that solid reasons of patriotism, coupled with a desire to see the war carried on with greater efficiency, encouraged Peisander to act as he did.¹⁹ To these may be added his conviction that Alcibiades alone was the man of genius who could really save Athens, and that he would never return under the *régime* of the full democracy which had banished him.²⁰ It was this certainty of his which he afterwards put so cogently, and in the face of vociferous opposition, in the ἐκκλησία. They must have Alcibiades, and there was no other way by which they could get him. A revision of principles tested and found wanting, and a well-grounded calculation of expediency seem thus to have combined to cause Peisander to make a statesmanlike move into the oligarchic camp, and in that camp his natural gifts, together with the obvious usefulness of his democratic antecedents, rapidly made him into one of the leading members.

At the beginning of the revolution Peisander was with the fleet at Samos, perhaps as trierarch.²¹ At this point he enters into Thucydides' narrative, which thereafter deals with his activities in a detail which there is no need to reproduce here. Nor is there need to embark on a consideration of the nature and organisation of the oligarchic governments which followed the successful *coup*, the complexities of which have provoked a substantial literature to which I have at this juncture no wish to add.²² Peisander played an important and central part through-

of side, and to say that it is all a matter of the circumstances in which a man finds himself: no one is democratic or oligarchic *φύσει*. He at least makes it clear that Peisander was by no means alone in his change of heart.

¹⁹ Contrast Reincke in *R.-E.*: "Ein Gefühl für die Grösse und Selbstständigkeit seiner Vaterstadt war bei ihm nicht mehr vorhanden."

²⁰ If the connexion between the two men was as close as has been suggested, it was possibly Alcibiades' message (Thuc., VIII, 47, 2) which finally decided Peisander's adherence to the oligarchic party.

²¹ Not *στρατηγός*, for which the only, and unreliable, evidence is Cornelius Nepos, *Alcib.*, 5, despite the confidence of Beloch (*Att. Politik*, p. 63). Reincke is perhaps too definite that Peisander was trierarch; he certainly counted among the *δυνατώτατοι* mentioned by Thucydides.

²² See now Mabel Lang, *A. J. P.*, LXIX (1948), pp. 272-89, with bibliography in n. 5, and M. Cary, *J. H. S.*, LXXII (1952), pp. 56-61.

out, and although we know from Thucydides that Antiphon was the guiding spirit²³ and that Phrynichus and others were of no less consequence to the cause than Peisander, nevertheless it was Peisander who had the major task of manoeuvring the *δῆμος* into accepting the new *régime*, and *οἱ ἀμφὶ* (or *περὶ*) *Πείσανδρον* is sometimes used to define the oligarchic party.²⁴ For this task his long and able record as a democratic leader, and the skill he must have shown in retaining his position after the Sicilian disaster, made him a sound and indisputable choice.²⁵ Convinced in his own mind that he was advocating the right course, he had a remarkable faculty for convincing others, as, later, his winning over of the three hundred Samian counter-revolutionaries also shows (Thuc., VIII, 73, 2). His conviction probably sprang, as we have seen, from two main points—the need for increased efficiency in waging the war, and the need for Alcibiades' recall. To both these points oligarchy appeared to be the answer. But the oligarchs on Samos were by no means of one mind about them, and on the second of them Peisander was vehemently opposed by Alcibiades' enemy Phrynichus. Phrynichus certainly wanted an oligarchy, but he did not want Alcibiades. Alcibiades' hint that he would return home under an oligarchy was, in his view, sheer hypocrisy: so long as he returned, Phrynichus thought, Alcibiades did not care what the government was. Furthermore, Persia could not, at the present stage, abandon the Spartans as Alcibiades had suggested she might; while no change to oligarchy would check the defections in the Athenian Empire which were taking place on all sides (Thuc., VIII, 48, 4-7). To this view Thucydides himself seems to subscribe, and it has received warm support in modern times.²⁶ But Phrynichus' position was anti-Alcibiades, not anti-oligarchic as Michaeli erroneously thought.²⁷ As soon as there ceased to be any question of Alcibiades' return, Phrynichus, who for reasons of personal enmity, failing to gain his point in the council of his fellow-oligarchs, had been prepared to sabotage the whole affair (as related in Thuc., VIII, 50-51),

²³ "A sinister figure that moved in the background like an American 'boss' "—W. S. Ferguson (*C. A. H.*, V, p. 325).

²⁴ Schol. Aeschines II, 176; *Etymol. Magn.*, s. v. "συγγραφεὺς."

²⁵ Cf. H. Michaeli, *La Révolution Oligarchique* (Geneva, 1893), p. 86.

²⁶ E. g., from Ferguson (*op. cit.*, p. 323).

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

threw himself heart and soul into it. However, quite apart from the motives of his opposition, Phrynichus' case had little substance. Granted that Alcibiades cared nothing for the government at Athens so long as it voted his recall, it was none the less reasonable to assume that the full democracy could not bring itself to pass such a measure, whereas an oligarchy would. Granted that Athenian victory depended, as it now appeared to do, on Alcibiades' support and Persian gold, every effort must be made to secure both, and Alcibiades' diplomacy might well bring about a Persian change of side. Thirdly, community of interest between oligarchs could hold the Empire together no less than that between democrats. The latter bond had now to a great extent failed; the former was worth trying. Phrynichus' were essentially negative arguments in a crisis which called for boldness and experiment, and above all for action. The oligarchs rightly decided to go ahead with their plans, and Phrynichus, having tried to prevent Alcibiades' return by fair means, now resorted to foul.

In Athens Peisander, though doubtless supported by moderate as well as by more extreme oligarchic opinions, met strong opposition when he put his thesis to the assembly. His main points were again the recall of Alcibiades and a modification of democracy, *ὡς ἐξείη . . . Πελοποννησίων περιγενέσθαι*,²⁸ and he challenged his opponents to think of a better means to that end than their adoption. He should, at this stage, probably be classed as a moderate rather than an extremist, and on learning of Phrynichus' treachery he persuaded the people to replace him and his colleague Scironides at Samos; he could no doubt have prevented the appointment of Leon and Diomedon, afterwards prominent in the democratic reaction, had he thought it necessary to do so. Thucydides objects that the charges on which he attacked Phrynichus were false. Perhaps they were, but it was expedient that they should be. Peisander could hardly have used the more accurate ones open to him without coming close to exposing the whole oligarchic plot. As it was, he secured the necessary elimination of Phrynichus without having to make any dangerous revelations.

²⁸ "Die zu begründende Oligarchie . . . die Fortsetzung des Krieges in ihr Programm aufgenommen hatte," Gilbert, *Beiträge*, p. 299. Cf. Thuc., VIII, 63, 4; Arist., *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 29, 5.

His arguments about a change of *régime* having finally won the day, and resulting perhaps in the election of thirty *συγγραφεῖς* to frame a provisional constitution of Five Thousand (Mabel Lang, *loc. cit.*, pp. 275-7, 288, though Hignett, *Hist. Ath. Const.*, app. XII, disagrees), he was again an obvious choice for the mission to Tissaphernes. The course of the ensuing talks, as related by Thucydides (VIII, 56), shows Alcibiades in an impossible light, alienating his friends and with every intention of not securing for Athens what he had promised. Nothing could have served to damage his own position and prospects more. He would fail to secure his recall to Athens, lose credit with the Athenians for not persuading Tissaphernes, and lose credit with Tissaphernes for not persuading the Athenians to make the maximum concessions. The difficulties are to some extent resolved if we regard as the author of the terms presented to Peisander's mission not Alcibiades but Tissaphernes himself. Tissaphernes had no wish to see Alcibiades back at Athens, and, as Phrynichus had anticipated, no desire to help the Athenians. By presenting his impossible demands through Alcibiades²⁹ he discredited him with his friends and made him doubt the reality of his influence over himself. Alcibiades, an unwilling intermediary, was for once outwitted. Peisander and his fellow-ambassadors returned to Samos angry with Alcibiades, who they felt had tricked them, and one of the principal reasons for establishing the oligarchy—the main one with which they had persuaded the Athenians to accept it—had vanished.

The extreme oligarchs were however determined, having come thus far, to persevere with their plans even without Alcibiades. It was hard for them to withdraw,³⁰ as in Athens Peisander had

²⁹ The Athenians were prepared to make very substantial concessions—a fact which may have taken Tissaphernes by surprise, for he produced fresh and more far-reaching demands when those he had previously made were accepted. Peisander and his colleagues were, however, not merely displaying a *penchant* for betraying the Empire, as Michaeli apparently thought (*op. cit.*, p. 107). They could afford to be generous with territory which, to a great extent, Athens no longer possessed. They refused to place the remains of Athenian sea-power in further jeopardy. To attempt to explain Alcibiades' conduct by saying that he pitched Persian demands high in order to show his influence with Tissaphernes (cf. P. A. Brunt, *R. E. G.*, LXV [1952], pp. 77-8) is unconvincing. Rather would he show a lack of influence thereby.

³⁰ ὥς ἤδη καὶ κινδυνεύοντας—Thuc., VIII, 63, 4.

worked hard for the union of the oligarchic clubs, and the ground was already being prepared by them for the new *régime* by the creation of an atmosphere of terror and suspicion. The disposal of a number of opponents, among them Androcles, contributed greatly to this. In what position were the moderates to stand, especially those who had been mainly influenced by the need for Alcibiades' recall? Many of them may have believed in, and hoped to bring about (if it was not in some measure already in existence) the constitution of the Five Thousand. For leaders like Peisander, who knew too much and were deeply implicated, there could be no going back: the fate of Androcles and others was sufficient warning to a man who, as we have seen, was perhaps not physically courageous; while a restored democracy would now undoubtedly view him as an oligarch and treat him accordingly. Furthermore, there were still other strong arguments in support of oligarchy, sufficient at any rate to convince influential Samian democrats (Thuc., VIII, 63, 3; 73, 2). In such a situation Peisander had little alternative. He identified himself fully with the oligarchic cause, sailed around the Aegean setting up oligarchies and collecting troops, and, on arrival at Athens, was responsible for the careful organising of the establishment of the new constitution. The first stage was the appointment of *συγγραφεῖς αὐτοκράτορες*, the second that of the assembly at Colonus, where Peisander with shrewd judgement allowed the *συγγραφεῖς* to propose and carry the abrogation of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, and then himself moved the adoption of proposals embodying an assembly of five thousand members and a council of four hundred. From this point Peisander's career is involved with that of the Four Hundred, of whom he was one. His energy on their behalf is attested both by Thucydides (VIII, 68, 1) and by Andocides, whom he denounced as an enemy to the *régime* (II, 14).

The counter-revolution at Samos, together with their inability to hold the Empire together or to wage the war with the expected increase in efficiency, undermined the whole position of the Four Hundred within a comparatively short time. Peisander was already too deeply involved to withdraw even when Alcibiades returned to Samos at the invitation of the democratic leaders there; and in any case Alcibiades was disposed to be encouraging (Thuc., VIII, 89). Peisander may well have formed part of the

mission sent to Samos to interview him and to explain matters to the fleet. At any rate the points made by the envoys, as reported by Thucydides (VIII, 86), and the situation they had to face, reflect the skill in argument and called for the same pertinacity which Peisander had displayed on an earlier occasion (above, p. 141). But he had in fact long ceased to exercise any real control over events. The programme of vigorous prosecution of the war had been abandoned, as soon as the Four Hundred were firmly in power, in favour of an honourable peace with Sparta. The revolt of the fleet at Samos, which happened at about the same time as the oligarchic *coup d'état* in Athens, had robbed the oligarchs of the ability to wage the effective war they had at first intended, and left them no alternative but to make overtures to King Agis. But in so doing they alienated their more moderate supporters, who were in any case beginning to realise that the government of the Five Thousand was destined to be more theoretical than actual. The extremists were, as a result, driven to more desperate measures of self-preservation—a hasty embassy to Sparta, the construction of the fort at Eetionea, and plans to admit the Spartans to the city. The break in the oligarchic party became complete, rioting broke out, and when the approach of the Spartan fleet, and the naval defeat off Eretria with the accompanying revolt of Euboea, had brought matters to a head, Peisander and other prominent leaders of the Four Hundred found it prudent to slip away to the Spartan forces at Decelea.

This furtive escape from the city whose policies he had so long helped to direct is the last information of Peisander that we have. How, when, or where he died we do not know. His property was confiscated, and he was no doubt condemned to death *in absentia* (cf. Lycurgus, *Leocr.*, 121). It is conceivable that Glaucetes, the name of Peisander's father, would also be the name of his son, and that he would have taken his son to Decelea with him. It is equally conceivable that this could be the Glaucetes of whom Demosthenes speaks so scathingly in the speech against Timocrates (128-9). This Glaucetes³¹ also had escaped to Decelea, and had doubtless returned under the amnesty at the end of the war. He was a man of wealth, serving as

³¹ Kirchner, *P. A.*, 2946.

THE FETIAL LAW AND THE OUTBREAK OF THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

The Jugurthine War has fairly frequently been studied by modern historians, while Sallust's monograph on the subject has even more regularly been analyzed by historians and philologists. Nevertheless the legal aspects of the war's outbreak have never been satisfactorily explained. It would appear that no one has ever tried to interpret the exchanges of embassies and letters between Rome and Numidia in terms of the elaborate ritual prescribed by Rome's fetial law for the initiation of a *iustum bellum*. Presumably this was because most historians had assumed that before this relatively late period in the history of the Republic the primitive fetial law, except for certain picturesque formalities, had been discarded. We have direct evidence that as late as the reign of Marcus Aurelius the formal beginning of an armed conflict was signalized by the ceremonial casting of a spear into what was, by legal fiction, enemy territory.¹ Yet in negotiations with an offending power senatorial *legati* had been substituted for the *fetiales* by the third century B. C.,² and presumably the rest of the complicated procedure had fallen into desuetude. F. W. Walbank has recently shown, however, that the fetial procedure for declaring war survived the change in personnel from *fetiales* to senatorial *legati*, that the procedure was a living usage as late as 172/1 B. C. when the Third Macedonian War began, but that in the Middle Republic the order of the steps in the procedure was different from that customarily employed in early Rome.³

¹ Dio Cassius, LXXII, 33, 3; Ammianus Marcellinus, XIX, 2, 6, is the last reference to the rite in the ancient sources, but one cannot infer from the passage that the Romans still used the rite in the historian's own day.

² Theodor Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, II³, 1, p. 675; Georg Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 554.

³ Walbank in an article written jointly with A. H. McDonald, "The origins of the Second Macedonian War," *J. R. S.*, XXVII (1937), pp. 180-207, at pp. 192-7; F. W. Walbank, "A Note on the Embassy of Q. Marcius Philippus, 172 B. C.," *J. R. S.*, XXXI (1941), pp. 82-93, at pp. 86-91. Walbank's interpretation was challenged by E. J. Bickerman, "*Bellum Philippicum*," *C. P.*, XL (1945), pp. 137-48, esp. pp. 138-40.

The earlier sequence of steps was: *res repetuntur* (demand for redress of grievances by the *fetiales*); after thirty or thirty-three days without satisfaction, *bellum denuntiatur* (by the *fetiales*—solemn declaration to heaven that satisfaction had been denied, together with threat of war); *senatus censet* (the senate debates the question and decides to recommend war to the people); *populus iubet* (the *comitia* orders war); *bellum indicitur* (a state of war is formally declared by the throwing of the spear into enemy territory).⁴ By 238/7 B. C. the role of the *fetiales* in the first two steps described above had been assumed by senatorial *legati* and the order of the procedure had been altered: *senatus censet*, *populus iubet*, *res repetuntur*, *bellum denuntiatur*, *bellum indicitur*. That is to say, the senatorial envoys “went out armed with a conditional declaration of war, authorized beforehand by the senate and the people, so that, if the reply to their *rerum repetitio* was unfavorable, they could immediately convey the Roman declaration of war.”⁵ This paper will attempt to show that this modified procedure was still in use toward the end of the second century B. C., when it was used against Jugurtha. Further confirmation should thereby be given to Walbank’s thesis, and the events leading up to the Jugurthine War should also come into sharper focus. A point of particular interest is to observe the working of the fetial procedure upon an occasion when the senate did not want to provoke a war, rather wished at all costs to prevent one. In most of the cases where we can follow the fetial procedure in the third and second centuries the senate, if not planning war, was willing, at least, to incur grave risk of it. Our principal authority for the war against Jugurtha, Sallust, was certainly not interested in technical legal questions, and his narrative must be pieced out with the scraps of information left us in other, later sources, which for the most part depend ultimately either upon Livy or Posidonius.⁶

Walbank replied in “Roman Declaration of War in the Third and Second Centuries,” *C. P.*, XLIV (1949), pp. 15-19.

⁴ On this procedure see J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, III², pp. 420-3; Wissowa, *R. K.*², pp. 553-4; Ernest Samter, s. v. “*Fetiales*,” *R.-E.*, VI, cols. 2259-65; André Weiss, s. v. “*Fetiales*,” *D.-S.*, II, 2, pp. 1095-1101; cf. Tenney Frank, *Roman Imperialism* (New York, 1925), p. 8.

⁵ Walbank, *C. P.*, XLIV (1949), p. 15.

⁶ Paola Zancan, “Prolegomeni alla Giugurtina,” *Atti del Reale Isti-*

The situation in Numidia which eventually provoked Roman armed intervention is well known. Upon the death of King Micipsa, the successor of Massinissa as client-prince of Numidia, his two sons, Hiempsal and Adherbal, succeeded to the kingdom, together with Jugurtha, an illegitimate scion of the Numidian royal family (118 B. C.). Not long after this Jugurtha caused the assassination of Hiempsal and expelled Adherbal from the latter's portion of the kingdom. Adherbal fled to Rome, whither Jugurtha also shortly dispatched ambassadors to lay his side of the matter before the senate. As far as can be determined, Adherbal was clearly the injured party; yet to avoid a costly war which would prove of little benefit to the Republic, the senate determined upon a fresh division of Numidia.⁷ In 117 or 116 B. C. a commission of ten *legati*, headed by the consular L. Opimius, was sent to Africa to partition Numidia between Jugurtha and Adherbal. The latter received the eastern half of the kingdom, Jugurtha the western (Sallust, *Iug.*, 15-16). This partition maintained a presumably uneasy truce in Numidia for about four years. About the beginning of 112 B. C.⁸ hostilities between the two princes broke out again and Jugurtha was able to shut Adherbal up in Cirta, but not before the harried prince could send off envoys to Rome (Sallust, *Iug.*, 20-1). When the senate heard these tidings, Sallust says, three *adulescentes* were sent as *legati* to Africa,

tuto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, CII (1942-43), part 2, pp. 637-51, CIII (1943-44), part 2, pp. 143-79, at CIII, part 2, pp. 143 and 163, concludes that as far as can be inferred from the *Periochae*, the Livian account seems generally to have agreed with that of Sallust, but that the account of Diodorus (Posidonius?) shows important divergences from Sallust's narrative.

⁷ Cf. Kurt von Fritz, "Sallust and the Attitude of the Roman Nobility at the Time of the Wars against Jugurtha (112-105 B. C.)," *T. A. P. A.*, LXXIV (1943), pp. 134-68, at pp. 144-5. It is generally recognized that Sallust's reckless accusations of large-scale bribery of numbers of influential senators on this and subsequent occasions may be disregarded, at least as the compelling factor in determining the policy of the senate. Since the present paper deals with matters of technical procedure rather than with the imputation of motives, it is not necessary to discuss the vexed question of the bias of Sallust.

⁸ On the chronology, see Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, VII (Paris, 1928), p. 147 and notes 1 and 3.

qui ambos reges adeant, senatus populiue Romani verbis nuntient: Velle et censere eos ab armis discedere, de controversiis suis iure potius quam bello disceptare; ita seque illisque dignum esse.

who were to go to both kings (and) to announce in the words of the senate and people of Rome: Willed and resolved that they desist from arms (and) settle their disputes by law rather than by war; that such was due both to the Romans and to themselves (*Iug.*, 21, 4).

To these envoys Jugurtha stoutly maintained the justice of his course, complaining that the demands of the envoys would deny him justice. He also promised that he would shortly send envoys to Rome to explain the whole affair; but the Romans had no opportunity to interview Adherbal, still penned up in Cirta (*Sallust, Iug.*, 22, 4-5; *Diodorus*, XXXIV-XXXV, 31). Despite these assurances, as soon as Jugurtha thought the envoys had left Africa, he redoubled his efforts against Cirta (*Sallust, Iug.*, 23, 1). Obviously the Numidian wanted to present the Roman government with a *fait accompli* before it might commit itself to a definite course of action (cf. *ibid.*, 21, 3).

For the time being, however, all his efforts against Cirta failed and Adherbal was even able to spirit out another plea for succor to Rome (*ibid.*, 23, 2 ff.). Among other considerations, however, the senate had to attend to the much more important menace of the Cimbri and the Teutons north of the Alps as well as disturbances among the barbarians to the north of Macedonia.⁹ Although some members of the senate thought that an army should be sent to Africa to help Adherbal and that the question of Jugurtha should be debated because he had not obeyed the legates, nevertheless more moderate counsels prevailed. It was decided that another mission should be sent to Africa. This time, instead of mere *adulescentes*, the embassy was to be composed of men of the highest rank and prestige (*Sallust, Iug.*, 25, 1-4; *Diodorus*, XXXIV-XXXV, 31). Arrived at Utica in the Roman province, the envoys sent for Jugurtha. The summons inspired the latter to make a fresh attack on Cirta, but

⁹ Cf., e. g., Gaetano de Sanctis, "Sallustio e la guerra di Giugurta," *Problemi di storia antica* (Bari, 1932), pp. 187-214, at p. 193; Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, pp. 266-7, and note 6 on p. 275; Gsell, VII, pp. 154 ff.; etc.

after another failure he deemed it wise to parley with the Romans. The embassy used the gravest language in remonstrating with him, hoping evidently to overawe him, but departed without a satisfactory answer notwithstanding (Sallust, *Iug.*, 25, 5-11; Diodorus, XXXIV-XXXV, 31).

After this embassy no more were sent to Jugurtha before the beginning of hostilities, according to the sources. But these embassies, or rather, the first of the two (that composed of the three *adulescentes*), show the operation of the first three steps of the revised fetial procedure. The first two steps of the revised procedure are the deliberation of the senate (*senatus censet*), followed by a conditional declaration of war on the part of the *comitia* (*populus iubet*). Obviously there is no question about a resolution of the senate. Aside from the well-known fact that the senate considered all matters of foreign policy at Rome (Polybius, VI, 13, 9), Sallust explicitly says that the senate acted on this occasion. He also says that the legates (the three *adulescentes*) are to announce their message in the words of the senate and the people (*Iug.*, 21, 4). Of course this means almost nothing in itself; the phrase *senatus populusque Romanus* simply indicates the Roman state or the Roman government, even when no particular act of the people is involved (cf. Sallust, *Iug.*, 104, 5). More significant is Sallust's statement of the message the three envoys bore with them. The substance of the message is introduced by *velle* and *censere*. *Velle* (or *iubere*) is the technical verb used of the official acts of the people; *censere* of the deliberations of the senate.¹⁰ The use of these two verbs strongly suggests that Sallust is reproducing a technical formula and can only mean that the people took action in this case. But such action of the people in regard to the conduct of foreign affairs can only be a declaration of war, since obviously the only other possibilities, conclusion of a treaty or making of peace,¹¹ are excluded.

The clause "de controversiis suis iure potius quam bello disceptare" has been bracketed by some editors as a gloss, interpo-

¹⁰ See W. W. Capes' edition of the *Catilina* and the *Jugurtha* (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1897), *ad Iug.*, 21, 4 (p. 257); cf., e. g., Cicero, *De Domo*, 44, and the lexica, s. vv.

¹¹ Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III, 1, pp. 340 ff.; Léon Homo, *Roman Political Institutions* (New York, 1930), pp. 136-8.

lated perhaps by some reader who was thinking of the similar expressions in the Caesarean corpus (*Bell. Civ.*, III, 107, 2; *Bell. Gall.*, VIII, 55, 2), but the clause might just as well be genuine, embodying a common, legal formula.¹² In any case, whether the clause be accepted or rejected, the words introduced by *velle et censere* very probably go back to the actual formal language of the government on this occasion.¹³ Since war did not begin as a result of this *lex* of the people, it obviously must have been a conditional declaration.

To some degree another passage confirms the interpretation that the senate had recommended and the people approved a conditional declaration of war. After this mission had returned and the senate learned that Jugurtha was still besieging Adherbal in Cirta, some senators opined that an army should be sent to Africa and that help be brought to Adherbal as soon as possible. In the meanwhile the senate should take counsel concerning Jugurtha, because he had not obeyed the envoys (*Sallust, Jug.*, 25, 1). That is to say, when the speedy aid to Adherbal had been arranged, the senate could decide at its leisure what ultimate disposition to make of Jugurtha. The senate does not debate the question of whether war should be declared or not, but whether hostilities should be initiated. If this is so, it means that a conditional declaration of war already existed. It must be admitted, however, that this argument is essentially one from silence; it supposes that Sallust has not been excessively terse here in omitting any reference to bringing a proposal for declaration of war before the people. At least, the interpretation which the argument from silence supports coheres well with the thesis that there had been a conditional declaration of war, approved by the *comitia*, before the *adulescentes* were sent off.

If such a provisional declaration of war was in existence, then the mission of the three envoys was to demand of Jugurtha the redress of grievances (*rerum repetitio*).¹⁴ The very sending of

¹² So Capes, *ad Jug.*, 21, 4 (p. 257); cf. Cicero, *De Legibus*, II, 21.

¹³ Cf. Rudolf Jacobs' edition of *Jugurtha* (11th ed. by Hans Wirz; Berlin, 1922), *ad Jug.*, 21, 4 (p. 32).

¹⁴ Whether the Romans actually had a legal right to make a *rerum repetitio*, i. e., whether Jugurtha's treatment of Adherbal legally constituted injury to Rome, is not clear (see von Fritz, *T. A. P. A.*, LXXIV [1943], p. 144, note 24). The most important source passages relating

adulescentes rather than men of importance accords with this view. M. Aemilius Lepidus who bore the Roman *rerum repetitio* to Philip V at Abydus in 200 B. C. was a "young man." Walbank suggests that the reason for the choice of a relatively unimportant young man for such a task was "to avoid compromising the dignity of the Senate."¹⁵ Such a motive would be all the more urgent in the present case, where the senate was not willing to go to war, but was hoping to coerce Jugurtha by appearing to be prepared to do so.

Some further proof that the envoys carried an ultimatum is offered by the account of Jugurtha's treatment of the embassy in Africa. In effect he claimed that he was the injured party, i. e., that Adherbal had plotted against him and that the Romans would be in the wrong if they did not allow him his rights under the law of nations ("si ab iure gentium sese [Jugurtham] prohibuerit"). Finally, he said he would send envoys to Rome,

to Numidia's legal status with reference to Rome are collected by P. C. Sands, *The Client Princes of the Roman Empire under the Republic* (Cambridge [Eng.], 1908), pp. 174-80. On the informality of the position of the client princes, see Sands, pp. 9 and 49. Adherbal enjoyed *societas* and *amicitia* with Rome (Sallust, *Jug.*, 14, 2; 14, 18; 20, 5; 24, 3; etc.; Florus, I, 36, 3 [very loosely]; Strabo, XVII, 831; Diodorus, XXXIV-XXXV, 31; Eutropius, IV, 26, 1). Presumably this was also true of Jugurtha ("*Amicitia* is the product of any non-hostile intercourse between Rome and a foreign state," J. A. O. Larsen, "Was Greece Free between 196 and 146 B. C.?" *C. P.*, XXX [1935], pp. 193-214, at p. 195; "*Socius* ist alles, was nicht civis und nicht hostis ist," Heinrich Horn, *Foederati* [Frankfurt, 1930], p. 11). Rome could intervene to protect *amici* and *socii*, as the (largely apocryphal) annalistic account of the beginnings of the Second Macedonian War shows (Livy, XXXI, 1 ff.). At any rate, the whole course of Numidian politics since the death of Micipsa shows that all parties concerned admitted the right of Rome to regulate the affairs of Numidia. In reality, of course, the situation is explained by power politics, rather than by law. It has been pointed out (among others, by Hugh Last, *C. A. H.*, IX, pp. 131 ff.) that the senate was not anxious to have a united Numidia, ruled by so energetic a king as Jugurtha. Such a situation would be a source of considerable anxiety to the Roman province of Africa.

¹⁵ Polybius, XVI, 34, 1; Livy, XXXI, 18, 1; Walbank, *J. R. S.*, XXVII (1937), pp. 195-7. The language of C. Gracchus, cited by Gellius, X, 3, 5, may indicate that an *adulescens* was a young man who had not held any major office, although Mommsen (*Staatsrecht*, II², 1, p. 681, note 3) has pointed out that the *legatus* in the Gellius passage was not sent out by the senate.

presumably to lay his side of the quarrel before the senate. The envoys did not see Adherbal. Sallust expresses this peculiarly: "There was no opportunity for addressing Adherbal" ("Adherbalis adpellandi copia non fuit"). The envoys then departed for Rome, but when Jugurtha thought they had left Africa, he made another concerted effort to take Cirta (Sallust, *Iug.*, 22, 2-23, 1). The instructions of the Roman government to the envoys were to tell both kings to stop their fighting. Yet plainly, with whomever the ultimate responsibility for the quarrel lay, at that moment Jugurtha was the aggressor.¹⁶ It is very likely that the envoys accused Jugurtha of beginning the quarrel as well as of persisting in it. This would explain Jugurtha's appeal to the law of nations and his promise to send envoys to Rome to explain to the senate. Then he waited until the Romans had left Africa before resuming active attacks on Cirta. This arouses the suspicion that he had agreed to take no additional action against Adherbal until the senate had heard his case.¹⁷ But in turn this supposition implies that the envoys had presented some sort of ultimatum to him which he had to some degree satisfied, and that he waited for the Roman deputation to leave Africa before breaking his promises to them, lest he have a war with Rome on his hands before he could present the senate with a *fait accompli*. Undoubtedly he must have had some intelligence concerning the reluctance of the senate to go to war, but at the same time, however, he must have been uncertain how far the senate could be pushed with impunity.

The envoys did not see Adherbal; one suspects that they made no real effort to do so. Jugurtha was clearly the active aggressor

¹⁶ Cf. G. Bloch, "M. Aemilius Scaurus," *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne* (Paris, 1909), pp. 1-80, at p. 41.

¹⁷ Wilhelm Ihne, *The History of Rome*, V (London, 1882), pp. 18-19, concludes that Jugurtha must have agreed to abide by the decision of the senate. Ihne is wrong, however, in thinking that the Roman envoys were completely at loss, and without authority even to threaten war. He rightly points out that, as far as we know, the ambassadors whom Jugurtha promised to send to Rome were never sent. A. H. J. Greenidge, *A History of Rome during the Later Republic and Early Principate*, I (New York, 1905), p. 337, thinks that Jugurtha met this embassy with an answer "as uncompromising as it was courteous," and that (p. 338) his waiting for it to leave Africa before pressing his attack on Cirta was inspired by courtesy. In essence, so Last, *C. A. H.*, IX, p. 118.

at the time. The decree of the senate and the action of the people had been taken before the news of Adherbal's defeat in battle and his being shut up in Cirta had reached Rome; in fact the news arrived only very shortly before the departure of the embassy from the City.¹⁸ Possibly supplementary instructions were given the ambassadors by the senate; the senate wanted peace at almost any cost and to stop Jugurtha was at the moment the necessary step prerequisite to any other.

As pointed out above, when the senate received Adherbal's letter, informing the Romans that he was still under attack and asking again for help, some of the senate wanted to send an army at once and to debate concerning Jugurtha, "because he had not obeyed the legates" (Sallust, *Jug.*, 25, 1). The passage implies that Jugurtha had received an ultimatum. The disobedience of the Numidian consisted in his keeping Adherbal under siege in Cirta, but Sallust implies that the senate did not know about this until it received Adherbal's latest protest. Hence Jugurtha must have promised the envoys at least that he would suspend operations against his colleague; otherwise the senate would have known about his refusal to obey the envoys from the latter themselves.

If it be true that Jugurtha promised to act as the legates demanded, they would not, therefore, have delivered the final threat of war, the *denuntiatio belli*. The suggestion at once obtrudes itself that this was delivered by the second embassy, that of the ten distinguished *legati*. Evidently the senate was now ready to run the risk of compromising Roman dignity if a settlement short of war could be obtained that way. That a *denuntiatio* was actually delivered is told us by the epitomator of Livy,¹⁹ although in his terse way he does not describe the circumstances. All Sallust says, however, is that "senati verbis graves minae nuntiabantur" by this second embassy, but without effect (*Jug.*, 25, 11). This could be non-technical language for a *denuntiatio belli*, which appears to have been a threat of war as well as a repetition of the ultimatum.

¹⁸ Sallust, *Jug.*, 22, 1; Diodorus, XXXIV-XXXV, 31, says that the senate sent the ambassadors to raise the siege of Cirta. This is basically correct, but an oversimplification.

¹⁹ *Ep.*, LXIV: "Adherbal . . . contra denuntiationem senatus . . . occisus est."

After this second embassy had departed without deterring Jugurtha from the execution of his plans, the latter addressed himself again to the siege of Cirta, which now surrendered. Adherbal was slain under torture and the inhabitants, including a number of Italians, were indiscriminately massacred. According to Sallust this outrage provoked a savage explosion of resentment at Rome which impelled a still reluctant senate to commence war against Jugurtha.²⁰ Whatever the actual facts may be,²¹ this massacre was probably not the legal reason adduced for the war. All the other sources which state the cause of the war make it Jugurtha's treatment of Adherbal, the *amicus* and *socius* of the Roman people.²² This is what one would expect in the light of the foregoing steps of the fetial procedure, particularly the ultimatum delivered by the embassy of the *adulescentes*. Originally directed to both kings, it had come to be aimed exclusively against the aggressor—Jugurtha, a fact which confirms the belief that the fetial procedure on this occasion was utilized as outlined above. If the declaration of war (*populus iubet*) had been made after the massacre of Cirta, even although it mentioned the murder of Adherbal it would also have mentioned the Cirta outrage (even if that massacre were largely an invention of the demagogues of the anti-senatorial party). Since

²⁰ *Iug.*, 26-27; the massacre is also noted by Diodorus XXXIV-XXXV, 31.

²¹ Several scholars have refused to believe that Jugurtha could have been so purblind as to order this massacre (Greenidge, p. 344; Emanuele Cesareo, edition of *Jugurtha* [Florence, 1931], *ad Iug.*, 26, 3 [pp. 40-1]; De Sanctis, pp. 203-5), while others doubt that there really was such a massacre (Capes, *ad Iug.*, 26, 3 [p. 259]; Bloch, pp. 42-3; Ihne, V, p. 22). See also von Fritz, *T. A. P. A.*, LXXIV (1943), p. 155.

²² Strabo, XVII, 831; Livy, *Æp.*, LXIV (very specifically: "contra denuntiationem senatus . . . occisus est [Adherbal]. Ob hoc ipsi Iugurthae bellum indictum"); Eutropius, IV, 26, 1 (murder of Adherbal and Hiempsal). The extant extracts from Diodorus do not mention the actual outbreak of hostilities. The narrative of Florus (I, 36, 1-7) is confused, vague, and rhetorical, but insofar as it implies anything about the causes of the war, it indicates the murders of Hiempsal and Adherbal. Orosius (V, 15, 3-4) is also vague, but would seem to imply that the cause of the war was the murder of Hiempsal and the expulsion of Adherbal from Africa! Sands, p. 97, regards the murder of Adherbal, despite the *denuntiatio* of the senate, as the incident which provoked the war.

the massacre appears not to have been specified in the formal charge against Jugurtha, it is reasonable to infer that the (conditional) declaration of war preceded the fall of the city, as argued above. The testimony of the sources dependent on Livy (the epitomator and Eutropius) is particularly important in this connection. For such matters, technical details of formal state acts, in his extant books Livy ordinarily relied upon the Roman annalists, who were usually accurate on such points (they were those most likely to be recorded), unless the writers were swayed by some particular bias. In the matter of the causes of wars the ordinary purpose of the annalists was to make out all Rome's wars as *iusta bella*. Since in the eyes of the Romans to fight for an *amicus et socius* was *iustum*, there would appear no reason for the annalists to prevaricate here.

The last step in the fetial procedure is the *indictio belli*, the formal rite of opening hostilities. Once again Sallust, who has no interest in this sort of thing, deserts us, but the Livian tradition again furnishes the information. The epitomator of Livy is the most explicit: "Adherbal, having been attacked by Jugurtha and besieged in the town of Cirta, contrary to the *denuntiatio* of the senate was put to death by him. On this account war was declared (*bellum indictum*) upon that very Jugurtha" (111 B. C.).²³ There is no evidence in the sources whether the formal ceremony of casting the ritual spear was performed at Rome, or whether a special deputation was sent to Africa for the purpose. As early as the Pyrrhic War the spear was hurled upon a plot of ground near the *columna bellica*, which by a legal fiction was regarded as hostile territory.²⁴ Thus hostilities were formally inaugurated.

²³ *Ep.*, LXIV; Orosius, V, 15, 1; Valerius Maximus, VII, 5, 2.

²⁴ Servius, *ad Aen.*, IX, 53 (52). See S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London, 1929), s. v. "*Columna bellica*," p. 131. Jérôme Carcopino, in Carcopino and G. Bloch, *La république romaine de 183 à 44 avant J.-C.* (2nd ed.; Paris, 1940), p. 299 and note 108, says that the consul Scipio Nasica "s'en va porter à Jugurtha la déclaration de guerre." Presumably this means he went to Africa, but there is no evidence for it in the sources. Valerius Maximus (VII, 5, 2) says that Nasica "consul Iugurthae bellum indixit." Possibly Nasica was a *fetialis*, but this is far from saying that he went to Africa. Gsell (VII, p. 154, note 5) seems inclined to accept a suggestion of Wirz that it was not the consul, but

Walbank²⁵ argues that under the revised fetial procedure the *denuntiatio belli* was the effective declaration of war, although the term *indictio belli* still indicated the throwing of the ritual spear. But as Walbank also points out, Livy sometimes confuses the *indictio belli* with the *denuntiatio*. Hence we have the difficult problem of distinguishing between Livy's own slips of nomenclature and actual changes of practice. Certainly on this occasion the epitomator of Livy, LXIV, clearly distinguishes between the *indictio* and the *denuntiatio*. Certainly also, a comparison of the terse account of the epitomator with that of Sallust implies a considerable lapse of time between the two acts. The epitomator clearly states that Adherbal was put to death contrary to the *denuntiatio*, which could have been delivered at the latest by the second commission (the distinguished *legati*).²⁶ Then time has to be allowed for Cirta to fall (probably not immediately after the departure of the commission), for the news to reach Rome, for the senate to vacillate over what to do, and for the tribune-elect Memmius to bring the pressure of popular resentment to bear upon the senate (Sallust, *Jug.*, 26-7). Presumably during all this time after the *denuntiatio* Rome could have been at war with Jugurtha; only the senate failed to take any action to implement the war status.

Whether Rome was at war or not after the delivery of a *denuntiatio belli* depended upon the senate.²⁷ In all the instances of the new procedure cited by Walbank the senate was determined on war if its demands were not met.²⁸ In this instance it clearly was not so determined. In effect it had been bluffing. The

another person of the same name, who headed a delegation to Africa to bring the *indictio belli*. Since this imposes a second supposition upon a first, both being unsupported by the sources, the suggestion has less to recommend it than Carcopino's. Cf. also Walbank, *J. R. S.*, XXVII (1937), p. 193.

²⁵ *C. P.*, XLIV (1949), p. 18, notes 22 and 23.

²⁶ It might have been delivered by the three *adulescentes*, but I think not for the reasons suggested above. If, however, this be the case, then an even longer interval of time occurs between *denuntiatio* and *indictio*.

²⁷ Walbank, *J. R. S.*, XXVII (1937), p. 194; *idem*, *ibid.*, XXXI (1941), p. 87.

²⁸ At the beginning of the Third Macedonian War, however, the senate wanted time to concert Roman military preparations, and twisted the fetial law to that end; Walbank, *J. R. S.*, XXXI (1941), pp. 82-93.

strong suspicion presents itself that if the senate wanted war, the *denuntiatio belli* was the effective declaration of war and the formal *indictio* could be attended to at any time.²⁹ Furthermore, when the senate had once procured a conditional declaration of war from the *comitia*, the Fathers obviously became the arbiters of whether there should be peace or war. Just as obviously the senate need not surrender this discretion to its *legati* who delivered the *rerum repetitio* or the *denuntiatio belli*. It presumably could do so if it wished, or it could reserve the decision to itself and at its pleasure determine whether the rejection of the *denuntiatio* or the *repetitio* should mean war, for the senate alone must have decided whether any given act or acts constituted such rejection. If even after the delivery of a *denuntiatio* and its rejection by the offending party the senate did not want war, presumably it could simply drop the matter. If the senate did not wish to persist in executing its wishes by armed force, there was precedent (although this fetial procedure is probably not involved in this instance) for its allowing a client-king to flout its expressed will with impunity—the case of Pharnaces of Pontus, who without chastisement disobeyed successive Roman injunctions to refrain from attacking other Roman *amici* in Asia Minor.³⁰ The revised fetial law, like *amicitia* itself for example, was one of those Roman institutions which had as much content and bound Rome as much as the senate deemed to be expedient in any given instance. The whole affair of Jugurtha, therefore, not only throws light upon the methods of Roman imperialism, but also upon the way in which the senate, working within the forms of the laws and the constitution, procured its extra-legal ascendancy in the government.

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²⁹ For earlier signs of some slackness in going through every detail of the ritual, cf. Livy, XXXI, 8, 2-3; XXXVI, 3, 7 ff.

³⁰ See David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 1950), I, pp. 191-2.

JACOBY'S TREATMENT OF THE EXEGETES.

The first part of F. Jacoby's *Atthis* (Oxford, 1949), which appeared a few months before my book *The Athenian Expounders* (Baltimore, 1950), was devoted to an examination of the evidence and problems concerning the Athenian exegetes. Jacoby and I started from different problems, but we both tried to cover all the evidence, and yet we arrived at very different conclusions concerning the history and number of the exegetes and concerning the reform which Plato proposed in the *Laws*. Recently Jacoby's associate, Herbert Bloch, published among the reviews of this Journal an encomium of Jacoby's *Atthis*. Jacoby had started from a suggestion which was made by Wilamowitz but was rejected by Seeck¹ and Beloch² and ignored by subsequent students of Athens,³ namely that the early history rested on a chronicle kept by the exegetes. Since I had lost all confidence in the very existence of exegetes in early Athens, the problem for me did not arise and the only reflection of it in my book occurs in a comment on p. 115. But Jacoby had mounted a full-scale attack upon this theory with much apparent evidence and not without ridicule of its proposer. Whereas others have expressed surprise at the polemical tone of the attack and at the amount of ammunition fired at this theory, usually forgotten or ignored, Bloch refers to "the famous thesis of Wilamowitz" and commends Jacoby (*A. J. P.*, 1953, p. 293) for disproving it in "a

¹ Otto Seeck, "Quellenstudien zu des Aristoteles Verfassungsgeschichte Athens," *Klio*, IV (1904), p. 294.

² Julius Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 1st ed., I (Strassburg, 1893), p. 11, n. 4, denied the existence of an early chronicle at Athens and said that local Athenian history began with Hellanicus. In the second edition, vol. I (Strassburg, 1912), p. 25, n. 1, Beloch explicitly rejected the theory of Wilamowitz with the observation that Thucydides, I, 97, 2 proves that no such chronicle was kept in the fifth century at Athens, and therefore not in the sixth century or earlier.

³ Gaetano De Sanctis, *Atthis: Storia della repubblica ateniese*, 2nd ed. (Turin, 1912) does not reckon with any chronicle kept by the exegetes (cf. pp. 275 ff.). The authors of chapters on early Athens in the *Cambridge Ancient History* do not seem to have mentioned the theory either. I could add many others.

painstaking, truly admirable investigation of all problems connected with the exegetes at Athens." In the next issue Bloch, who had been unable to find anything to dispute in Jacoby's learned but controversial book, supported Jacoby by describing his treatment as "a very thorough examination of the whole evidence" and by attempting to disprove or discredit my results.⁴ Though I originally never intended to discuss Jacoby's views, these extravagant assertions cannot, I think, be allowed to pass without some protest.

(1) The Whole Evidence. Among the pieces of evidence which I presented to the reader and Jacoby did not are: *I. G.*, II², 1818, 2342, 3524, 3525, 3549, 3621, 3708, 5875; *S. I. G.*³, 901;⁵ *Hesperia*, X (1941), p. 259; XI (1942), p. 75; XVI (1947), p. 170; Suppl. VI (1941), no. 31. All these are cases in which official Athenian exegetes are actually mentioned. As for the literary evidence, it had already been collected by our predecessors; here the problem was one of discrimination between uses of the common word "exegete" to mean official exegete or something else. That is, the investigator had to eliminate some of

⁴ H. Bloch, "The Exegetes of Athens and the Prytaneion Decree," *A. J. P.*, LXXIV (1953), pp. 407-18.

⁵ *S. I. G.*³, 901, I 52 in my collection, is indeed mentioned by Jacoby (on p. 237) but not as evidence for an Athenian expoundership, for the history of which it is actually one of the most important documents. The inscription has been re-examined and dated precisely to 319 A. D. by Jean Bousquet, "La donation de L. Gellius Menogenes à Delphes et les Thermes de l'Est," *B. C. H.*, LXXVI (1952), pp. 653-60 with a good photograph and improvements in the text. Jacoby failed to recognize the connection with Athens because he did not know the family and because the inscription was erected at Delphi. Priesthoods of other cities, however, are mentioned in inscriptions of the third and fourth centuries after Christ as if they were titles of nobility. For instance, in the Athenian inscription of about 275 A. D., *Hesperia*, XI (1942), p. 71, No. 37, the archon T. Flavius Mondo, who comes from the prominent family descended from Plutarch's friend Philinus (of Thespieae rather than Chaeronea), bears the non-Athenian title "priest of [Athena] Polias." The priesthood was clearly one he held in his original home, to which of course he still belonged. With an explicit reference to my treatment of *S. I. G.*³, 901 and with a veiled reference to Jacoby's, Bousquet (pp. 656 f.) comments, "Nous nous assurons ainsi que le titre d'exégète n'est pas delphique, mais athénien, et il est fort heureux qu'on ait cette preuve, car on aurait pu se demander en son absence s'il n'existait pas à Delphes même d'exégètes pythochrestes."

the alleged evidence as not applying to the exegetes at all. I refused to admit as much of the alleged literary evidence as Jacoby, but the criticism which has been made against me is, not that I suppressed any bona fide literary evidence about the exegetes, but that I refused to admit bona fide epigraphical evidence such as that of *I. G.*, I², 77. To this, the Prytaneion Decree, I shall return later.

(2) The Reform Proposed in Plato's *Laws*. Jacoby's interpretation is that, in copying some now unrecorded law of the Solonian Period, Plato forgot "for the moment that *his* state had not four but twelve tribes" (p. 250). Jacoby thinks that Plato, *Laws*, VII, 759C-E, called for an election by one assembly of four tribes, whereas it seemed and still seems obvious to me that the election was in three assemblies of four tribes each. Quite apart from the linguistic difficulty, does not the theory of momentary forgetfulness about a point so important to the city as the number of its tribes seem very farfetched?

(3) The Problem of Ceryces seemingly invested with Eleusinian Expounderships. This is a problem to which a large part of my book is devoted. It is the problem of *I. G.*, II², 4071 and 4072. It is linked with the interpretation of Atticizing historians of Rome, and the history of Athenian priesthoods in the Roman Period. Jacoby's expression of opinion in a sentence on p. 26 and in a brief footnote on pp. 242 f. hardly constitutes a real treatment or satisfying solution of the complicated problem.

(4) The Problem of the Number of Eleusinian Exegetes. Jacoby (p. 26) merely guesses they were three, while I present evidence that they were only two in number.

(5) The Problem of the Number of non-Eleusinian Exegetes. Jacoby's theory that a whole board of pythochrestoi exegetes were instituted by Solon is a mere inference from Plato's three exegetes of the city in the *Laws*. Neither from literature nor inscriptions is there real evidence of more than one Athenian pythochrestus at a time. My theory that from the beginning of the fourth century B. C. there was only one pythochrestus and only one exegete appointed by the Demos is a projection of clear evidence from the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. It may be true that use of evidence from the Roman Period is open to serious objections when it is applied to the fourth century B. C.,

though it depends somewhat on how it is used. I took the greatest pains in ascertaining the date as precisely as I could, and in keeping the reader aware of the late date. Critics like Bloch on p. 412 often express disapproval of weak evidence in a tone which suggests that the author perversely chose patently inferior evidence in preference to absolutely perfect evidence, when the truth of the matter is that the author had a choice between inferior evidence and no evidence at all. Surely the number could have been changed,⁶ and we do not really know whether Athenian priesthoods were decreasing, holding their ground, or increasing as at Rome. If my impression that the priesthoods were at least holding their own because of their importance to Athenian aristocrats as titles of nobility is a mere impression, so is the other view that they were falling into desuetude. And my view of the general development is not entirely unsupported by evidence, especially for priesthoods of great distinction.

For me, accordingly, a reference to "the exegetes" in the fourth century B. C. was a reference to a board of two who may have had at times both separate and joint functions. For example, I interpreted the consultation of "the exegete" in Plato's *Euthyphro*, 4 C-D as a consultation of one exegete. The speaker Euthyphro, who knew, says "the exegete," but later on (*Euthyphro*, 9), another speaker, Socrates, refers to "the exegetes." Though Plato's Socrates may have thought of the two exegetes as a board, Plato's Euthyphro in my opinion meant one exegete. On p. 413 Bloch, reiterating Jacoby's view, claims that the plural of Socrates proves the singular of Euthyphro a collective singular. Why does not the singular of Euthyphro rather prove the plural of Socrates a generalizing plural, if contrary to my opinion they must be brought into conformity? The strained explanation would concern not only Plato, *Euthyphro*, 4 C-D, but Isaeus, VIII, 39 and Theophrastus, *Characters*, 16, 6, where the

⁶ Bloch runs over some of the well-known evidence about the *increase* of religious officials at Rome and Olympia and then concludes that this supports Jacoby's theory of a *decrease* at Athens. He argues as if I thought of institutions as static, whereas my whole book, including the section on the high priest, is a study of the change in institutions. Of course, he has an easy time proving that institutions are not static, but it is hardly right to pretend that what he refutes is a position adopted by me.

superstitious man approaches, not *an* exegete, but *the* exegete who specialized in purifications, i. e. *the* pythochrestus. *We have allusions to only four cases of consultation in the fourth century and in three of them Jacoby⁷ and Bloch are trying to tell their readers that a plain reference to "the exegete" is a collective singular.* The interpretation of a clear reference to an exegete in the singular as a collective singular, in order to support a far-fetched inference from Plato's *Laws* against the later epigraphical evidence that there was one and only one exegete of each type, is not a simple and straightforward interpretation. The later inscriptions may be weak evidence, but Jacoby's hunch is no evidence at all.

(6) The Problem of the Date at which the non-Eleusinian Exegetes were Instituted. Jacoby (p. 29) postulated a Solonian law as the inspiration of Plato's reference (*Laws*, 759 D-E) to an electoral body of four tribes, which he mistakenly thought were the sum total of the city's tribes. Jacoby, moreover, had complete confidence in a fantastic restoration of the Prytaneion Decree. He combined these two conjectures in a bold manner to arrive at the activity of official exegetes as far back as Solon's time. I, on the other hand, concluded that official human exegetes were not established at Athens, despite much propaganda, until the end of the fifth century. Bloch now implies that the belief in the early exegetes had nothing to do with Plato's four tribes and did not at all rest on the Prytaneion Decree, which, however, inevitably turns out to be his chief evidence.

Bloch compares my denial of the existence of the exegetes in the time of Solon with the absurdity that it would be if someone denied the existence of the Arval Brethren in the Early Roman Republic because they are not mentioned in literature until the second half of the first century B. C., but as far as I know there is nothing comparable to the Hymn of the Arval Brothers to make me accept a dream about three pythochrestoi exegetes in the time of Solon. Furthermore, my reason for not accepting official exegetes before the end of the fifth century is not merely that they are not mentioned in literature. Plato speaks of the importation of an expert to cleanse the city ten years before the Persian Wars, and there are other passages in which questions of ritual propriety and special purifications are raised. Here it is

⁷ *Atthis*, p. 243.

striking that the exegetes are never mentioned, because this is their field in the fourth century. Though each case by itself may be weak, this accumulation of negative evidence to the contrary, after the discovery that the alleged positive evidence for the exegetes is non-existent, certainly justifies the suspicion that the official exegetes of the fifth century are merely an illusion of modern scholars. Again the prominence of those politicians called chresmologoi and/or manteis up to 413 B. C. and their complete disappearance afterwards seems to me pertinent. I noted that the chresmologoi who are at the same time politicians and the exegetes who refrain from politics do not overlap chronologically, as far as extant evidence (Thucydides, Plato, etc.) reaches; this is an argument from silence⁸ if you will, but it is surely an interesting coincidence.

In the whole passage pp. 408-14 Bloch presents only one argument⁹ against a date at the end of the fifth century for the institution of the exegetes. This argument, which occurs on p. 411, is that Plato would not have adopted for his ideal state a "brand-new" institution created by the democracy of 403. The answer is that according to my theory the demand for reform came from an aristocratic rather than oligarchical or democratic group and that the aristocratic institution of the exegetes, who had to be eupatrid, is a concession by the Demos, in no

⁸ Despite his severity with the argument *ex silentio* when used by me Bloch attaches great importance to the fact that the exegetes are not mentioned by Aristotle in what is left of the *Constitution of Athens*. But Aristotle does not treat any of the priests.

⁹ There are many assertions. For example, on p. 410 Bloch says that the coexistence of manteis with exegetes in Plato's *Laws* and in Theophrastus proves that the exegetes cannot possibly be regarded as successors of the manteis. It proves nothing of the kind, and he could have added the official manteis which I collected from the inscriptions. He simply ignores my position, that the exegetes and manteis of the fourth century were quite distinct and official and that they replaced the undefined, unofficial activity of politicians of the fifth century who passed for chresmologoi and/or manteis. Again an accusation on p. 411 that because I consider it possible for both Rome and Athens to have borrowed ideas of religious organization from the Greeks of Southern Italy proves that I think the Rome of the Decemviri more advanced than the Athens of Pericles and Sophocles requires no answer. Nor can I take the space to show that phrases like "dealt with convincingly" have a purely personal meaning when used by Bloch.

sense a defeat for the aristocrats. It was, in fact, a necessary preventive against demagoguery, and a guarantee for conservatives.

On p. 417 finally Bloch brings in *I. G.*, I², 78, which he describes as "strangely neglected." Perhaps I did neglect it, although not so strangely because it really has nothing to do with the human exegetes of Athens. Since, however, Bloch reproaches me for not having presented more than the section containing the word "exegete"¹⁰ and since he reads into this inscription the very greatest significance, I here present the whole inscription, which was originally published by Sboronos¹¹ and was further studied by Hiller von Gaertringen¹² and W. Bannier.¹³

¹⁰ That was quite sufficient. Bloch himself does not appear to have considered more than the next six words, which he distorts. It is characteristic of his attitude that while he reproaches me for not presenting those irrelevant six words, he finds nothing to criticize in the truly serious omissions by Jacoby in citing from *I. G.*, II², 1092 (which he misdated: cf. the new edition of the whole inscription in *Hesperia*, XXI [1952], pp. 381-99, especially p. 395). On p. 11 Jacoby cites from the catalogue, "exegete, double portion; cleanser, —; three exegetes, double portions; priest of Zeus, —." The exegetes are recorded in the first column (listing special beneficiaries of a distribution at a festival), the cleanser and the priest of Zeus are recorded in a fortuitously opposite position in column II. What the reader needs to know is which officials immediately preceded and followed the exegetes in column I with its careful arrangement in order of precedence. The only use that Jacoby seems to have made of this inscription is as evidence on the number (p. 26, misinterpreted). The notation shows that there were four exegetes of whom one had greater prestige than the other three, and that all four came after the hierophant, daduchus, and high priest, while all four preceded the sacred herald and the altar priest. Not only was this important information on their standing suppressed but also the interesting distinction of the references to "expounding priests" and "ordinary priests" in the authorizing decree of the same inscription, especially when he was going to draw (on p. 47) the unqualified conclusion that the exegetes were not priests at all, and to do so without mentioning even the opinion of Atticists who thought the exegetes corresponded to the Roman pontiffs or to the college which was or became the *XVviri s. f.*

¹¹ *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*, XIII (1911), pp. 311-16 (with photograph).

¹² Literature in *I. G.*, I², 78.

¹³ *Rh. Mus.*, LXXVII (1928), pp. 284 f.

[.] ἰς ἐπρυτάνευε
 [Ἐδοχσεν τῇ βο]λεὶ καὶ τοῖ δέμοι, Ἀντικρατίδες ἐ[γγρα]
 [μμάτευς,]ος ἐπεστάτε, Φιλόχσενος εἶπε· τοῖ [Ἀπό]
 [λλοι θῦσαι, ἐπ]εὶδὲ ἀνείλεν ἑαυτὸν ἔχσεγετ[εν τὸν ἄ]
 5 [γαθὸν ἈθENAIO]is, θρόνον τε ἔχσελέν ἐν τοῖ πρ[.]
 [.¹²]ε[. . .]ντας ἥος κάλλιστα, καὶ κα[λλιερέσ]
 [αντες βὸν διανε]μόντων οἱ ἐπιστάται πᾶ[σι τοῖς πολί]
 [ταις τὰ κρέα, αὐ]τοῖ ἀναλίσκοντες μέχ[ρι μῶς· ποιόντ]
 [ον δὲ τὰς δαπάνας] ὅθεμπερ ἐς τὰ γέ[ρα· τοῖ δὲ πολίται h]
 10 [ἐκάστοι μὲ ὀλέ]ζονος ἔδραχμῆ[s -----]
 [-----]

The inscription concerns the organization of a celebration after an oracle of Apollo. The relief above the inscription shows the Delphic omphalos and its two golden eagles: to right and left are Apollo (originally with cithara) and a female figure (originally pouring a libation as in a fifth or fourth century relief of probably Attic workmanship found at Sparta). The celebration is organized because Apollo through the Delphic Oracle has proclaimed himself a helper of Athens.

In lines 6-7, *pace* Bannier, the word ἔχσεγετ[εν can apply only to the god himself who is the subject of the verb ἀνείλεν. Still, in one sense, Apollo had always been the exegete (religious guide) of all Greek cities.¹⁴ This cannot be the meaning here,¹⁵ at least

¹⁴ Compare Plato, *Republic*, IV, 427C: οὐδὲ χρησόμεθα ἐξηγητῇ ἄλλῃ ἢ τῷ πατρίῳ· οὗτος γὰρ δῆπου ὁ θεὸς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πάτριος ἐξηγητῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενος ἐξηγεῖται. For Apollo as exegete and mantis see Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 595 (Murray). In a speech delivered at Cyzicus Aelius Aristides (Or. XXVII Keil, 5) plays on the phrase "exegete and mantis" by calling Apollo οἰκιστῆς καὶ μάρτυς. "Many a one, I believe, even of those who dwell among the Hyperboreans, has already heard of the oracle concerning Cyzicus and of Him who confirmed its happiness for the city, namely Him who is exegete to all other cities but to this city actually founder. For He founded the other cities through the oecists whom He dispatched to each destination, but He himself without intermediary has become oecist for this city. So Cyzicus is indeed blessed, in that it began from such a beginning and traces its history back to such an oecist and confirmer." Against the oracle of Apollo exegete and mantis for all other cities is set the oracle of Apollo oecist and *martys* for Cyzicus.

¹⁵ At one time I thought it possible that Apollo had replied to a consultation about instituting official exegetes with the announcement that he himself would be exegete for the Athenians. It was advanced as a mere theory, though it does not appear so from Bloch's note 44

for the Athenians, because it was nothing new and would be no cause for special celebration. Here the word ἔχσεγετέ[ν has the special meaning which it has in Herodotus, V, 31, 4, where Artaphernes says to Aristagoras, "You are a help to Persia," Σὺ ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλέως ἐξηγητὴς γίνεαι πραγμάτων ἀγαθῶν. Men call upon the gods for τὰ ἀγαθὰ if they abide by their oaths. In the Coan decree, *S. I. G.*³, 398, it is voted θῦσαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ βοῦν χρυσόκερῳ ὑπὲρ τᾶς τῶν Ἑλλάνων σωτηρίας καὶ ἐπεύχεσθαι τῷ τε δάμῳι τῷ Κώϊων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ. An Athenian decree of 128 B. C.¹⁶ in honor of the Pythian Apollo probably refers to this very oracle in the motivation, ὑπάρχει δὲ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ὁ Πύθιος ὃν τρεῖς Ἀθηναῖοις πατρῷος καὶ ἐξηγητὴς τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

Apōllo, then, proclaimed that he would be¹⁷ a helper to Athens, or he was at least so understood. The Athenians, who in 423 B. C. and later had good relations with Delphi, doubtless read more into Apollo's utterance than the Delphic priesthood would always approve. Similarly in 432 B. C. Apollo had promised to help the Lacedaemonians in war, or rather Lacedaemonians thought he did. Thucydides, I, 118, 4 says ξυλλήψεσθαι but expresses doubt about the exact wording; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 403b, says βοηθήσειν, and in the *Suda*, s. v. ἄκλητον, the word is παρέσται. The god would surely have been ambiguous, but the utterance, so interpreted, was indeed cause for celebration.¹⁸

Since, then, the lacuna between lines 4 and 5 is filled perfectly by the formula of the decree in honor of the Pythian Apollo, ἔχσεγετέ[ν τῶν ἀγαθῶν Ἀθηναίοις], the indispensable reference to Apollo must be restored, as Hiller von Gaertringen restored it, in lines 3-4. What follows this in line 4 is not certain, but θῦσαι is at least very possible. The lacuna between lines 5-6 cannot be restored at all. The throne for the invisible god would be near the place where the sacrifice or the distribution of meat was per-

where the words "For example" and "may have" were omitted from a citation of two sentences of mine.

¹⁶ W. Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI (1941), p. 186; A. Wilhelm, *Wien. Sitzungs.*, Bd. 224, Abh. 4 (1947), pp. 27-53, especially p. 40, where line 16 is read τοὺς τε] χρ[ησ]μοὺς καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἀνευώσατο τ[ί]μα.

¹⁷ For the omission of the copula see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1900), pp. 195 f.

¹⁸ On the relations between Athens and Delphi see G. Daux, "Athènes et Delphes," *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. I (1940), pp. 46-8; H. W. Parke, *A History of the Delphic Oracle* (Oxford, 1939), p. 203.

formed, and this would probably have been in the Theatre of Dionysus, where an omphalos, discovered "outside the orchestra between the parallel walls of the western Parodos,"¹⁹ suggests that Apollo had a place. But not even the first word of the lacuna can be recovered, because there are too many possibilities such as $\pi\rho[\sigma\kappa\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota]$, $\pi\rho[\sigma\upsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota]$, $\pi\rho[\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\iota]$, $\pi\rho[\omicron\eta\epsilon\delta\rho]$, etc. The rest of the inscription does not really concern us, and I cannot discuss it here.

Now Bloch tells the reader on p. 417 (cf. Jacoby, p. 238) that this inscription specifies that a seat be reserved for the god in the Prytaneum. He does so because he has uncritically accepted a restoration by Sboronos, who had no evidence. The throne is for the god's participation at the feast of thanksgiving, and the public could hardly be accommodated in the Prytaneum, to which nothing points, not even the letters $\pi\rho[$. On top of this error Bloch misinterprets the meaning of the word $\epsilon\chi\sigma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}[\nu]$. It is not at all "obvious" from this inscription that a plurality of pythochrestoi exegetes "were already enjoying" public maintenance in the Prytaneum, as Bloch concludes. The inscription has nothing to do either with the Prytaneum or with human official exegetes.

(7) The Prytaneion Decree, *I. G.*, I², 77. For Jacoby this was the chief proof of the existence of exegetes in the fifth century. Bloch has found no real substitute. On pp. 139-41 I presented a complete and largely traditional text, but I did not deceive the reader about the restorations. I said: "In lines 1-4 and perhaps at the beginning of lines 7, 12 and 17 the restorations are based on formulae and are practically certain. Elsewhere the restorations are not imposed." Furthermore, in reference to one passage I commented "Here and elsewhere the exact wording may not be right . . . but these phrases will do to suggest the kind of restoration required."

Jacoby, on the other hand, admitted doubt only concerning one word in line 10 and the name of the proposer, which with Wade-Gery he restored as $\Pi\epsilon\rho]\mu\kappa[\lambda]\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$. Surely when there are so many names like Anticles, Charicles, Amphiicles, and Bathy-

¹⁹ Ch. Waldstein, *J. H. S.*, I (1887), p. 180. To Apollo, incidentally, the theatre belongs in a sense (cf. Aelius Aristides, *The Roman Oration*, 105).

cles, the chances that the name would be precisely that of Pericles are rather slim, but this is not important. It is important that neither Jacoby nor Bloch warns the reader about the merely conjectural character of the restoration on which their argument rests. I am not so inexperienced as to think that no argument can ever be based on a restoration. Sometimes a restoration can be treated as an ascertained fact, but then it must be the kind of restoration Louis Robert makes so carefully, a restoration based on recognition of an imposed formula. That is not the case here. The crucial restoration is one in lines 9-10 made by Schöhl on the inspiration of a Platonic passage. I never denied that Schöhl had one parallel for a reference to exegetes as the object of the verb ἀνῆλεν, but the phrase Ἀπόλλων ἀνείλεν occupied, of course, very frequently, and the verb was usually not followed by a reference to exegetes.

At this point Hiller von Gaertringen restored κατὰ τὰ [δ]εδομ[ε]ν | [ένα κατὰ τὸν μαντεῖαν ἡέ]ν ἡο Ἀπόλλων ἀνῆλ[ε]ν, an interpretation which, of course, would do away with the exegetes whom Jacoby and Bloch wish to save. Hiller von Gaertringen's interpretation obviously means "according to the grants made in accordance with the oracle which Apollo uttered." The second κατὰ may not be right;²⁰ the preposition may have been ἐκ (cf. Herodotus, I, 64: τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων). This is a comparatively simple question of wording compared with the fantastic interpretation favored by Jacoby.

What does the phrase "they shall have their maintenance κατὰ τὰ δεδομένα" mean? Is the phrase κατὰ τὰ δεδομένα in lines 8-9 complete by itself or does it need to be completed by something further? In my opinion all the grants are κατὰ τὰ δεδομένα, and some specification of the reason must here be given; otherwise there would be no point in continuing to list, as the inscription actually does, other groups of beneficiaries.²¹ The point is important and the reader must decide before he continues. If I am right in this view, the question of the exegetes is all settled. If

²⁰ The idea behind Hiller von Gaertringen's interpretation deserves consideration even so.

²¹ To the Athenians one could say of the *sitēsis* what Demosthenes, XX, 131, says of another privilege, the *ateleia*: οὐ γὰρ ἔστ' οὐδεὶς ἀτέλης παρ' ὧμιν ὅτω μὴ ψήφισμ' ἢ νόμος δέδωκε τὴν ἀτέλειαν.

I am mistaken in this opinion, the question of the exegetes is not settled until further arguments are weighed.

It must be pointed out that in a very careful and scholarly investigation²² M. Ostwald considered what I had to say, as Bloch does not, and then rejected my opinion. I still think I was right, but Ostwald placed a stop after the phrase *κατὰ τὰ δεδομένα* and began a new section which in his interpretation concerns the manteis: *καὶ τῶν μάντεων ἡδὲ δ']ν ἡο Ἀπόλλων ἀνῆέλ[ει]*. Bloch does not recognize *ἀνῆέλ[ει]* as possible, and he may be right that the word is *ἀνῆέλ[ε]ν*, as indeed I myself interpreted it; but the restoration of the beginning as a specific reference to the manteis can easily be readapted to a change of tense and mood. If the phrase *κατὰ τὰ δεδομένα* seemed to me complete in itself, I should accept Ostwald's interpretation as a great deal more probable than a reference to exegetes, who, as far as we know, never amounted to more than one pythochrestus at a time and never enjoyed the privilege of maintenance, while some of the politicians called chresmologoi and/or manteis did enjoy it according to literary references.²³ However, I distinctly prefer

²² "The Prytaneion Decree Re-examined," *A. J. P.*, LXII (1951), pp. 24-46, specifically, p. 34.

²³ There is certainly evidence that Lampon and Hierocles enjoyed maintenance. And they were manteis. That Lampon was a mantis is well attested by others and by Plutarch whose evidence as that of a priest of Apollo at Delphi and Athenian citizen familiar with aristocratic circles at Athens is most important because he would have known the exegetes so well. A scholiast comments, "Among these was also Lampon the mantis whom they called exegete." We happen to know where the nickname arose; it was in *The Golden Age* of Eupolis (fr. 297 Kock), but some, including Jacoby and apparently Bloch, seem to think that the scholiast was the jokester. Without irony no one would say "Harry Truman whom they called President"; no one would say this because he *was* President. It is not the scholiast who jokes, but the comic poet Eupolis: he mocks the mantis by a sneering comparison with Apollo. Similarly a scholiast identifies the Athenian politician Hierocles as a mantis and chresmologus. When in the *Peace*, 1046-8 one character asks, "Is it a mantis?" and another replies "No, by Zeus, it is Hierocles, the chresmologus from Oreos," is Aristophanes not joking? Hierocles has the pretensions of a mantis, but Aristophanes mocks him as a chresmologus because of his famous oracles from Oreos. Bloch (p. 408) thinks Aristophanes is serious and the scholiast wrong. Lampon too is called chresmologus. This does not prove that he is not a mantis of the type who figured in Athenian politics of the fifth century.

my own interpretation with the section beginning in line 7, where I restored κ]αὶ ε[ζ| τινὲς ἡειλέφασιν δορεῖά]ν. While Bloch attacks my reconstruction chiefly with an appeal to prejudice and with a gratuitous interpretation of my motive,²⁴ Ostwald merely uses an argument, namely that this is too vague. In an enumeration, however, such as this restoration, εἰ τινες means, not "if some," but "all those who" as in Thucydides, VI, 20, 2, Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ εἰ τινες τῶν συμμάχων παρῆσαν ἐπλήρουν τὰς ναῦς. Still I see no real objection to an even more specific reference to manteis as Ostwald insists, because Lampon and Hierocles are so described. Since one group must have owed their appointment, directly or indirectly, to Apollo, these religious experts, whose maintenance is attested, would seem to be the right group, though in my opinion, they do not need to have been selected by Delphi as individuals, nor to have been classified specifically as manteis. If, however, Ostwald were right about the need for a more specific reference—and he may well be—I should restore κ]αὶ ε[ζ| τις μάντις εἶλεφε δορεῖά]ν, where εἰ τις would still mean "all those who" (cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, V, 5, 14: καὶ εἰ τις αὐτοῖς φίλος ἦν τῶν βαρβάρων, τούτων ἀπειχόμεθα). This common use of εἰ τις (or ὅστις) influenced the style even of Latin enumerations, e. g. Livy, XXII, 52, 5: *praeda ingens parta est, et praeter equos virosque et si quid argenti—quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat*. The meaning of the phrase *si quid argenti* is ("all the silver," not "the silver, if there was any.")

Since it is important for the reader to realize that there are possibilities quite different from the only reconstruction envisaged by Jacoby and Bloch, I present the following complete, though conjectural, reconstruction, in which I have incorporated part of Ostwald's interpretation.

[----- ἐγράμ[μάτευσ]
 [ἔδοχεν τῇ βολεῇ καὶ τῷ δέμ]οι, Ἐρεχθεὶς ἐ[πρυτάνευε]
 [... ἔγραμμάτευσ, Χσάν]θιππος ἐπεστάτε, [...]ικ[λ]ῆς [ε]
 [Ἰπε· ἔναι τὸν σίτεσιν τὸν ἐ]μ πρυτανεῖοι πρῶτον [μ]ὲν τοῖ[σ]
 5 [ἰν ἡιερεῦσι τοῖν θεοῖν κ]ατὰ τὰ π[ά]τρια· ἔπειτα τοῖσι Ἄρμ
 [οδίο καὶ τοῖσι Ἀριστογέ]γονος, ἡὸς ἂν εἰ ἐγγυτάτο γένος
 [ἀεὶ ἡο πρεσβύτατος, ἔναι κ]αὶ αὐτοῖσι τὸν σίτεσι[ν· κ]αὶ ε[ἰ]

²⁴ I can only say that I approached the Prytaneion Decree without any preconceived notion. I examined to make sure that exegetes were attested as supposed, and I did not find them.

[τινες ἡελέφασιν (οἱ τις μάντις εἴλεφε) δορεῖα]ν παρὰ Ἀθηναίων
κατὰ τὰ [δ]εδομ
10 [ένα ἐκ τῶν ἐχσεγέσεως ἡε]ν ἡο Ἀπόλλων ἀνῆλ[ε]ν ἐχ[σ]εγομέ
[νος τὰ νόμιμα, ἡέχεν τούτο]ς σίτεσιν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡὸς ἂν
[ἐπὶ προσεῖ, τὲν σίτεσιν ἔναι] αὐτοῖσι κατὰ ταῦτά· κα[ὶ ἡοπόσ]
[οι νενικέκασιν Ὀλυμπίασι] ἔ Πυθοὶ ἔ ἡισθμοὶ ἔ Νεμέ[αι τὸς γ]
[υμνικὸς ἀγῶνας, ἔναι αὐτ]οῖσι τὲν σίτεσιν ἐν πρυτανε[ί]οι
[ι καὶ ἄλλας ἰδίας τιμὰς π]ρὸς τῇ σιτέσει κατὰ τα[ῦτά], ἔ[τι]
15 [δὲ ἡενρέσθαι σίτεσιν ἐν] τῷ πρυτανεῖοι ἡο[π]όσο[ι ζεύγε]
[ι ἔ χοννορίδι ἔ ἡίπποι κ]έλετι νεν[κ]έκασιν Ὀλυμπ[ί]ασι
[Πυθοὶ ἔ ἡισθμοὶ ἔ Νεμέαι ἔ] νικέσοσι τὸ λοιπό[ν]· ἔναι [δὲ αὐτ]
[οῖσι τὰς τιμὰς κατὰ τὰ ἐς τ]ὲν στέλε[ν] γεγραμ[μ]ένα [---]
[-----]ι περὶ το στρατ[-----]
20 [-----] δορεῖαν κ[-----]
[-----]δε [-----]
[-----]

Of lines 7-11 the restorations which Jacoby and Bloch present as obligatory restorations except for νόμιμα in line 10, read:

7 [τὸ λοιπὸν ὑπάρχειν δορεῖα]ν παρὰ Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὰ [δ]εδομ-
[ένα· καὶ ἐχσεγετὰς ἡὸς νῦ]ν ἡο Ἀπόλλων ἀνῆλ[ε]ν ἐχ[σ]εγομέ-
10 [νος τὰ νόμιμα λαβὲν τούτο]ς σίτεσιν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡὸς ἂν
[ἀνῆλε, τὲν σίτεσιν ἔναι] αὐτοῖσι κατὰ ταῦτά.

This reconstruction seems to me, not merely conjectural, but largely wrong for the following reasons.

(a) In contemporary Attic prose the phrase is never ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν as restored in line 7-8, but τὸ λοιπόν. If the reader has any doubt, let him consult, for example, the index to Thucydides. Or let him look at the Prytaneion Decree itself, lines 10 and 17.

(b) Maintenance for the exegetes (so restored in line 9) is nowhere attested, while it is well known that they never appear like the Eleusinian priests of line 5 in extant lists of *aisitai*. The word ἀνεῖλεν is usually followed by a mention or summary of the oracle itself; Bloch's attempt to pass off a mere parallel as an imposed restoration may seem only a remarkable piece of blindness, but it is undeniably an offense against epigraphical method.

(c) The interpretation of the present participle ἐχ[σ]εγομέ-
[νος] (unaccented, of course, on the stone) as accusative plural seems to me forced, because it follows so closely upon the name of the divine πάτριος ἐξηγητής himself in the nominative singular. If the text read as Jacoby and Bloch suppose, the ancient reader,

who had no accent to guide him, would have interpreted the participle as a nominative singular or at least have found the construction ambiguous. Furthermore, the implied limitation of the grant "while serving as exegetes" is in contradiction to the style of line 5 and superfluous, even if the exegetes did not serve for life as indeed they appear to have served. I realize that errors of drafting and engraving do occur, but I submit that it is methodically wrong to build a reconstruction on the assumption that the proposer of the decree was inept. Are this absurd ambiguity and this superfluous limitation more likely to be the work of the man mentioned in line 3 or the result of a fantastic restoration of line 9?

In conclusion, it may be said that Jacoby's views on the number of exegetes and on the history of the institution are ill founded, and that the parallel article by his associate Herbert Bloch is not the independent, critical study it purports to be.

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AUGUSTUS AND BRITAIN: A FRAGMENT FROM LIVY?

In Weissenborn's edition of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* there exists a fragment which reads as follows:

Caesar Augustus in spectaculis [Romano] populo nuntiat,
regressus a Britannia insula, totum orbem terrarum tam
bello quam amicitii Romano imperio [pacis abundantia]
subditum.

This quotation—if authentic, belonging in the 135th decade of Livy's work—is contained in Aponius' *Explanation of the Song of Songs*,¹ which was probably written in Rome between the years 405 and 415.² The passage appears in the context of a discussion of the meaning of ch. 8, v. 10 of *The Song of Songs*: "I am a wall, and my breasts like towers: then was I in his eyes as one that found peace."³ In his *Explanation* Aponius identified "the wall" with Christ and interpreted the meaning of *pax* as signifying "the peace of re-atonement," which was established between God and men through the appearance of the Saviour.⁴ After that Aponius declared that on account of the birth of Christ:

¹ Aponius, *In Canticum Canticorum explanationis libri duodecim*, ed. H. Bottino and J. Martini (Rome, 1843).

² On Aponius, see esp. J. Witte, *Der Kommentar des Aponius zum Hohenliede* (Diss., Erlangen, 1903); compare also A. Harnack, "Vicarii Christi vel Dei bei Aponius," *Delbrück-Festschrift* (Berlin, 1908), pp. 37-46; O. Bardenhever, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (Freiburg, 1924), IV, pp. 601-3; A. Miller, "Aponius," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (1930), I, p. 574; M. L. W. Laistner, "Some early medieval commentaries on the Old Testament," *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XLVI (1953), esp. pp. 39-45. E. Dekkers, *Clavis patrum Latinorum* (1951), p. 32, no. 194, says of Aponius: "natione Syrus, floruit in Italia circa 405-415 secundum communioem sententiam; potius vero, cum J. H. Baxter et P. Grosjean, Hibernus saec. VII aestimandus est"; it remains to be seen how these two scholars will prove that the later date and the Irish origin of Aponius should displace the hitherto accepted view.

³ In the King James version the last part of this verse (*quasi pacem reperiens*) is translated with the words: "as one that found favour"; but the context of Aponius' interpretation of the passage makes it necessary to translate *pax* with "peace."

⁴ Aponius, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

non solum animarum pax illuminat mundum, sed publica etiam civilia Romano imperio exaltato bella sopita pacem omnium gentium barbarorum repertam exultant; et omnium hominum genus, quocumque terrarum loco obtinet sedem, ex eo tempore uno illigatur vinculo pacis.⁵

In order to prove the fact that at the very moment of Christ's birth universal peace, in the secular as well as in the spiritual sense, was established in the world, Aponius inserted into his *Explanation of the Song of Songs* the above quoted passage from Livy with the definite chronological statement that Augustus made his proclamation to the Roman people:

in [Christi] apparitionis die, quod Epiphania appellatur.⁶

If we want to assume that the original text of Livy, quoted by Aponius as his source, actually gave a date, it must have been *VIII Id. Jan.*, the equivalent of the date of the Christian feast of the Epiphany on January 6.

Aponius' quotation raises a number of problems. From the point of view of the historian of early Christian thought the most interesting question is, of course, how Aponius came to connect the precise day of the birth of Christ in such a curious and, as a matter of fact, chronologically quite impossible fashion with the date of the proclamation of the Augustan peace.⁷ However, the discussion of this problem will be omitted here, and attention will be given rather to two other questions which concern primarily the classical philologist and ancient historian. Can we accept the text given by Aponius as an authentic quotation from Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*? And, if the answer is yes, how is the reference in that passage to Augustus' "return from Britain"

⁵ Aponius, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁶ Aponius, *op. cit.*, p. 237: *In cuius apparitionis die, quod Epiphania appellatur, Caesar Augustus in spectaculis, sicut Livius narrat, Romano populo nuntiat regressus a Britannia insula, totum orbem terrarum tam bello quam amicitii Romano imperio pacis abundantia subditum.* To Aponius, as to the Church of Jerusalem of that era, the Epiphany signified the birth of Christ in the flesh, and not the day of his baptism or of the adoration of the Magi; I shall deal with this problem in a forthcoming article entitled "Aponius and Orosius on the significance of the Epiphany," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton, 1954).

⁷ See my forthcoming article mentioned in the previous note.

to be explained? Although these two closely related questions have already been treated by several scholars, it seems that at least one piece of evidence has been overlooked so far, which may be of some help in deciding the question of the authenticity of the Livy fragment.

The second part of Aponius' *Explanation of the Song of Songs*, in which the passage under discussion is contained, was published for the first time, unfortunately in a rather faulty fashion, in the year 1843 by two Cistercian monks, Dom Hieronymus Bottino and Dom Josephus Martini. In the same year Friedrich Wilhelm Schneidewin brought the newly discovered fragment to the notice of his fellow German classicists and investigated its authenticity.⁸ On the basis of an examination of a number of passages in Dio Cassius (LIII, 22 and 25), Horace (*Carm.*, I, 21, 13 ff.; I, 35, 29 ff.; III, 5, 1-4; IV, 14, 45 ff.), and Strabo (II, 5, 8 and IV, 5, 3), Schneidewin showed that between the years 27 and 24 B. C. Augustus repeatedly proclaimed his intention of undertaking an expedition against Britain. Actually, Schneidewin continued, the emperor never set foot on the island, contenting himself with the establishment of friendly relations with some of the British princes. However, since according to official or semi-official announcements he had started out for Britain, he deemed it necessary also to celebrate his "return" from there. Hence Schneidewin found it "erklärlich, wie der dem Augustus befreundete T. Livius kein Bedenken tragen durfte, die officiële Phrase in seine Geschichte aufzunehmen."⁹ Schneidewin's arguments in favor of the authenticity of the Livy fragment as quoted by Aponius were apparently found convincing by Ludwig Preller, who asserted that as late as about the year 400 Aponius knew the whole work of Livy,¹⁰ and by Wilhelm Weissenborn, who, as we have seen,

⁸ F. W. Schneidewin, "Cäsar Augustus und Britannien," *Verhandlungen des Vereins deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner*, VI (1844), pp. 40-7.

⁹ Schneidewin, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁰ A. Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie* (1846), IV, col. 1122; it must be noted, however, that no other references to Livy's history appear in Aponius' *Explanation*. In the new edition of *R.-E.*, neither Aponius nor the Livy fragment seems to be mentioned, see *op. cit.*, III, 1 (1897), cols. 866 f.; XIX, 1 (1917), col. 343.

included the passage in his collection of fragments at the end of the Teubner edition.¹¹

Entirely independent of these German scholars and also ignorant of the existence of the Livy fragment in Aponius' *Explanation of the Song of Songs*, in 1873 the English antiquary William Henry Black gave two lectures entitled "Observations on the hitherto unnoticed expedition of the Emperor Augustus into Britain."¹² He knew, of course, that Tacitus (*Agricola*, 13) had spoken of "the long oblivion of Britain, even in peace," and that Suetonius (*Claudius*, 17) had asserted that the Emperor Claudius decided to win his triumph in Britain, "which had not been tried by anyone since Julius." Against these two authorities Black quoted the same passages in Dio Cassius', Horace's, and Strabo's works which Schneidewin had used, but in addition to them and to some other, less significant sources he introduced into the discussion a new and quite interesting piece of evidence. For he pointed¹³ to the importance of a passage in Servius' *Commentarius in Vergilii Georgicon* (III, 25), which reads as follows:

'Purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britannii.' Hoc secundum historiam est locutus. Nam Augustus postquam vicit Britanniam, plurimos de captivis, quos adduxerat, donavit ad officia theatralia. Dedit enim aulaea, id est velamina, in quibus depinxerat victorias suas et quemadmodum Britannii, ab eo donati, eadem vela portarent, quae re vera portare consueverant: quam rem mira expressit ambiguitate, dicens 'intexti tollant'; nam in velis ipsi erant picti, qui eadem vela portabant.¹⁴

Black also noted that a few lines later (*Comm. in Verg. Georg.*, III, 32), Servius spoke of Augustus' "triumph over the Britons."¹⁵ Thus Black not only came to the conclusion that "an armed force or military expedition was actually prepared by Augustus," but even felt certain that "the fruits of this expedi-

¹¹ Weissenborn, in his edition of the Livy fragment, referred to Schneidewin's article; see, e. g., vol. VI (Leipzig, 1882), p. xiv, no. 55.

¹² They were published in *Archaeologia*, XLIV (1873), pp. 65-80 and 81-92.

¹³ See esp. Black, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 ff., 87, 90-2.

¹⁴ Ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen, *Servii in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii* III, 1 (Leipzig, 1887), p. 276.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

tion were actually brought to Rome, in the shape (at least) of prisoners of war and of *essedæ*; for if hostages only were obtained by Augustus from the 'suppliant kings,'¹⁶ he could not have disposed of them by donation to serve as slaves in the Roman theatres."¹⁷

Black's thesis apparently did not meet with acceptance, because it seems to have been ignored by later English scholars dealing with the history of Roman Britain. Nor does the Livy fragment appear to have attracted attention in England.¹⁸

Outside England, however, Black's articles became known to Johannes Witte, the author of the only monograph which has been written so far on Aponius' *Explanation of the Song of Songs*.¹⁹ But Witte was not inclined to adopt Black's belief that Augustus had really undertaken a campaign against Britain,²⁰ nor was he willing, as Schneidewin and Preller had been, to trust the accuracy of the text which Aponius allegedly quoted from Livy: "denn dann," Witte stated, "würde als Folgerung sich die Tatsache ergeben, dass Aponius mit seinem Bericht in direktem Widerspruch stand zu den Mitteilungen der übrigen alten Geschichtsschreiber; es ist aber sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass dies der Fall war."²¹

Yet, in his criticism of Black's thesis, Witte failed to observe that the Servius passage, whose importance had been so much emphasized by Black, offers in fact a rather strong argument for the authenticity of the Livy fragment contained in Aponius' *Explanation*. For it must be noted that Servius started his comment on that line in Vergil's *Georgics* (III, 25) by saying: *Hoc secundum historiam est locutus*. The significance of that phrase had already been stressed by Black who, on the basis of a discussion of the various remarks made by Servius regarding the

¹⁶ A reference to a passage in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, ch. 32.

¹⁷ Black, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 and 80.

¹⁸ See esp. R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 71-4; compare T. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 367-9; C. Oman, *England before the Conquest* (London, 1910), pp. 55 f.; R. W. Moore, *The Romans in Britain, a Selection of Latin Texts* (London, 1938); R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 331 f.; R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1949), pp. 17 f.

¹⁹ See above, note 1. ²⁰ Witte, *op. cit.*, p. 37, n. 1. ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

meaning of *historia*, emphasized "the gravity of the phrase *secundum historiam*, with which the most laborious, exact, and accomplished commentator among the ancient Romans thought fit to introduce a statement of fact."²² Black could have strengthened this well chosen point even further if another passage in Servius' very same *Commentarius in Vergilii Georgicon* (II, 533) had come to his attention. It reads as follows:

'Fortis Etruria crevit.' Secundum historiam: nam constat Tuscos usque ad fretum Siculum omnia possedisse.²³

Here, as in many other places, Servius did not cite his source explicitly, but in this case the lacking name has been supplied by the so-called *Scholia Danielis*, in which we find the following addition to Servius' commentary:

Maximum enim imperium Etruscorum in Italia fuit, ut ait Livius, ab Alpibus usque ad fretum Siculum: unde totum mare, quod a dextra Italici litoris est, Tyrrhenum dicitur.²⁴

With this indication it is indeed easy to find in Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* the passage, or passages (I, 2, 5; V, 33, 7),²⁵ to which Servius and the *Scholia Danielis* referred.

It is well known that Servius made ample use of Livy's work.²⁶

²² Black, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

²³ Ed. Thilo and Hagen, *op. cit.*, III, 1, p. 269.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 269; on the whole passage in Servius, compare also L. F. Hackemann, *Servius and his Sources in the Commentary on the Georgics* (Diss., New York, 1940), p. 49.

²⁵ See esp. Liv., I, 2, 5: . . . tanta opibus Etruria erat, ut iam non terras solum, sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui impleset. . . ; compare also Liv., V, 33, 7: Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium late terra marique opes patuere. Mari supero inferoque, quibus Italia insulae modo cingitur, quantum potuerint nomina sunt argumento, quod alterum Tuscum communi vocabulo gentis, alterum Hadriaticum [mare] . . . vocavere Italicae gentes; Graeci eadem Tyrrhenum atque Adriaticum vocant. Et in utrumque mare vergentes incoluere urbibus duodenis terras, prius cis Appenninum ad inferum mare, postea trans Appenninum totidem . . . coloniis missis, quae trans Padum omnia loca . . . usque ad Alpes tenuere. Thilo and Hagen, *op. cit.*, p. 269, as well as Hackemann, *op. cit.*, p. 49, referred only to Liv., V, 33, 7.

²⁶ See, e. g., Hackemann, *op. cit.*, p. 68; compare also the list of direct references to Livy's work, which has been given by E. L. Crum, *Index*

Within the context of our particular problem it is even more important to remember that many of the fragments listed by Weissenborn in his edition of *Ab Urbe Condita* were derived from references in Servius' various commentaries.²⁷ In view of Servius' familiarity with that history, the conclusion seems permissible that he was thinking of a passage in Livy's 135th decade when he stated in his commentary on the line in Vergil's *Georgics* (III, 25), which referred to the Britons: *Hoc secundum historiam est locutus*.

The assumption that the notices concerning Augustus' relations with Britain, which are to be found in Aponius' *Explanation* and in Servius' *Commentarius*, were both derived from Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* gains additional probability when it is observed that the two texts support each other at least on one significant point. According to both passages, it is certain that Augustus had not only some dealings with Britain but even considered their outcome so successful and important that he had them publicly celebrated, *in spectaculis*, as we read in Aponius, or by giving native Britons *ad officia theatralia* in Rome, as we read in Servius. When Servius, however, asserted that Augustus actually "conquered" Britain, he made a claim which is not only contradicted by such sources as Tacitus and Suetonius but is also not supported in any definite fashion by the text found in Aponius. For this quotation from Livy leaves the question entirely open as to whether Britain belonged among those countries which had been subjugated to the Roman Empire "by war," or among those subjected to it through "alliances."

In this connection one might refer to Strabo's statement (IV, 5, 3): "At present . . . some of the chieftains there, after procuring the friendship of Caesar Augustus by sending embassies and by paying court to him, have not only dedicated offerings in the Capitolium, but have also managed to make the whole of the island virtually Roman property." Strabo sought to prove his assertion of the peaceful submission of the Britons by declaring that "they submit so easily to heavy duties, both on the exports from there to Celtica and on the imports from Celtica

of *Proper Names in Servius* (University of Iowa, Humanistic Studies, IV, 1 [Iowa, 1931]), p. 41, s. v. "Livius."

²⁷ In the survey of the Livy fragments, which is contained in the article on Livy in *R.-E.*, XXV (1926), cols. 829 ff., our fragment is not mentioned.

. . . that there is no need of garrisoning the island."²⁸ To be sure, there is "a certain strain of disingenuousness" in Strabo's arguments, as R. G. Collingwood rightly observed.²⁹ In the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, Augustus himself named only two kings of the Britons, who fled to him as "suppliants,"³⁰ and the very word "suppliants" indicated to Collingwood³¹ that these princes were doubtless exiled from their country when they sought Roman help. But while Augustus never really succeeded in making "the whole of the island virtually Roman property," this fact does not at all preclude the possibility that such a claim to dominion was made in the realm of quasi-official fiction. Strabo gives us one example of that kind, and another one is offered by Horace's lines (*Carm.*, III, 5, 1-4):

Caelo tonantem credidimus Iovem
Regnare: praesens divus habebitur
Augustus, adiectis Britannis
Imperio gravibusque Persis.

In view of these propagandistic statements uttered by men who were close to Augustus, Aponius' quotation seems to warrant the conclusion that the 135th decade of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* contained a passage which read approximately as follows: "On his return from Britain,³² Augustus announced to the people during the spectacles that the whole orbit of the earth was in a state of peaceful submission³³ to the Roman Empire, as a result

²⁸ Translated by H. L. Jones (*Loeb Class. Lib.*, 1923), II, pp. 257 and 259; see also Strabo, II, 5, 8 (*ibid.*, I, pp. 444 f.).

²⁹ Collingwood and Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

³⁰ *Acta Divi Augusti*, ch. 32, ed. S. Riccobono (Rome, 1945), pp. 56 and 57.

³¹ Collingwood, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

³² The reason for Livy's use of the phrase *regressus a Britannia* still seems to be best explained by Schneidewin, *op. cit.*, p. 47, according to whom that "officielle Phrase . . . bietet . . . einen belebten Blick in die Politik des Herrschers und die Empfänglichkeit der Römer für seine Vorspiegelungen."

³³ When we find in Aponius' quotation the words *pacis abundantia*, we must assume that by the insertion of this particular phrase he attempted to improve Livy's text from the Christian point of view; a few lines later in his *Explanation* Aponius actually cited verbatim the Messianic prediction of Psalm 72, 7: *Et orietur in diebus eius iustitia et abundantia pacis*.

of war as well as through alliances." The date of that proclamation must have been the year 24 B. C.³⁴

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THE RELATIONSHIP OF VENETIC WITHIN ITALIC.

Although Latin and Oscan-Umbrian agree in their unitary treatment of initial IE **dh* and **bh* (Latin *faciō* = Oscan *fakīad* = Umbrian *façia*; Latin *ferō* = Umbrian *fertu*), it has long been recognized that their divergence in the treatment of medial **dh* and **bh* (Latin *ruber*, *verbum*, *stabulum*, against *medius*, but Umbrian *rofu* (acc. pl.) *verfale* 'templum,' *staflarem*, and Oscan *meftat*; Latin *tibi*, Oscan *tfei*, Umbrian *tefe*) obliges us to set up separate phonemes **β* and **φ* for Primitive Italic. This assumption does not, of course, tell us when *initial* **β* and **φ* fell together; it could have happened either in Italic times, thus causing the later medial collapses through pattern-pressure, or in the separate dialects, perhaps as a patterning result of the medial collapses. One important point in the development of the medials is that their allophones remained *voiceless* in Oscan-Umbrian.

M. S. Beeler, in his recent work *The Venetic Language* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), especially pages 51-7, has shown, I think conclusively, that Venetic was an Italic language; it was certainly not Illyrian (whatever that means) or Messapic. He remarks, more specifically, on page 57, "that there are no serious difficulties in the way of regarding Venetic as an Italic

³⁴ On this date compare Schneidewin, *op. cit.*, p. 47. In his *Explanation of the Song of Songs*, Aponius made immediately after his quotation from Livy the following statement (*op. cit.*, p. 237): *Ex quo tempore etiam et Syrorum instigante diabolo bella oriuntur; tamen interveniente pace, hoc est Christi praesentia, quantocius sedari probantur*. As Schneidewin, *op. cit.*, p. 47, pointed out, Aponius must have intended to refer with this sentence to Augustus' policy in the East, which led in the year 20 B. C. to the conclusion of an agreement with the Parthians (see *R.-E.*, XXXVI, 3 [1949], cols. 1998 f.); J. Witte's interpretation of the chronology of the various historical facts mentioned by Aponius seems to me to be quite unconvincing (*op. cit.*, pp. 34 f., 38 f.). On the whole series of events which took place between the years 27 and 20 B. C., see also *R.-E.*, XIX, 1 (1917), cols. 342-52.

dialect which broke off early from the parent stock but which still retained some remarkable features which link it more closely to the Latin-Faliscan branch of that stock." I take it that his statement of apparent reservation on page 56, where he discusses the deponent-passive *-r* endings, to the effect that Venetic would be "an Italic dialect which had early diverged from the parent stock," is not intended to vitiate the first-quoted statement. At any rate, the intention of the present brief note is to point out one feature (and there are doubtless others to be found)¹ that leads to the clear-cut conclusion that Venetic did in fact belong to the Latin-Faliscan branch of Italic, regardless of the antiquity of the as yet unknown date when Latin-Faliscan diverged from the only other adequately definable Italic branch, Oscan-Umbrian.

On page 52, regarding **dh*, Beeler makes the significant remark: "It is well to note the difference in treatment of this sound in Venetic initially and medially, which holds even if *z* represents the fricative *ð* and not the stop *d*." And at the bottom of page 51 he opens his discussion of IE **dh*: "Here the parallelism specifically with Latin is particularly striking." Though he does not overtly note it, perhaps because he was

¹ It is a pleasure to note that, at the time of writing, this statement was already more a matter of fact than I could have reasonably hoped. Since sending this note in for publication I have seen the published version of M. Lejeune's admirable communication to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, delivered the 11th January, 1952, on the subject of the present state of Venetic studies with particular reference to his own valuable current work. Not only does he express (*Comptes rendus*, 1952, p. 14) gratifying agreement with Beeler and Krahe in rejecting the old Illyrian myth; he declares specifically that Venetic is "très proche des parlers dits 'italiques' (latin, falisque, osque, ombrien), et particulièrement proche du latin." He also draws attention to the agreement with Latin in the treatment of the IE aspirates, though he does not state overtly how he conceives this parallel development to have worked out in phonological steps.

At the end of his account (p. 15), Lejeune points out an additional striking correspondence with Latin: "mais seul le vénète (dat. pl. *loudērobos* 'liberis') partage avec le latin cette remarquable désignation des 'enfants'." This correspondence had already been observed by Kretschmer (*Glotta*, XXX, p. 135), but the genetic implication, followed up by Lejeune, was vitiated by Kretschmer's puzzling indecisive conclusions (p. 136), whereby Venetic, by virtue of inherited features shared with Germanic as well as with Latin, is stated to stand in a

momentarily absorbed with the Messapic contrast, the same points could be made in respect of IE *bh. Note the following:

Initial:

- *bh: Ven. *vhратere·i·* /fra(:)terei/, Latin *frātri*;
 Ven. *vhrema* /frema/, Latin *fremō*;
 *dh: Ven. *vhaχ·s·θo* /faksto/, Latin *faciō*;
 Ven. *-vhiila* /fiila/ or /fihla/, Latin *filius*.

(I intend at another time to discuss the phonemic interpretation of vowel-length in Venetic, an interesting problem.)

Medial:

- *bh: Ven. *·o·poso-φo·S·* /oposoφos/, or /oposobos/, Latin *operibus*, Oscan *luisarijs*;
 Ven. *sselboisselboi* /selboi-selboi/, OHG *der selb selbo*, for the suffix perhaps Latin *superbus*, *probē*, Umbrian *prufe*;
 *dh: Ven. *lo·u·zeroφo·s·* /louzeroφos/, or /louderobos/, Latin *libera*, Oscan *Luvfreis*.

The choice of /zφχ/ or /dbg/ is merely a matter of symbols; there is, of course, no doubt as to the voiced phonetic value of these phonemes, as *sselboisselboi*, along with certain other considerations, makes plain.

The correspondences illustrated above bring out an important feature of agreement: Latin and Venetic share the development of having medial *b and *φ fall together with *voiced* phonemes.²

close relationship to, but apart from, Latin, as Macedonian is assumed to be related to Greek.

Thus we now have at least two clear shared innovations linking Latin and Venetic—one phonological and one lexical. With the paucity of material it is of course hard to hope for very many.

² Our knowledge of Faliscan is in any case of the slenderest, but the argument might be raised, on the basis of such forms as (*pi*)*pafo* 'I shall drink,' *carefo* 'carebo' (Conway, no. 312), *loferta* 'liberta' (Conway, no. 324), that Faliscan did not share this voiced treatment. The orthographies found are, however, not significant for three reasons: 1. There was an incomplete provision in the Faliscan alphabet for the opposition of voicing; note, for example, *cupa* (no. 324), beside *cubat* (no. 333, in the Latin alphabet). 2. The orthographic alternation *s* : *z*, exemplified by *zenatuo sententiad* (no. 321) and *zertenea* (no. 324), may be relevant in this connexion. 3. As a counter argument we may adduce the gloss *haba* 'faba.' It is therefore possible that Faliscan *f* could have been [f] in at least some positions. It is perhaps not too much to suggest that Faliscan may have had a phoneme /f/, with allophones [f] ~ [f̥] similar to those posited for earlier Latin-Faliscan-Venetic.

Methodologically, we have only one solution then; the Latin-Faliscan-Venetic branch must early have developed voiced allophones medially of the phonemes **p* and **φ*. The result may be tabulated as follows:

* <i>p</i> -, * <i>φ</i> -	> * <i>f</i> -	> Latin <i>f</i> ; Ven. <i>vh</i> /f-/
*- <i>p</i> -	> *[- <i>ð</i> -]	> Latin - <i>d</i> -, - <i>b</i> -; Ven. <i>z</i> /-d-/
*- <i>φ</i> -	> *[- <i>b</i> -]	> Latin - <i>b</i> -; Ven. <i>φ</i> /-b-/

This development contrasts with the voiceless, unit-phoneme treatment in Oscan-Umbrian.

As a final remark, I might note that the whole of the above argument takes for granted that the Italo-Keltic unity split into Italic and Keltic, and these subsequently into Latin-Faliscan (and now Venetic) and Oscan-Umbrian on the one hand, and Goidelic- (Q-) and P-Keltic on the other. This is not the place for a discussion of this too-often questioned point, but I owe it to the reader to make my stand clear. I cannot for a moment entertain the possibility that "p-" Italic and "p-" Keltic are related more closely than "p-" Italic and Latin. Two overwhelming reasons, apart from numerous supporting arguments, such as important shared vocabulary and derivational morphology, suffice to convince me of this. The four-conjugation verb system which Latin and Oscan-Umbrian (but *not* British Keltic) share is one of the most striking early *innovational* departures which we find from the IE system, typified by Vedic, Avestan, Greek, and Old Irish. On the other hand the structural collapses of the labio-velars and the labials in "p-" Keltic (where *p* opposes the blank left by the loss of IE **p*, and where **g^{wh}* > *g*, and **g^w* > *b*, may be very early, since Goidelic shares this) and in "p-" Italic (where the fusion is perfectly symmetrical) are completely disparate events from the point of view of their *systematic phonological patterning*. Superficial *phonetic* likenesses should never distract us from fundamental, pervasive structural patternings of the total system when we seek to establish genetic relationship.

LATIN *POPLES*—'BACK OF THE KNEE.'

R. L. Ward (*Language*, XXVII [1951], p. 480) has recently called attention to the relative anomaly, from the Latin point of view, involved in the -*pl*- cluster of *poples*, amongst other forms.

Without further ado, since for his purposes the form is not insurmountably in the way of his argument, he remarks that its "history is quite obscure." The purpose of this brief note is to furnish an etymology to clear up this obscurity, and at the same time to remove the form from that section of Ward's discussion to another category (*loc. cit.*, p. 479), namely that of loans from outside of Latin.

Ernout-Meillet² (1951), p. 923, is equally non-committal: "Mot technique et poétique . . . Non roman. Semble bien une forme à redoublement, mais l'étymologie en est obscure." Walde-Hofmann³ (1949), II, p. 338, starts out in similar fashion: "Et. unsicher." With judicious doubts, he mentions the thinkable, but uncertain, cognates that have been suggested through a base **pel*— 'turn.' So much for what has been accepted.

By far the most interesting suggestion, as we shall see, is contained in Walde-Hofmann's indented paragraph of unlikely and rejected proposals: "Andererseits ist dialektischer Ursprung (aus O.-U. **poplo*-, idg. **q^woq^wlo*—) trotz Wharton TAPA. 1891 /3, 340, Bugge BB. 14, 64, Schrader RL. I² 606 ohne Anhalt, für einen Körperteilnamen von vornherein auch wenig wrsch." With due respect to Hofmann, I am forced to add my modest name to the eminent company referred to by reviving the rejected etymology, with some modification and, so far as I know, new evidence.

The modification: Instead of **k^wok^wl*-, on phonological grounds we may equally well reconstruct **k^wek^wl*—in light of Oscan *Πομπιες*: Latin *Quinctius*. Our form would thus be cognate with Sanskrit *cakrá*—, Greek *κύκλος*, Old English *hwēol*, English *wheel*. On semantic grounds the form may be readily compared to Spanish *rodilla* 'knee,' and, as we shall see below, Latin *axilla*; the same base furnishes a very close parallel in Old Church Slavic *kolo*, Russian *kolesó* 'wheel,' beside the derived form in Old Church Slavic *kolěno*, Russian *kolěno* 'knee,' and Lithuanian further illustrates such extensions in *kelỹs*, *kelėnas* 'knee,' and *kāklas* 'neck.'

The new evidence: Albanian *sjétullë* /*sjétuľ*(ë)/ 'armpit' has never been satisfactorily explained (see C. Tagliavini, *L'Albanese di Dalmazia* [Firenze 1937], p. 244). An attempt to weed out and explain the variant forms of this word that appear in various Albanian dialects was made by Gustav Meyer (*Etymologisches*

Wörterbuch d. alb. Sprache [Strassburg, 1891], p. 403) on the basis of an elaborate criss-cross of Latin loans, but quite apart from a few details in Meyer's assumptions that are unacceptable today, the basic form cited above, in particular the crucial *sj*—, never is really explained. We cannot on a dialect basis argue around the *sj*- initial since it is attested in several highly conservative Albanian dialects of Southern Italy of my acquaintance (Castroregio /sjétul/ 'ascella,' Vaccarizzo Albanese /nənsjétul/, Barile /ndənsítul/ 'sottoascella'), and is therefore old (15th century); what is more, these dialects preserve inherited *šk*, *šĕ*, *štj*, *še*- and would therefore have such sequences in the word in question if that was its form in their parent dialects. On the other hand, with at least some of Meyer's assumptions, it is possible to derive all variants if we start with the *sj* initial cluster as the base form.

I therefore propose the reconstruction *sjétullë* < **k^wét(u)lā* < **k^wek^wl*—. As was first shown by Pedersen (*K. Z.*, XXXVI, pp. 277-340), and confirmed with more evidence by Jokl (*Mélanges Pedersen*), Albanian *s* represents IE **k^w* before original front vowel (e. g. *pesë* '5' < **pénk^we*; *sjell* 'turn, bring' < **k^wélō*). Stressed **e* diphthongizes to give *je* (and, under conditions as yet incompletely classified, *ja*).

For the assumed development **k^wl* > *-tull-* we are fortunate in having a parallel. Meyer (*op. cit.*, p. 469) compared *vétullë* 'eyebrow' to Old Church Slavic *věko* 'eyelid,' and reconstructed **vetlā* < **veklā*; this etymology was rejected by Tagliavini (*La Stratificazione del lessico albanese* [R. Università di Padova, 1943], p. 103), but, it seems to me, with proper trimming it can cogently be salvaged, especially in view of the mutual support offered by *sjétullë*. Because of the lack of diphthongization in the first syllable of *vétullë* we must instead reconstruct **vōt(u)lā*, and in turn **wōk^wl*-. This form, despite Meyer's comment (*loc. cit.*), now precisely matches Lithuanian *vókas*, *vóka* 'eyelid,' Lettic *vāks* 'cover,' and is in ablaut with Slavic *věko*; because of the consistent apparent "long vowel" it looks as if the base contained a laryngeal—hence **weXk^wl*-, **woXk^wl*-. For the semantic side it is worth recording that in Vaccarizzo and the five neighboring villages (Santa Sofia d'Epiro, San Demetrio Corone, Macchia, San Cosmo Albanese, San Giorgio Albanese) /vértul/, with unexplained intrusive /r/, means 'eyelid'; in some places

it means 'eyebrow' and 'eyelid' indifferently. And from Macchia I have recorded /vèrtulekóks/ 'scalp' (literally 've(r)tuł of the head'), which suggests the 'cover' meaning may once have been wider in scope. That the intrusive /r/ is relatively recent in this form is suggested by the fact that the nineteenth century poet Girolamo de Rada, of Macchia, wrote *vétul* 'sopraciglia.'

If on the other hand, following the suggestion of Barić cited by Tagliavini (*loc. cit.*), we wish to associate *vétullë* with Greek ὠψ, we may reconstruct (departing now from Barić's *oqu-t-) *wót(u)lā < *ōkwł- < *Xo:kʷ-l—, and compare also Latin *oculus* for formation. For the initial, cf. Alb. *ve* 'egg' : Greek φόν; Albanian *vesh* 'ear' : Dor. ὦς. In any event the same phonemic sequence and development is in question.

In summary, we may safely assume for these forms a development *-kʷł- > -tull- (with Proto-Albanian accent preceding). It is however impossible to say whether this is to be regarded as a "Lautgesetz," or whether these two forms show dissimilation of the labial components (*kʷ—kʷ; *w—kʷ).

Thus an Oscan-Umbrian (or other *p*-dialect) *popl- and Albanian *sjétullë* agree exactly in form when reconstructed to *kʷekʷł-. For meaning, the 'back of the knee' and 'armpit' may readily be united under something on the order of *'hollow of a (major) joint.'

Since writing the above, I have seen E. W. Fay's note (*C. Q.*, VIII [1914], p. 53) wherein he reconstructs (in part) *kʷekʷł-; although his methods and criteria belong to another day and although part of his comparisons and conclusions are irrelevant and unacceptable, I am pleased to find support in our independent agreement.

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REVIEWS.

E. R. DODDS. *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1951. Pp. ix + 327. \$5.00. (*Sather Classical Lectures*, XXV.)

Professor Dodds' book preserves the character and the style of the lectures out of which it originated. Like them it addresses itself to circles wider than the professional classicists. And indeed not often is the educated reader presented with a book whose author moves with the same sureness of touch in the Greek world and in our own. Here a mine of unusual richness is opened up for the benefit of the various groups of social scientists, while new perspectives, new avenues of understanding and penetration are revealed to the student of literature. As for the classicist, he is given a wealth of new insights and led to a truer understanding of many aspects—some familiar, some not so familiar—of Greek civilization. In fact Dodds keeps us in constant suspense and under a constant challenge to revise our notions, while by means of his extremely learned and substantial Notes he puts us in a position to check the new interpretations against the evidence or to compare them with opinions of other scholars.

Yet the very richness of the book which is the reader's delight is the reviewer's despair. If he passes over many topics that profit from the new approach, if he conveys no impression of the multitude of specific problems discussed, he must console himself with the thought that the book is sure to be widely read since it has already established its reputation as being at once one of the most enlightening and one of the most enjoyable that have appeared in recent years. Even so it is with regret that I omit from my report the chapters—or rather Appendices—on Maenadism and on late ancient Theurgy which readers may already know from *H. T. R.* and *J. R. S.* Of Chapter III ("The Blessings of Madness") which brings out the fundamental difference between "mediumistic" madness in the service of Apollo and collective ecstasy sponsored by Dionysus I shall say next to nothing, and regarding the interpretation of Greek dreams in terms of Greek beliefs (to which Chapter IV introduces us) my only comment must be that I should accept it even if it were advanced without reference to "culture patterns"; for that a man's dreams refer to what he knows and believes is hardly surprising (it would be worth knowing how far the dreams recorded in early Christian documents show modifications of the "pattern"). In topic and procedure these two chapters differ slightly from the other six which treat irrational beliefs and movements—as well as rationalistic countermovements—in their historical setting and sequence. Their central ideas I shall now try to summarize.

The first chapter is entitled "Agamemnon's Apology." When Agamemnon justifies himself to Achilles for his "unaccountably" rash step by declaring "Not I was responsible (*αἴτιος*) but Zeus, Moira and the Erinyes . . . put wild *ate* in my understanding" he

makes clear that he was acting under the influence of external agencies. And as here *ate* is said to make man do surprising things so we have elsewhere the gods "taking away his understanding" or find man all of a sudden getting an idea or having the sensation that *μένος* arises in his chest. What interests Dodds is not the particular god who may or may not be involved. The machinery of gods is secondary; basic is the awareness of some kind of power intervening in man's course of action. Man does not recognize himself any longer; something happens that neither he nor the poet can understand in human terms. The explanation for this peculiar type of experience may—with Nilsson—be found in the "psychological instability" of Homeric man; yet it also seems relevant that in Homer the *θυμός* has an existence apart from man's essential character. The latter is usually described in "intellectual" terms (cf. phrases like *ἦπια οἶδε*, *ἀθειμύσσια οἶδε*); the *θυμός* being somehow on its own—not integrated with man's character—is the more open to attacks from outside.

At the end of this chapter Dodds begins to operate with the distinction which recent anthropologists have made between "shame cultures" and "guilt cultures." Homeric society he assigns to the former class. "The strongest moral force which Homeric man knows is respect for public opinion, *aidos*" (p. 18). Being anxious to conform, he fears nothing so much as loss of face. Post-homeric society (Chapter II) knows very different fears—those of a "guilt-culture." It fears divine *φθόνος*, or, if more enlightened, divine justice (yet this is the kind of justice which visits the sins of the ancestors upon the descendants); it is haunted by dread of pollutions and correspondingly concerned with *καθάρσεις*. *ἄτη* now comes to mean punishment and is clearly allied to the temptations which gods or demons place in man's path to entangle him in guilt and error. Aeschylus' world of demons, *alastores*, and Erinyes gives us a fair picture of the dreaded powers by which the men of this Age felt themselves surrounded. The reason for this astonishing prevalence of guilt- and fear-motifs lies partly in the general insecurity of the time; yet besides this Dodds reckons with an increase of tension within the family. For this he discovers evidence in the myths of filial revolt, parental curses, incest—in poetry unconscious "give-aways" of this rebellious instinct are found right down to the classical period.

It is against the background of this "culture" that Dodds in the next chapters understands some significant phenomena of the period. This age of tensions, haunted by the Keres of fear and insecurity needed an omniscient, authoritative counsellor. He was found in the person of the Delphic Apollo. Yet Dionysus, who provided people with the possibility of collective escape from oppressive cares and worries, met no less a need. Also doctrines of transmigration and reincarnation were readily accepted in the sense that the soul's experiences in its present body were punishments for sins committed in earlier lives (Ch. V). Yet whence did the Greeks in the first place get the belief that the soul is a prisoner in the body, hampered by its needs yet capable of regaining its true powers when bodily activity suffers interruption in sleep or ceases altogether in death? This belief, we now learn, developed in Greece as a result of contacts with the shamanistic life-pattern in Scythia and possibly Thrace.

Following in the footsteps of Rohde and Meuli but going beyond them with the help of abundant anthropological material Dodds builds up an impressive case for his thesis. The Greeks knew of shamans like Abaris and Zamolxis; the voyage of Aristaeus of Proconnesus is a shaman story, and there are shamanistic elements in the tradition about men like Aristaeus, Epimenides, and Hermotimus but also Pythagoras and Empedocles. Their record includes, in some form or other, the shaman's habit of psychic excursions, his fasting (Epimenides), his healing and prophetic activities, even his power of appearing in different places (Aristaeus). Pythagoras' belief in transmigration seems to have developed from shamanistic antecedents; yet the last and in some ways best—since best known—Greek representative of the shaman tradition is Empedocles. Not only the Empedocles legend but his own poems—both poems!—lead us to think of him as a man possessed of supra-human powers while alive and destined to be a god after his death; in fact the *Purifications* speak of the soul-demon in us as a guilt-harassed exile from a divine home and status.

The three other Chapters (VI, VII, VIII) somehow coincide in their basic theme, i. e., the opposition and the interactions between rationalist and irrationalist attitudes. The changing relationship between these two forces is very dramatically presented. Greek enlightenment begins with Xenophanes, Hecataeus, and especially Heraclitus whose terse pronouncements strike at the roots of some deep-seated beliefs. But its great days came in Periclean Athens when minds were ready for a new cultural optimism and when men as diverse as Protagoras and Socrates would agree that as soon as people would see the light—in Socrates' language "know the good"—they would organize their life in a more rational and effective manner. Still neither of the two quite corresponds to our ideas of a rationalist: Socrates has his daimonion; Protagoras (at least in Plato, *Prot.*, 327 E) makes concessions to the πόλις ἀνδρα διδάσκει. Much less is Euripides an out and out rationalist. For if his plays reflect the enlightenment they also present the overwhelming power of human passions, the irrational aspects of *physis* and again—almost *charta eadem*—criticism of the *physis* doctrine, i. e., various forms of "the reaction against the enlightenment." The manifestations of this reaction occupy Dodds on the remaining pages of this chapter (VI). One is the notorious prosecution of intellectuals which sprang from a vague feeling that the new teachings endangered the religious and moral foundations of the city.¹ And when these foundations did give way, the vacuum was filled not by ready acceptance of the rationalist doctrines which taught man to stand on his own feet, but by a relapse into more primitive beliefs. Witness the solemn introduction of Asclepius with his Holy Snake, the new interest in emotional foreign cults, the spreading fashion of *de-fixionum tabellae*.

The rhythm of this chapter is paralleled by the last which takes

¹ As Dodds rightly says (p. 189), prosecutions of the kind may have occurred more often than we realize; we merely know the most flagrant cases. Note in this connection the argument in Arist., *Rhet.*, 1397b 24 which suggests that the execution of sophists was as frequent an occurrence as that of σπαργολοί.

us into the Hellenistic period. Again we have first a triumph of rationalism which might seem final—at a time when science flourished, traditional religion became more and more routine, and philosophers felt strong enough to reason the passions out of existence. Yet after 200 B. C. rationalism enters upon its decline and long-drawn-out death struggle. Superficially this was brought about by the increase of the various “antirationalistic” tendencies (with astrology in the van) of which Dodds gives us a brief but extremely incisive account. As for the deeper reason, Dodds after dismissing some current explanation offers his own psychological diagnosis: A “fear of freedom,” an increasing unwillingness to face the responsibilities connected with life in an “open society” is the state of mind which accounts for the change from self-reliance to ready-made techniques and revealed ways of salvation.

Placed between these two chapters with their similar rhythm of movement and countermovement is the appraisal of one thinker, Plato (VII), who in Dodds’ scheme occupies a position of unique interest and importance. Having been brought up in an atmosphere of confident rationalism, yet having also witnessed some of its crises and *débâcles* Plato transcends the limits and limitations of rationalism in more than one way. First by grafting onto his Socratic inheritance the “Puritanic” soul-concept—and with it some shamanistic features (reincarnation, recollection, the soul’s withdrawal in contemplation; yet to Dodds even the rigid discipline undergone by the guardians recalls the shaman’s *askesis*). Secondly by taking a “realistic” view of human motivations. To admit the passions as “parts” of soul is a departure from rationalism as well as from puritanism; yet also for pleasure and pain, those two god-given “springs” (δύο γὰρ αὐταὶ πηγαὶ μεθεῖνται φύσει ρεῖν *Leg.* 636D) of our responses, does Plato find understanding words. Finally, in the *Laws* Plato tackles the problem of religion and its place in the state and comes forward with elaborate proposals of how to reform the beliefs of the citizens and how to stabilize and enforce them.

Dodds’ book not only charts many poorly known shores of the Greek world; it also relates essential aspects of the Greek mind to what is new in our own thinking, i. e., to those recently discovered realms of human behavior which have enriched our knowledge of ourselves, in which we still move about uncertainly, and from which few so far—at least few competent pilots—have set out to explore the past.

If in the past anthropological categories have often been applied to the Greeks in such way that the specifically Greek evaporated in the process, Dodds’ more cautious tactics may well open a promising new chapter in the cross-fertilization of the two subjects. It would hardly be fair—though it might be the safer course—if the reviewer were to keep away from concepts like “shame culture” and “guilt culture.” They must, however briefly, now be considered.

About “shame-culture” I have some reservations. Hector’s *αἰδέομαι Τρώας καὶ Τρωάδας ἑλκεσιπέλους* may be a significant line but at II., XXII, 105 the circumstances and specific motives for Hector’s *αἰδώς*—his rash disregard of Polydamas’ good counsel and the catastrophic results—are such as would induce feelings of shame in any culture. Without stopping here to consider other Homeric passages (e. g. admonitions addressed to the *αἰδώς* of soldiers on the point of

flight) we might attack the question from the flank by remembering that in Hesiod, *Op.*, 197 ff. *Aidos* and *Nemesis* are about to leave this world. If Hesiod here contrasts the morals of his own environment with those prevailing in Homer the passage is valuable evidence for the greater importance which *aidós* had in Homer. Yet the real issue is neither the importance of *aidós* in Homer, nor the numerous Homeric situations where "shame" should play a role—by the standards of "shame culture"—yet does not, but rather whether it makes sense to apply this anthropological term to the picture of a society which is largely the result of poetic refining and idealizing. For idealization has been at work (see Dodds himself, pp. 43 f.), whether we agree with Nilsson about a Mycenaean basis of this society or prefer to connect it more closely with conditions in "Homer's" own days (this large question is far from settled). The possibility that Homer and the authors representative of "guilt culture" give us "different selections from a common culture" is rejected rather than disproved by Dodds (p. 44). As for "guilt culture" at the time, the motherland story—or epos—of Meleagros which is incorporated in *Iliad* IX suggests that it was well along.²

For indeed unlike "shame culture" which needs further scrutiny, "guilt culture" strikes me as a valid and helpful concept. Our understanding of authors as diverse as Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Herodotus stands to gain if side by side with more rational and morally more satisfactory conceptions we pay attention to the element of haunting fear—fear of disaster, of infatuation, of divine *phóbos*, divine vengeance, and of the unpredictable, ill-willed demon. Dodds inclines at times to look at the rational and enlightened tradition as though it were but a reflection of the other. Yet to the conviction that *hybris* wrecks man's life we hardly do justice if we see in it only a moralized version of the *phóbos*-motif (p. 31). As Hesiod, Solon, and Aeschylus formulate this conviction it is the message of minds that have risen above the primitive belief; in the well-known passage Aesch., *Ag.*, 757, the message does not distil itself from the alternative view but meets it head-on. Contrary to Dodds (p. 30) I find no trace of the divine *phóbos* in Solon, nor can I agree that in Herodotus this *phóbos* is "the underlying pattern of all history" (p. 44, cf. p. 30). This statement makes his historical understanding more primitive than it is. Careful analysis has found much else in him (e. g., the *kúklos anthrōpōniōn pēgēmatōn*, the *hybris*-motif, human *proairesis* at crucial junctures), though in fairness to Dodds it may be said that in Herodotus' most carefully balanced account of conflicting influences and motivations, the crown-council

² The chapter on Homer includes some overstatements. Be it ever so true that the motif of divine intervention has its root in genuine experience, it still does not follow that it was this motif which led the epic poets to differentiate their gods and goddesses (p. 14). *ἄρη* is (p. 5) defined as "temporary clouding of the normal consciousness." In most instances this will work. Yet the meaning "objective disaster" cannot be wholly ruled out; see e. g. *Il.*, XIX, 113 where Zeus first does a foolish thing and afterwards (*ἔπειτα*!) πολλὸν δάσθη, also VIII, 237 where *ἄρη* and *ἅσας* seem to refer to the catastrophe and rout of the Greek army, not to Agamemnon's unwise action in the past. Some other passages remain a problem (Dodds' explanation, p. 19, of *Il.*, X, 391 is very strained).

scenes in Xerxes' palace, the decisive role is given to a *δολόματος ἀπάτα θεοῦ* (VII, 12 ff.).

As regards the shaman, Dodds' arguments for his *ἐπιφάνεια* in Greece are strong. True, the anthropologists (as I learn from colleagues at Cornell) allow him "occult" powers and dissociated states only in such "cultures" where these states are also otherwise familiar. This seems to create a difficulty for Dodds' thesis that it was shamans or shaman-like figures who imported this pattern into Greece. By and by this may be straightened out; for, leaving everything else aside, Dodds seems to carry the day with his shamanistic interpretation of Empedocles. And this, as has been said, is a test case.

Dodds errs, however, when he rediscovers Empedocles' soul-demon in Plato's *Timaeus* (p. 213); for when Plato—only once (90A)!—speaks of our reason as *δαίμων* he is not thinking of the daemon as guilt-carrier but of his own daemon-mediator (*Conv.* 202D) who establishes a connection between man and the divine. Nor is it quite true that by introducing this "daemon" Plato breaks up the unity of the personality (Dodds, *ibid.*). Reason is after all a part also of empirical man and Plato's effort in the *Timaeus* is clearly directed toward integrating it in the life and functioning of our organism (see e.g., 43 A ff., 44 A ff., 70 A ff., 86 E ff., 88 A ff.).

We have thus returned to the Plato chapter, a chapter at once brilliant and provocative, and nowhere more so than where it deals with the *Laws* and Plato's religious legislation. Having committed himself to the opinion that "the framework of (Plato's) thought never ceased to be rationalist" (p. 208) Dodds quite logically draws the picture of a detached and clear- but cool-headed social planner who saw the need for reform and while discarding some elements of the religious tradition saved others in a kind of compromise, who "harnessed Delphi to the task of stabilizing the religious tradition" and was prepared to "pay a price" for this. As a historical statement of what Plato's proposals come to much of this is surely correct; yet whether Plato's own outlook and intentions can be summed up (in Burekhardt's words, p. 212) as "rationalism for the few, magic for the many" is another question. The tone, the ethos, the language of the *Laws* are not those of rationalistic confidence but of reverential wisdom. The divine—*τὰ θεῖα* which include *νοῦς* and *ψυχή*—is seen as present in the citizens' life and Plato's exhortations and laws aim at strengthening it. God is the source of all value, the norm and measure (*μέτρον*) of all human action (see e.g. 713 A ff., 715 E 7-718 C, 726-728 C). Are we to read such passages as completely unrelated to Plato's own religious feeling? Or should we rather conclude that the most important religious realities, integrated in a life lived in orientation toward God, lie in the large area between the extremes of rationalism and magic? Dodds would discount such passages as mere *ἐπὶ φημί*, incantations devised for the many (p. 212). I am not blind to the arguments in favor of this view:³ there is Plato's recommendation of the "*noble lie*" in the *Republic*; there is the expectation that a confirmed "rationalist"

³ A similar view seems to have been known in antiquity; cf. Min. Fel., 19, 14 (Plato's *de deo* . . . *oratio* . . . *tota esset caelestis nisi persuasionis civilis nonnunquam admixtione sordesceret*).

will not weaken—if indeed the application of this term to Plato raises no problems and if we ignore that in Plato's own scheme *ratio* would correspond to *διάνοια* which is placed below *νοῦς*—*νοῦς* goes deeper and has understanding for much that *διάνοια* cannot reach. How difficult it is to remain consistent in these matters may be seen from Dodds' analysis of the *ἐπωδὸς μῦθος* 903 B ff. which is meant to strengthen the belief in Providence. In this coherent and homogeneous text Dodds does not hesitate to distinguish between a "demonstrable law of the cosmos" (which however "must be taught as an article of faith"), an element of "myth" or "incantation," and lastly Plato's "own final belief" (p. 221). The problem involved is formulated in a footnote (p. 235) where it is said that Plato "believed in degrees of religious insight." From this it is but one step to the assumption that Plato distinguished these levels, as the Stoics did—and as we do. A step in the opposite direction would be to recognize that Plato's own religious wisdom and piety embraces all these levels and participates in all of them.

Yet somehow all criticism directed against Dodds' "results" is unfair and misses the main achievement. For this is one of those rare books whose significance does not exhaust itself in its results and conclusions. It teaches us to read Greek literature with a new awareness of things hitherto neglected and quickens our sensitivity. Dodds' interpretations have something peculiarly stirring; τὸ κέντρον ἐγκαταλείπει τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις. To none of the subjects here treated can our response be quite the same as heretofore.

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MARIO PUELMA PIWONKA. *Lucilius und Kallimachos*. Frankfurt am Main, 1949. Pp. 412.

According to Fiske (*Lucilius and Horace*, p. 181) "Lucilian satire [was] the product of a highly sophisticated Hellenistic environment combined with the Italian *penchant* for frank, vigorous, dramatic expression." The nature of some of the Hellenistic material that probably influenced Lucilius has been made clearer in recent years by the discovery and interpretation of much of the writing of Callimachus, in particular, the *Iambi*; and in his book, *Lucilius und Kallimachos*, Mario Puelma Piwonka endeavors to interpret the Hellenistic and the Roman writers' own concept of the meaning of their work and to make our knowledge of the relationship between them more precise.

He begins with a discussion of what *sermo* meant to Lucilius in the field of vocabulary and diction. Significant principles were *consuetudo* or *communis usus* and τὸ πρέπον. The last is, of course, a relative term, and Lucilius in availing himself of its hospitable latitude provoked the criticism of Horace's more refined circle. Both writers felt, however, that appropriateness implied sincerity and a proper concept of the relation of form and content. In his own work Lucilius sought simplicity, *perspicuitas*, even *mediocritas*, and he tried to avoid the *ineptum*, ἀρεχρον. Propriety of behavior was

closely associated with propriety of speech in the *sermo*; each might be regarded as *medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum*, Aristotle's μέση ξέσις. In line with this is the technique of portrayal. The βιωτική μίμησις of Lucilian and Horatian satire presents divergent types; laughing at the opposites the satirists might demonstrate the truth between. Such demonstration, to chide or to instruct, was part of their task. But it was friends who were to be helped, not the world at large. *Non recito cuiquam nisi amicis*, said Horace; Lucilius' audience was *pauci et sapientes*. In the relaxed atmosphere of such a group there could be *ludus iocusque*—comments of autobiographical quality, anecdotes of camp or journey, witty and instructive *χρείαι*, constant *causerie* where precepts were offered with kindly irony. More serious instruction, pedantic, humorless, declamatory, might be found in the writings of the Cynic-Stoic philosophers; but with these opponents of gracious living the satirists had no part.

In the appraisal of Lucilius' poetic theory his criticism of Accius and Ennius is interpreted in terms of Horace's attitude to *tumor tragicus*, and thus Lucilius is ranged with those for whom the grander styles implied *ampullari, desaevire, mugire*. Such rhetorical resonance is the mark of the *poeta insanus*, who relies on inspiration rather than critical effort. This attitude, found in many of the late first century writers, is Hellenistic poetic theory, thoroughly Callimachean (cf. *ληκυθίζεν, μέγα ψοφείν, βροντᾶν*) and closely related to rhetorical theory of the plain style; here we have the Asianic wine-bibbers and the Atticist water-drinkers, the *πόνος* of Callimachus, Horace's *lira* and *labor*. Surely this is a paradoxical situation for the writer of the conversational, spontaneous *schedium*, the poet who could dictate 200 verses in an hour, standing on one foot! True, he demanded *studium*, he attacked Ennius' verses as *cura carentes*, and he satirized poor composition; and Horace admitted that he was not altogether crude and unacquainted with the value of Greek poetic theory. But Horace's estimate was relative; Lucilius could not be accused of *pigritia laboris*, but had he lived in Horace's time he would have pruned his work considerably. Piwonka is less restrained: with all his defects Lucilius is a Callimachean.

Less special pleading is needed to relate Lucilius' theory with other Callimachean concepts—*ὀλιγοστιχία, λεπτότης, ποικιλία*. Lucilius distinguished his poems from *poesis, opus totum . . . opus unum*, presumably with *perpetuum argumentum* (Callimachus' ἐν αἰσμία διηκεές). His is a lowlier Muse, the *Musa pedestris*; he is one of those who prefer what is *tenuis* to the *grandia, parva monumenta* to *annales Volusi*. Not even for his patron Scipio would he write epic heroics; his inspiration, like Callimachus', is *ὀλίγη λιβάς, πίδαξ ἱερή*. To assume, however, that *Musa pedestris* may be equated with *Μοῦσα λεπταλέα* is a different matter; in fact, the whole problem of *λεπτότης* is skipped over too lightly; the close association of Quintilian's *tenuis diligentia*, Atticist τὸ ἰσχνόν, Catullus' *poema tenue* does not prove that *λεπτόν* corresponds fully to *ἰσχνόν* and does not entirely clarify *λεπτότης*. We may admit, perhaps, that *λεπταὶ ῥήσιες*, Callimachus' description of Aratus' work, suggests the wearing of one's learning lightly, a kind of *urbana dissimulatio* suitable to a satirist. In any case, turning their backs on the grand styles Lucilius and Horace, like Callimachus, chose their own narrow path; but, unlike Callimachus, they did not absolutely deny the merits of the greater,

more traveled road; it was simply ἀπρεπές for them. Ennius, too, made his *recusatio*—but he rejected the narrow path and λεπτότης; he was *Homerus redivivus*, his audience was the people at large. This appeal to the wider audience is characteristic of his *saturae*; he offers general instruction and philosophical precept without any of the personal touch of Lucilius and Horace. Distinct, also, and closer to the Cynic-Stoic popular philosophical productions was the Menippean satire of Varro. From its start to imperial times *sermo* was accompanied by an *altera satira*.

This consideration leads the author to somewhat confused comment on the word *satura*. *Satura* does suggest an extempore, unorganized quality (ἄτακτον, ἄκοσμον, *schedium*) without reference to content. But it is dangerous to compare the term with titles of collections such as *Prata*, *Silvae*, *Stromata*, *Catalepton*; the author does not prove his point that *satura* originally denoted a collection of poems; even so, lack of organization in a collection differs from lack of organization in a single work.

In Callimachus' *Iambi* we find that λαμβίζειν seems to imply criticism less vitriolic than that of Hipponax; it was accompanied by εἰρωνεία (cf. the *diegesis* of *Iambus* 5: ἐν ᾗθει εἰνολίᾳ) and thus similar to Lucilio-Horatian kindly instruction; the poems were, moreover, clearly addressed to a limited audience, the *docti* of Alexandrian literary circles. Whether 17 or 13 in number (see below, p. 199) they fall into three groups: poems of literary criticism, erotic *iambi*, and a miscellaneous group which Piwonka calls epigrammatic-idyllic. All are treated in some detail and the commentary is of considerable interest, though some of the suggestions are erroneous, as subsequent papyrus publications have shown.

The first group of *Iambi* (nos. 1, 2, 4, 13) shows Callimachus defending his position as a literary arbiter and urging his contemporaries to be less contentious. He affirms the correctness of his concept of the iambic genre, attacks fellow writers in familiar terms ("chattering parrots," "howling dogs"), and defends his own practice of πολυεῖδεια or ποικιλία. Notable is his use of the αἶνος and χρεία with personal application. Piwonka feels that affinity with Lucilius is to be seen in the erotic *Iambi* (nos. 3, 5, 9, 14). That they employ familiar themes later developed in Roman elegy is evident: we meet the wealthier suitor, the penniless poet, warnings of the jealous lover, the poet's claim to be *magister amoris*. But Lucilius' relationship is by no means so clear; the nature of his love poetry is hardly well enough known to draw parallels. Some Hellenistic parallels seem deceptive: if *Collyra*, title of Book 16, really resembles such titles as *Nanno* and *Leontion* we can hardly look for personal emotion there. In any case we may well suspect the sincerity of personal emotion expressed by Callimachus; and it is extremely enthusiastic simplification to think, as Piwonka does, that Callimachus juxtaposed his *Aetia*, with the *Cydippe* story, and the *Iambi*, with that work's erotic poems, to point the contrast between his "objective" and "subjective" love poetry.

Four of the remaining *Iambi* were apparently developments of the epigram form. Number 6 gives a detailed account of Phidias' statue of Zeus and the route to Olympia for a curious friend (λίγνος ἐσσι γὰρ καὶ τό μιν πυθέσθαι); this poem may be related to the tradition behind Roman satirists' *itineraria*, but we note that Callimachus was

concerned more with learning than social enjoyment. The seventh, narrated by the statue of Hermes Peripheraeus of Aenus, gives an account of the statue's origin. Sepulchral epigram is found in the eleventh poem; this can hardly have resembled erotic mock epitaphs of Lucilius; it was aetiological, explaining a common proverb. The unique poem, number 12, honors the birthday of a friend's child by relating it to the birthday of Hebe; strangely Piwonka, who looks for literary polemic wherever possible, misses a clever point in this poem; Callimachus the poet neatly compliments himself by pointing out that of all the gifts offered to Hebe the song of Apollo was judged best. It is hardly accidental that this poem preceded Callimachus' defense of his poetry in *Iambus* 13. Only two really iambic poems remain. The eighth is an aetiological epinician. The tenth is another *aition*, but Piwonka actually sees in the Aphrodite Castnetis who was content with humble sacrifices of swine a warning to the eristic Alexandrian scholars to be more modest in their claims.¹

A discussion of the qualities implicit in Callimachus' concept of iambic poetry follows the detailed analyses. Familiar features appear—lively narrative, dialogue, kindly admonition, ironic self-depreciation, *βιωτικὴ μίμησις*, Aristotle's comedy attributes, *τὸ γελοῖον* and *λέξις διαλεκτική*—all reminiscent of Roman satire. Most noticeable is the *ποικιλία*, *πολυεῖδεια*, *varietas*, which is compensated by unifying factors of meter or tone. The general relationship of Callimachus' *Iambi* to other poetry is shown in the epilogue to the *Aetia*, which immediately precedes the *Iambi* and serves as transition. The Muse descends from the Helicon heights of elegy to the terrestrial level; in the *Iambi* we have *Μοῦσα πεζή*, *Musa pedestris*.

Persuasive distinctions are drawn between Callimachus and other iambists. A most significant rival is Herondas. Whether or not the author is correct in accepting the theory that Herondas' eighth *Mime* was provoked and was answered by the first and thirteenth *Iambi*, it is clear that Callimachus carefully distinguished his own work from that of the coarser, more virulent group. The Cynic-Stoic iambists, Phoenix, Cercidas, writers of diatribe, were also distinct; for Callimachus, *ποιητὴς ἄμα καὶ κριτικός*, an important aspect of his writing was its serious aesthetic purpose; his rivals were *ἀπαίδευτοι*, they wrote *ἀμαθῶς*; on the other hand, if Callimachus' work was *ἐντελές*, *τετράγωνον*, as *Iambus* 13 suggests, it was presumably the result of learned effort, *πόνος*, *labor*. So Alexandria, like second century Rome, produced two forms of *satura*.

Some questionable interpretations of Callimachus' work seem due to Piwonka's acceptance of the theory that the *Iambi* comprised 17 poems. This view is essentially based on the fact that in the *Diegeseis* papyrus the title "Ἰαμβοὶ" is followed by digests of 17 poems; the first 13 are definitely iambic and form a closed, coherent group; the last four are not iambic and are generally assumed to correspond to the *Μέλη* mentioned by Suidas. Adequate arguments in favor of the 13-group theory have been advanced elsewhere, but Piwonka's enthusiastic forcing of "evidence" justifies further comment here. The group is certainly a demonstration of *ποικιλία*; but Piwonka seems to admit unlimited variety without the discipline of some

¹ It is likely that Piwonka was misled by the erroneous attribution of frag. 77 Schneider to this poem. See below, p. 201.

constant factor to create unity. His "iambic tone" or quality is hospitable enough to include almost anything and can hardly be regarded as unifying. Here the unifying factor was iambic meter of varied sorts. But, in view of the vituperative character of most iambic verse, Callimachus began with a disclaimer: his Hipponax has none of the virulence evoked by Bupalus. And along with literary polemics come a mischievous perversion of moralists' themes, a *propempticon*, aetiological narratives, an epinician, a birthday greeting. The group is closed by *Iambus* 13, a defense of Callimachus' literary practice. The compositions which follow consist of: (i) a *carpe diem* poem, based on the story of the Lemnian women, written in phalaeceans—a lyric theme in lyric form; (ii) a *παρόινιον* addressed to the Dioscuri and Helen, in Euripideans—lyric theme, asynartetic rhythm; (iii) a lament for Arsinoe in anapaestic Archebuleans; (iv) the story of Branchus, an *aition*, in choriambic pentameters. This is a strange group of iambic poems! Piwonka must have had difficulty persuading himself: some of the poems can hardly be called iambic at all, he admits; in numbers 14 and 16 the resemblance to lyric is "purely external"; and number 13 is constantly described as a *Programmgedicht*, once, in fact, as a *Schlussiambus*. We can best regard these poems as experiments in lyric form.

The final pages of the book are devoted to an effort to make the links between Callimachus and Lucilius more binding. The choliambic prelude to Persius' satires, his rejection of the higher Muse, serves as a starting point; Piwonka feels that it must have some precedent and he considers it inconceivable that there should be direct Callimachean influence; the predecessor must be Lucilius. But the Persius poem is full of Callimachean motifs derived both from the *Aetia* and the *Iambi*, and Pliny (*Ep.*, IV, 3, 3) shows that Callimachus' *Iambi* were read in imperial times and available to Persius. The assumption that Lucilius wrote a choliambic literary *apologia* seems to lack foundation. The second point is the organization of Lucilius' works as published. Piwonka describes Lucilius' publication as: hexameter poems (Bks. I-XXI), variegated poems (XXII), hexameters (XXIII-XXV), variegated (XXVI-XXIX), hexameters (XXX). This, he feels, resembles Callimachus' *Iambi*: stichic (poems 1-4), epodic (5-9), stichic (10-13), epodic (14-15), stichic (16-17). But the parallelism is false. Book XXII of Lucilius is variegated only in content, Books XXVI-XXIX vary in meter; and in the *Iambi*, apart from the fact that poems 8 and 9 are now known not to be epodic and that 14 and 15 are probably not to be regarded so, poems 14-17 are in all probability not *Iambi*. In fact, we might better relate the organization of Lucilius' satires to the "Collected Edition of Callimachus' Works" as revealed in the *Diegeseis* and other papyri: for Callimachus, a large elegiac work (*Aetia*), a variegated group (*Iambi* and lyrics), hexameter poems (*Hecale*, *Hymns*); for Lucilius, hexameter and elegiac poems (Bks. I-XXV), a variegated group (XXVI-XXIX), hexameters (XXX). The whole works of Lucilius can hardly be considered a *μονόβιβλος*.

Considerable research is displayed in Piwonka's book, but at times the learning seems oppressive. This is especially true in the chapters devoted to Lucilius, which are so filled with documentation of the Peripatetic-Academic-Atticist tendencies of the *sermo* that Lucilius seems more philosopher than poet. Yet the general thesis is well worthy of favorable consideration. I should be glad to see a proven

demonstration of the influence of Callimachus, the Hellenistic *arbiter litterarum*; but one's beliefs need stronger foundation than some of the arguments offered here. The truth must lie somewhere between the reasonably restrained attitude of Fiske and the enthusiasm of Piwonka. And we need not feel that the Romans will be robbed of their claim *satura tota nostra est* because they honored tradition.

A few corrections should be noted. P. 220: frag. 98c Schneider does not belong to *Iambus* 1. Pp. 244-5, 303: frag. 77 Schn. belongs to *Iambus* 8, not to 10. P. 264: frag. 191 Schn. does not belong to *Iambus* 9; the poem is not epodic. Pp. 293, n. 1 and 335: *Iambi* 8 and 9 are not epodic and there is no evidence that the phalaecean "*Iambus* 14" was epodic (pp. 253 and 335). Pp. 210, 333, 348: $\bar{\upsilon} - \upsilon - \bar{\upsilon}$ ἀλλ' αἶνον θέλοντ' αἰνεῖν is metrically impossible; so, too, p. 234: ὥστ' οὐκ αἰκῶς κτλ. Dubious, if not incorrect Greek is offered on p. 234, line 4; p. 250, line 13; and 352, lines 4 f. Only one misprint is troublesome: on p. 300, line 21, read ia. 16 for ia. 17.

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Platon, Oeuvres Complètes XI: *Les Lois*. 1^{er} partie: Livres I-II; pp. ccxi + 70 (double). 2^e partie: Livres III-VI; pp. 1-9 + 10-154 (double). Texte établi et traduit par ÉDOUARD DES PLACES, S. J. Introduction de AUGUSTE DIÈS et LOUIS GERNET. Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1951. (*Collection des Universités de France publiée sous le patronage de L'Association Guillaume Budé*.)

This is an admirable addition to the Budé series of classical texts with French translation confronting. The introductory essay on the design and general purpose of the *Laws* by Diès (pp. v-xciii) is a summary with philosophic exposition of Plato's statements and an interpretation of them in relation to one another and to other works of Plato. Except for side-glances at such modern developments as jazz, emphasis is placed on Plato the consistent, creative thinker. Diès remarks that if the idea of the good is not God in Plato, that is because it is more than God, being summit and source of all that is divine. This is to overrate the intellectual side of Plato. Plato was indeed a great thinker, but at heart even more a moralist and reformer, dogged in his aims rather than dogmatic in his views. He often writes to persuade rather than to enlighten. Diès in commenting on the theodicy of Book X notes that Plato was born both legislator and philosopher and was inseparably both to the end. As such he rebelled against the doctrine of moral and social relativity as he did against the doctrine of intellectual relativity. But it might have been pointed out that in the early dialogues no absolute is disclosed, while in the *Laws* Plato speaks as one who knows.

His planetary gods involve a new dualism, a distinction not between thought and sense, but between two sensible realms—a heaven where God's will is done and an earth where it is not. In other words he found his god revealed in a sensible realm where his power is that of the laws of motion. In the name of intelligence Plato confined

science to astronomy and reduced the divine to a formula. This is not the inspired Plato whose spiritual energy gave a new dimension to life but a tired Plato enamored of uniformity, equally rigid in art, morals, and science. Distance lent enchantment to his view of the heavens, which seemed to justify his disregard of the particular and his system of theocracy.

Gernet's essay on the *Laws* and positive law (pp. xciv-ccvi) is more critical and provides a valuable summary of previous work on the subject as well as a statement of Plato's importance to the history of law and jurisprudence. Plato is given a high place among legal thinkers. Indeed his only Greek rival is Theophrastus, whose work is largely lost to us. Note that Plato as a political thinker proposed radical reforms that were often lost sight of when he discussed positive laws. His laws follow actual developments at Athens and envision conditions as they existed there, with some influence from other states. Hence his importance to the history of law, I suppose. This essay in a field unfamiliar to most scholars is particularly welcome.

The critic almost always asks for more. I should have liked to see some discussion of the date of Plato's *Laws* and its relevance to Sicilian affairs. In a note (p. xxvii) Diès assumes that Plato was writing Book III twenty years before the Persian defeat at Arbela (331 B. C.), and Des Places accepts (note on 638 B) the capture of the citadel of Locri by Dionysius the Younger after 356 (in 352?) as a *terminus post quem* for the writing of Book I, in which Plato states that the Syracusans enslaved the Locrians. Logically it is only the first enslavement of Locri that can serve as *t. p. q.* Since Dionysius the Elder had stormed Locri (Justin, XX, 5, 1) and exercised tyranny there (Plutarch, *Tim.*, 6) while he ruled in Syracuse, the reference is almost certainly to his time. When the younger tyrant seized the citadel, he was himself actually at war with Syracuse. There is clear indication that Plato's work on the latter half of the *Laws* was news before 353 B. C., in the references found in Isocrates, *Antidosis*, 79-83, and Plato, *Epistle VII*, 344 C. Internal and external evidence (*Epistle III*, 316 A) indicates that Plato composed the introduction (Books I-IV) of the *Laws* originally with Dionysius in mind between 367 and 361. The evidence of hiatus and clausulae tends to confirm this date. See my article in *T. A. P. A.*, LX (1929), pp. 5-24.

The text as treated here fulfils a prophecy that I made some twenty years ago (*T. A. P. A.*, LXI [1930], p. 33): "When O is properly collated, there will be no occasion to cite such a late manuscript as L." The present text depends on AO with help from corrections in K (Marc. gr. 188, *saec.* 14) and occasionally from P and from citations in twelve late writers. For the first time we have an accurate statement of the earliest extant authority for nearly all readings. In Burnet's edition most readings now found as corrections in O or K are attributed to L, *scr. rec.*, Aldina, *vulg.*, or Stephanus. We have also for the first time an accurate statement of the indirect tradition with variant readings and a clear indication where citations begin and end. Des Places has examined all manuscripts of the *Laws*, has made a special study of the indirect tradition, and has achieved great accuracy in detail. He accepts the main conclusions that I presented in VP (*The Vatican Plato and its Relations* [*A. P. A. Mon.* 4, 1934]).

In spite of this great purgation of the apparatus we do not get a

greatly changed text. There is still a tendency to follow A, even in the part where O was not copied from A, that is, nearly to the end of Book V (746 B 8). Furthermore, Burnet and Bury, using common sense, included numerous good readings for which only late or uncertain authority could be cited. England's interpretation is frequently followed by Des Places. Both England and Bury, who based his text on the old Zurich edition (1839), were bolder in emending. Bury's Loeb edition (1926) did not involve new study of manuscripts.

Des Places is sometimes able to correct Burnet's account of AO, for instance at 661 C 8, where Bury conjectured ἡμῶν for ἡμῶν and is now supported by AO Eus. At 667 E 2 I reported μόνον as the reading of O. Schanz had reported it for A, and now it appears in the text. Among other corrected mistakes of Burnet are the omission of ὅτι before μάλιστα at 643 D 2 and the mistaken rough breathing of ἄσμενοι at 678 C 5. Des Places reads rightly everywhere κατοίκησις, not κατοίκισις, as Burnet did, usually against the manuscripts.

Though new use is made of O and though I find that Des Places has sometimes noted erasures that I failed to see, yet information about O is scantier than in my VP or even at times than in Stallbaum. He does not note at 752 B 10 for instance the correction δέξωνται in O. Of course it is a mistake, but such obviously wrong readings are constantly reported from A. So at 666 E 6 the original error of AO, ψύχων for ψήχων, is reported for A, but not for O. This would not matter, except that O has been less studied than A and erased readings in O may give us new and better evidence. The digest of new readings in my VP was prepared hastily and there are some mistakes in the references. Des Places says that he has corrected my citations "rarement." My offer in 1933 to let my collation be used for this edition was declined by Paul Mazon. Here is something still unpublished. At 682 E we find in this book a much better translation: "ces événements . . . sont votre légende à vous, Lacédémoniens, et votre histoire." For this interpretation O's original reading, apparently μυθολογεῖτ' ἔτι τε καὶ διαπεραίνετε, is more emphatic than the corrected reading, which omits ἔτι. Just before this, Apelt's translation, "ein Dorer," is better than the usual "Dorieus."

There are some small points that are intentionally disregarded in this edition. Schanz followed A in reading -ει and -εῖ in the second singular middle and passive. O agrees, but Burnet and Des Places have everywhere -η and -ῆ, the reading generally of AO after correction. So Schanz reproduced the reading of A where words compounded with συν-, etc., have xi for sigma. Usually O is in agreement with A, but not always. The old editions, and so Bury, reproduce the spelling of O. Now that the authority of O is recognized, the best method would be to print xi when it occurs either in A or in O. A scribe might easily write sigma by mistake, but hardly xi. To eliminate xi altogether, as Burnet and Des Places do, is to spoil Plato's intended effect. No editor would so trim Thucydides. Plato used frigid and archaic language purposely in a vain attempt to produce enchantment by incantation. When he says τὰ ξυσσίτια, as he does always, at least in Book I, he avoids an iambus. By keeping sigma after ἐκάστοτε he avoids a double iambus. Why we find xi after -ιν but sigma after -ων I do not know. Students of metrical

prose should be warned that no edition of Plato is quite trustworthy for their purpose. Schanz neglected O, and others either neglected A or misrepresent Plato completely.

Similarly important to students of style is *nu*-movable. Medieval editors were prone to delete this where it did not prevent hiatus. It is usually, I believe, absent at the end of a sentence in O, even where A has it. Clearly the proper method is to include the *nu* wherever it appears in either A or O, since scribes were not likely to add it, and Plato often needs it to add weight to his rhythm. The matter of elision is not so simple. Editors were likely to insert elided vowels above the line to explain the text. Such letters might easily be copied in the text by mistake. Where A and O differ, I should keep any elision or crasis that appears in either, if there is no *nu*-movable in the other. But careful study of rhythm might justify exceptions to this rule. Where Des Places has reintroduced *τέθεικα* and other late spellings, such as Schanz emended, the meter is not affected, but surely Plato would be archaic if anything. Pluperfects without augment, likewise reintroduced, are archaic and also eliminate short syllables. Plato took such things seriously, for he proposed to substitute readings from his *Laws* for the works of Homer and the dramatists as public entertainment and instruction. We may not like Plato the enchanter as well as Plato the thinker, but it is better to know the man himself in his style than to worship an idol in his place.

The matter of breathings has been considerably clarified by the articles of Powell in *C. Q.*, XXVII (1933), p. 208, and XXVIII, p. 159. It is time to reinstate the old rule and print *αὐτοῦ* at 647 C 9 and 695 A 8, and *αὐτῆς* at 691 D 2 with the manuscripts, as well as *ἡμῶν τὰ σώματα* with K² at 636 A 8. Here the pronoun is unemphatic and in the predicate position. At 735 C 6 Des Places has *αὐτῶ* with the manuscripts against Burnet. At 729 C 3 he introduces *ἐαυτῶν* from Stobaeus. He does not note the mistaken *αὐτῶν* AO at 782 B 1 nor correctly report the *αὐτοὶ αὐτοῦς* of A at 659 C 1, as cited by Schanz. Burnet's statement is wrong, and England's comment attributing the error to Schanz is unlucky. Des Places is wrong about A but right about O's *ἐαυτοῦς*. I took the trouble to look this up in the published facsimile of A because I could not believe that a Greek stylist would use two forms of *αὐτός* in juxtaposition with reference to different antecedents. Can anyone cite a parallel? It makes perfectly good sense to say that audiences educate themselves when poets follow their bidding. Burnet's interpretation made good sense in English too, but rather incredible Greek. The reading of A, however, merely shows how some early editor inserting breathings took the passage. All editors emend the *ἐαυτῆ* of AO at 701 A 4. Here the added *epsilon* must come from a mistaken editor rather than from a scribe. Plato may have written it in other cases for metrical reasons, but we can never be certain in any particular case what he wrote. I do not suppose that he wrote breathings at all.

There are some mistaken citations in this edition as in others. At 728 E 3 the reading of AO is *ἄμα τε* not *τε*. At 763 E 3 *αὐτοῖς* is due to the corrector of O; A and O agree. The note on 764 A 4 *τῶ* (*notatum punctis* in O) belongs to the repetition of the word two lines below. I verified this by consulting the facsimile of O that is to be found in Widener Library at Harvard University. Erasures, it

should be noted, could not be verified, since they do not usually appear in photographs. There are other trivial errors and one bad misprint *ἐνεργεστέρον* at 645 C 1 (read *-αργ-*).

The lines are not always numbered in Des Places' text exactly as in Burnet's and references have not always been adjusted. This is misleading at 784 E 4, where the Patriarch's book, cited in the margin of O, had an emendation *ἄρτι* for the second *ἔτι*. Burnet wrongly refers it to the first, which occurs in his text at E 3. In Des Places both cases fall in one line. I corrected Burnet in VP, and the full citation, which is unambiguous, is given in Greene's edition of the scholia (*A. P. A. Mon.* 8, 1938). This work cites all marginalia of O, but not the interlinear brief notes. These are now adequately represented in Des Places. He also at least once resolves a compendium (676 B) that Greene had left as a problem.

I have noted some emendations by the translator: *τυραννοῦση* at 710 A 1; *πρώτους* for *πρὸς τοὺς* at 751 D 1; and *ὅτιπερ* for *οἵπερ* at 781 D 1. The third seems clearly right; the first is harmless; the second does not produce clarity. I should keep *πρὸς τὸ* of the Aldine and read *εὖ <τε> πεπαιδευμένους* with repetition of the infinitive understood. The editor is equally cautious about admitting the emendations of others to his text. He translates my proposed division of words *τοὶ νυνδὴ* at 718 D 2 "tout à l'heure" and the line that I added from *Epîn.* 987 A at 657 A 7, but without altering the text to correspond. It is true that emendation of unsatisfactory Greek tends to become an exercise in composition, but there is a hard core of emendations that produce conviction. My proposal *ἀναδιδούσης* at 747 E 1 was termed "certainly correct" by Bury, and some of his seem almost certain to me. How can there be doubt of my *ἐθέλοντα* *δὲ ἄν* at 730 E 5 (omitting *ἔάν* with P) and *ΙΑΞΩ-* for *ΝΕΞΩ-* at 671 B 10? I note in passing the need of correcting *πάν ἀγαπητόν* at 718 D 6 to *παναγάπητον* with short first syllable. The word is not in our dictionaries, but it is regularly formed and removes the slight difficulty that made Badham propose *πάνν ἀγαπητόν*. At 740 D 8 emendation is avoided by adopting from AO the colon after *εἰσίν*. Burnet accepted Winckelmann's addition of *αἶ* after *ἀπαντῶσαι*, which produces a most improbable hiatus. The connecting relative is really needed, but must have been lost after *εἰσίν*. Loss of AI after N is plausible. Burges is not often helpful in his Bohn edition, but, as Bury notes, he anticipated Burnet's *λήθη* at 666 B 7 and should get the credit.

This edition goes too far in entirely disregarding the evidence of the Armenian translation. For instance at 708 D 7, the Armenian implies *τελεωτάτων*, which was adopted by Bury, Schanz, and England from Badham's conjecture. There are other cases where it should be cited. More of the corrections of K might well have been included in the text. At 757 E 5 Bury has *αὐτοῖς*, giving credit to Richards. Though this reading is now reported as a correction in K, Des Places follows AO. But decision in such cases is a matter of feeling, and disagreement is inevitable.

It is better to explain than to emend. Plato's reminiscences of Homer and other poets or writers of prose need more attention. We might have had notes on the reminiscence of Pindar, *Nem.* 7, 48 (73) *εὐώνυμον ἐς δίκην* in 754 E and on the phrase from Aleman (fr. 107) in 705 A. I believe that we should keep the reading of AO at

636 B 4, taking *παλαιὸν νόμον* as a paraphrase of *θέμις*, which refers to the sexual act in marriage at *Iliad*, IX, 276. At 732 C fortune is thought of as personal and as symbolized by the waxing and waning moon; compare Sophocles, *O. T.*, 1082 f. The idea that one man's fortune may be obscured by another's is also present; compare Plutarch, *Ant.*, 33, 2. Thus we might translate: "as the individual's fortune waxes with success, or as others' fortunes wax against certain enterprises of his when he faces, as it were, towering cliffs ahead." Precisely so the fortune of Philistus had waxed as Plato's waned. At 739 A 5, 6 translators have distorted the sense by taking *νομοθέτη* with *σύνηθες* instead of *προσδέξαιτο*. Plato had Homeric precedent for this dative of interest. Compare the English: "He wouldn't do it for me," meaning "at my bidding." The Greeks were perfectly familiar with lawgivers who were not tyrants. Translate: "People will perhaps not accept this measure, unusual as it is, for any law-giver but a tyrant."

It is not for me to criticize the translation except to say that it is clear, accurate, and readable in general. I have mentioned one case of improved interpretation. False interpretations, apart from passages where the text may be corrupt, are not easy to find. The ζῶα of 669 A 6 are "Kunstwerk" (Apelt), not "êtres vivants" or "animals" (Bury, Taylor). At 670 B 5 ῥυθμοῦ depends on ὁρθότητα: "How is anyone to judge propriety in the case of tunes, that is, what belongs to the Dorian mode or not, and in the case of a dance movement that the poet has joined to his tune, that is, whether it is properly so joined or not?" Apelt differs here, Bury rejects the text, and Taylor agrees with me in part. At 684 A 6 τὰυτα ἐμπεδούντων τῶν ἀρχόντων is not "sous la garantie des magistrats," but "so long as the rulers respected their pact."

The printer has not succeeded always in keeping letters or points in place at the end of a line, and in my copy there are places where the text on the reverse side of the page seems to show through. Misprints are rare. The minute nature of my criticism is evidence of the excellence of this edition. It is a credit to all whose work has gone into it.

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ARTHUR E. GORDON. *Quintus Veranius consul A. D. 49. A study based upon his recently identified sepulchral inscription.* Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1952. Pp. viii + 231-352; plates 7-13. (*University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, II, No. 5.)

In 1948 Professor and Mrs. Arthur E. Gordon discovered an unpublished inscription in the Museo Nazionale at Rome. Though the name was missing, they successfully identified the document as the sepulchral inscription of Q. Veranius cos. A. D. 49, and now Professor Gordon himself has published a fascicle entitled "Quintus Veranius consul A. D. 49." The publication of the inscription occupies 44 pages, while appendices, indexes, and illustrations account for the rest.

Gordon has collected a great amount of comparative material, has been very careful with measurements and spatial considerations, has published a photograph of the stone, a photograph of an excellent squeeze, and even a drawing, but all this valuable work for his reader's benefit cannot change the fact that the inscription is difficult and will necessarily be a source of disagreement. The reviewer for his part cannot pretend to agree with his esteemed colleague's conception of the document, which reads somewhat as follows:

[-----]
 [----- provinciae Lyciae et Pamphylicae] quinq[ue]nnio pr[a]efui[t],
 [----- in pot[est]at[em] Ti. Claudii Caesaris Aug.
 [Germanici redegit atque castellum Cilicum Tr]acheotarum expugnatum delevit;
 [mandatu et litteris senatus populiq[ue] Romani et Ti] Claudii Caesaris Augusti
 Germanici
 [--- in civitate Cibyra restit]utionem moenium remissam et interceptam
 [--- complevit ---] h[ic] [-] pacavit vvvvvv Propter quae, auctore
 [Ti. Claudio Caesare Augusto Germanico] consul designatus, in consulatu nomi-
 natione
 [----- in locum -----] ni augur creatus, in numerum patriciorum adlectus
 est;
 [iudicio Ti. Claudii Caesaris Aug. Germ]anici aedium sacrarum et operum
 locorumq[ue]
 [publicorum curam ei dedit equester or]do et populus Romanus consentiente
 senatu vv Ludis
 [maximis praefectus est, ut ipse praemium p]etierit, ab Augusto principe, cuius
 liberalitatis erat minister;
 [praepositus est primo cantu bell]ici provinciae Britanniae vvvvvv In qua
 decessit.
 [Verania filia Q. Ver]ani vixit annis VI et mensibus X.

The chief differences between this and Gordon's text on pp. 270-1 are these: I have followed the stonecutter in dividing the father's inscription of lines 1-12 into four paragraphs, perhaps changing thereby the interpretation of *quae* in line 6; I have selected from Gordon's bewildering harvest of alternate and "tentative" restorations the, in my opinion, less arbitrary items; I have decided in favor of *restit]utionem* in line 5 because of *I. G. R.*, IV, 902; I have in lines 9-10 rehabilitated an attractive restoration which Gordon considered but rejected; and I have ventured to insert some restorations of my own in lines 8, 11, and 12.

In the part preserved one paragraph lists the achievements on which the glory of Veranius rested. A second paragraph lists the honors which gave him further prestige. Three words announcing his death in Britain stand alone in a last paragraph to make a rather effective conclusion. The *cursus honorum* of course provides the material for the memorial, but the composer has developed the material in a way to avoid the bareness of an enumeration of titles and to increase the honor of the deceased. Thus in paragraph 2 he does not say that Veranius became consul but that he was selected for the consulship by the emperor, and by so doing, the composer brings out the unusual and more honorable feature of it. Gordon's

nine prefatory lines of total restoration which ignore the difference between this type of document and a straight *cursus honorum*, seem to start from a false concept. In line 12, moreover, Gordon restored [*legatus Neronis Caesaris Germanici*]. This is surely mistaken because the title would be *legatus Augusti pro praetore* and because the composer is trying to avoid a bare statement of title. Since Eric Birley's paper, "Britain Under Nero: the Significance of Q. Veranius," *Durham University Journal*, June, 1952, pp. 88-92 (= *Roman Britain and the Roman Army: Collected Papers* [Kendal, 1953], pp. 1-9), we know what was unusual in the appointment of Veranius to the governorship of Britain. It was not his title of legate or his selection by the emperor; every governor could claim these distinctions. It was the fact that when the government decided on large-scale military operations and needed a really able general, it then placed Veranius in command. This is what the restoration should suggest without betraying that the decision responsible for the war was a Roman decision.

Gordon, however, carries the beginning of the clause back to *ludis* in line 10, so that instead of two clauses for two honors, to wit (1) the substitution for Nero in the presidency of the Games so that the emperor entered a contest (*petierit*: a perfect subjunctive after a secondary tense suggests a result clause), and (2) the appointment to command the army of Britain as soon as Rome decided to fight a war there, Gordon (p. 265) interprets the passage as meaning, "While in charge of (or presiding at) the Great Games, he was appointed, though he did not request it (*petierit*), to the governorship of Britain." To render this interpretation Gordon restores and punctuates as follows: *ludis [maximis praefectus (or praesidens) factus est, cum non p]etierit, ab Augusto principe, cuius liberalitatis erat minister, [legatus Neronis Caesaris Germanici] provinciae Britanniae, in qua decessit*. Even if the title were right, I could not accept the phrase *factus est legatus*. In Gordon's reconstruction, moreover, the position of the phrase *cuius liberalitatis erat minister* makes it a very ambiguous comment indeed.

It is, however, the treatment of lines 9-10 that seems the most unsatisfactory, because after arriving, through "considerations of space and a study of the curatorship mentioned," at the restoration which I have rehabilitated and after citing the *Lex de imperio Vespasiani*, "utique quos magistratum potestatem imperium curationemve cuius rei petentes senatui populoque Romano commendaverit quibusque suffragationem suam dederit promiserit, eorum comiti(i)s quibusque (from *quisque*) extra ordinem ratio habeatur," and after citing references to joint action by senate, equites, and populus, he repudiates this restoration supported by parallels and by its own chiasmic balance in order to restore a title that never did or could exist, "curator of the emperor," and a clause which fails to say what it is supposed to: [*curatori Ti. Claudii Caesaris Aug. Germ]anici aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque [publicorum statuum] posuit equester ordo et populus Romanus consentiente senatu*, wherein the identity of the curator is not clear enough to permit omission of the pronoun (*contra* note 91). In the commentary and on p. 319 he talks about the statue he postulates as if it could be part of triumphal honors for the curator.

Gordon's coolness toward the right restoration when he came to

it methodically arose from his interpretation of the above cited passage from the *Lex de imperio Vespasiani*. On p. 258 he says of the latter, "This gives us *senatus, populus Romanus, and curatio*, and leaves us only *equester ordo* to be justified." On p. 259 he says, "our inscription would apparently contain the first evidence . . . that this class (*sc.* the equites), in addition to the other activities performed by it as a group, might also join the 'people' and the senate in a matter concerning an important curatorship. And the reason in this particular instance might perhaps be found in the specially close relations between the equestrian class and Claudius." Gordon, accordingly, thinks that the equites have no place in the procedure to which the *Lex* refers. I believe that the equites are included under *populus* in the *Lex de imperio Vespasiani*, which mentions the *comitia* explicitly. Our inscription reports just such a case where the emperor recommended the election of a certain man, Q. Veranius, as curator. The name was presented to the *comitia centuriata*, and the man was elected. Also the name was submitted to the senate and formally accepted. In our inscription the *equester ordo* means the eighteen centuries of equites in the *comitia centuriata*, while the *populus* here means the five classes. Ever since the Gracchan Period the equestrian order tended to be distinguished politically from the rest of the *populus*, and separate mention of the equites contributed to an impression of universal support. But how could the *comitia centuriata* ever be held without the eighteen centuries?

Line 8, as Gordon notes, surely began with a name in the genitive dependent upon the noun *nominatio* at the end of line 7. But that the first extant letters of line 8, *[ni]*, are the end either of a name dependent upon *nominatio* or of the phrase *die solemni* I do not believe. There was only one nominator in this period, and thirty-four letters seem too much for one name. The words *die solemni*, moreover, seem quite superfluous. I believe that there is only one possibility for the letters *-ni*: they belong to the name of the *demortuus*, and the formula *in locum demortui augur creatus* is surely imposed. Who was the *demortuus*? The elder Q. Veranius comes to mind, but the evidence is not strong enough to permit a restoration.

Appendix I is a good list of *curatores aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque publicorum* and their subordinates or substitutes. Gordon gives the title of M. Aquilius Felix, No. 75b, as merely *procurator operum publicorum* without mention of the cursus from Cannae (*A. J. P.*, LXVII [1946], p. 312) where the post is described more completely as *proc(urator) oper(um) publ(icorum) et fiscal(ium) urb(is) sacrae*. The omission, though not serious, is a little regrettable because, so far, the office is attested merely in the case of Aquilius Felix.

Appendix II, a list of triumphal honors and statues in the city of Rome, grew out of the to me unacceptable restoration *statuam* in line 10, but is useful all the same, though No. 11, Juba II, and No. 42, Q. Veranius, should be eliminated. On pp. 312 f. Scipio's gifts to Masinissa and the gifts to Juba II seem to me, not triumphal honors for one occasion, but royal honors for permanent use (cf. Ugo Coli, "Regnum," *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris*, XVII [1951], pp. 20-1 and 57-9).

To conclude, the fascicle contains a documented and valuable, though somewhat confused, study. The author has gone to great

pains to give the reader everything he could. We owe to him the first publication, the correct identification, and much besides. I am not satisfied with the way he sets up the text, and there are fundamental differences of interpretation between us, to which I have had to devote most of my space, but the importance of the inscription and the usefulness of the careful publication are obvious.

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Aratoris Subdiaconi De Actibus Apostolorum. Ex recensione ARTURI PATCH MCKINLAY. Vienna, Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1951. Pp. lxiv + 363. (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, LXXII.)

Arator's epic on Acts, with its wearisome and forced allegories and its generally monotonous rhythms, is not a poem likely to find many readers to-day. Yet, because it was greatly admired and often quoted in the Middle Ages, it cannot be neglected by students interested in Christian Latin poetry. Hitherto no adequate edition of the text has been available; for even Arntzen's, which was reprinted in Migne's *Patrology*, is very faulty and based on too few manuscripts, while the edition of Perugi, published in 1908, with some two hundred errors and misprints, is infamous. McKinlay has spent many years on the difficult text and on the collation of numerous manuscripts. Since he has already published his findings elsewhere (see the list on p. lxi), he gives only a summary list of codices in his Introduction. For the first time the reader can feel sure that he has before him approximately what Arator wrote. Of one hundred and thirty-three manuscripts the editor has used thirty-eight directly for this edition, and he has inspected over sixty others. He has divided the thirty-eight into three classes, each class being represented by *meliores* and *deteriores*, and it is on the fourteen *meliores* that his text is primarily based. The best of these is *Parisinus* 12284 (saec. ix¹), which bears the twelfth century *ex libris* of Corbie and later, like so many other *Corbeienses*, passed to St. Germain. Since the editor says nothing of its subsequent history, it may be worth pointing out that in the seventeenth century it was inspected by Stephen Baluze. In his edition of Servatus Lupus' letters (2nd ed., 1710, p. 434), after observing that Arator called Pope Vigilius "primum sacerdotum in toto orbe," he continues: "Haec est enim epistolae epigraphie in vetustissimo codice MS Corbeiensis monasterii, qui nunc extat in bibliotheca S. Germani Pratisensis apud Lutetiam." He then quotes the dedication of Arator to Vigilius.

The *apparatus criticus* is elaborate and consists of three parts: parallel passages in pagan and Christian poets which Arator may have imitated as well as some imitations by Arator's successors; medieval glosses found in a few manuscripts of the poet; and, finally, select readings. In addition McKinlay justifies his choice of variants

in the more difficult passages in a special section, *De locis criticis* (pp. 154-60), and follows this up on pp. 161-80 with readings of minor importance. A considerable part of the Introduction is assigned to medieval *testimonia* and imitations of Arator. There are separate indexes on grammatical and syntactic usages, on allegorical figures, on authors, and, to end up with, a very full *Index verborum*. In a word, the editor deserves our gratitude for the copious information that he provides, so that at last it is possible to study in detail both the technique and the later influence of the poet.

In deciding between variants the choice is sometimes hard. In general McKinlay's judgment is sound, since it is based on a long familiarity with Arator's vocabulary and style. If there is any weakness, it is to be found in a tendency to adopt the *lectio difficilior* at all costs and in a slightly exaggerated respect for *P*. There are, at all events, a fair number of passages where his choice can be questioned. A few examples follow:

I, 160: *servit*. The *varia lectio*, *figit*, does not appear in the *app. crit.* but is included in the Index. The passages quoted from other poets certainly support *figit*.

I, 174: *iure* seems intolerably harsh and *iura* is preferable.

I, 429: *tactus*, but the majority of manuscripts have *nactus* which may be correct.

I, 734: *vomet*, but the *varia lectio*, *vomit*, accords better with *sibila* in the next line. Besides, Arator is not prophesying about the future conduct of the Jews, but relating their hostility to Paul in Damascus (Acts 9, 23 ff.).

II, 392: *ista*, but, in view of Acts 16, 18, I believe that *istam* in Ω is the right reading.

II, 611: *haeretico*, v. l. *haeretica*. It seems to me very forced to take the adjective with *lacu* in the next line instead of with *nigredine* which it immediately precedes.

II, 734: It is not clear why the editor would construe *altius* as a noun and read *hoc* against *haec* in the vast majority of manuscripts. Arator uses *altius* as an adverb in three other passages, the nearest in sense being II, 524.

II, 1012: *rupis*, v. l. *rupes*. McKinlay justifies his adoption of *rupis* at the top of p. 160 and in support refers to Genesis 1, 9 and Matthew 23, 15. But *arida* (sc. *terra*) there and in the Latin Fathers means dry land in contrast to the sea. *Arida* in the sense of "dryness" is impossible; and, if *arida* is to be understood as dry land, we have to translate "dry land has poured forth the waters of the rock," which seems to me nonsense, even for Arator. On the other hand, it is possible that Arator regarded *rupis* as a nominative; or again, confusion of *e* and *i* is exceedingly common in early manuscripts (cf. *vomet*, *vomit* above).

II, 1084: *rapidus*, v. l. *rabidas*. The two words are often confused, but the best manuscripts of Bede, who imitates the phrase in *Vita Cuthberti*, 739, have *rabidis procellis*.

Some variants appear neither in the *app. crit.* nor among the *lectiones minoris momenti*, but are listed in the Index, e.g., I, 1008, *fulva*, and 1018, *natura*, which is recorded as if it were the reading adopted in the text, which, however, is *nunc cura*. One also gains the impression that the editor has occasionally been influenced in his choice of a reading by the glosses. But, after all, the gloss merely explains the lemma in a particular manuscript and has no independent value.

With regard to the *testimonia* and the references to other poets and writers indicated below the text of Arator, two criticisms can be made. First, many of the so-called parallel passages are only remotely, if at all, relevant, that is, the supposed resemblance to Arator is so superficial or involves phrases that had long since become the stock-in-trade of any versifier, that it is fanciful to assume a conscious reminiscence. McKinlay doubtless is aware of this and his purpose may be no more than to illustrate poetic vocabulary and similes through several centuries. But less experienced readers, and especially the type of scholar who assumes borrowing by A from B on the slightest pretext, forgetting that even a second-rate poet does not compose his lines like a schoolboy looking up tags in his *Gradus ad Parnassum*, may be tempted to see a direct relation between two or more poets when the likeness is purely fortuitous. The result will be that Arator will be credited with a wider knowledge of pagan poetry than he possessed. Similarly, it will be assumed on insufficient evidence that certain later poets consciously copied from Arator. To give but one example: it is surely illegitimate, to use no stronger adjective, to assume that Corippus borrowed from Arator (see p. xlv) on the basis of three such common phrases as *spiritus ora*, *caelestia regna*, and *sine semine*. In the second place, the editor, as he himself tells us (p. ix), has taken over the bulk of these *testimonia* and *fontes* from previous investigators. That was an entirely proper procedure; but, as these earlier inquiries were published some time ago, many of the references needed revision so as to make use of the newer critical editions. Thus Rufinus' *Ecclesiastical History* should be cited according to Mommsen's text in the *G. C. S.* edition of Eusebius. Bede's metrical *Life of St. Cuthbert* should be quoted according to Werner Jaager's edition (*Palaestra* 198) and the *Ecbasis Captivi* according to Karl Strecker's text, both books having appeared in 1935. The best edition of Ermoldus Nigellus (not Nigellius) is by Edmond Faral in *Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge*, Vol. XIV (Paris, 1932). Had McKinlay consulted these editions, he could have added materially to the genuine imitations of Arator in Bede and the *Ecbasis*. To the quotations in Bede listed on p. xxvii should be added Arator, I, 147. This line is quoted verbatim with acknowledgment (*ut Arator ait*) in Bede's *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, xxi, 20, and this reference should be substituted on p. 19 for the one to the *Life of St. Cuthbert*. I have noted these misprints: P. lxiii, *Cartonensis* should be *Carnotensis*. I, 732 for *cedidere* read *cecidere*; I, 786 for *striguntur* read *stringuntur*; I, 826 for *tua* read *tuae*; II, 115 for *pesonare* read *resonare*.

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HERMANN BENGTON. *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit. Ein Beitrag zum antiken Staatsrecht. Vol. III. München, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1952. Pp. xii + 294. DM 18. (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, XXXVI.)*

Volumes I and II of Bengtson's notable work were reviewed in *A. J. P.*, LXXI (1950), pp. 106 ff.; the third and concluding installment fully maintains their level and satisfies the high expectations of all who are familiar with them and with the author's *Griechische Geschichte* and *Einführung in die alte Geschichte*. It deals with the Ptolemaic monarchy and is appropriately dedicated to the memory of Wilcken. Bengtson considers first the organization of Egypt under Alexander and the nome system (under nomarchs) as found and maintained by Persians and Macedonians alike. He then sets forth the development of *strategia* here from a position of military command, with a special relation to the veteran colonies as well as to troops on active service, to one which increasingly assumed functions of civil government which were alone to survive the Roman conquest. This was a natural development, antedating the disorders of the closing decades of the third century. The *strategos* was the king's representative and an appropriate intermediary for various purposes.¹ He continued to be responsible for police duties connected with the maintenance of public order, and these were in a large measure treated on a military basis.² Yet that the office of *strategos* came to be regarded primarily as civil and administrative is shown by the *Letter to Aristeeas*, 280, cited by Bengtson, p. 78: the question, "What men should be made *strategoi*?" receives the answer, "Those who hate evil and, imitating the king's way of life, do what is just, that they may have good repute at all times." That a general was thought to need a good character is shown by Onosander, I, 1, where however the military usefulness of some of the virtues named is set forth; but the next section in the *Letter* asks what are the qualities to be sought in commanders of military forces. Ptolemaic *strategia* did not acquire any such position as that of the *praefecti praetorio*; but the evolution of both positions rested on a basis of delegated authority.

Bengtson considers also the position of *strategoi* in the hierarchy of court distinctions, referring to M. Trindl's unpublished dissertation, *Ehrentitel im Ptolemäerreich*, which should surely be printed (with such additions as might be made from W. Peremans and E. Van't Dak's *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, which I have not yet been able to see). He further gives a full discussion of the high command in the Thebaid province with its special problems of security, and again of the *strategoi* attached to particular towns and of the special commands given from time to time to individuals who were to conduct elephant hunts.

¹ Cf. now *P. Ryl.* 572, where an official, almost certainly a *strategos*, is to consult with a number of others as to the arrangements for the writing of Demotic contracts.

² One of the king's *machairophoroi* (Bengtson, p. 66) now appears in *P. Ryl.* 585 with the special name which he had on the army list.

From Egypt we pass naturally to the foreign possessions of the Ptolemies and hear of the *strategiai* associated with their rule in Cyprus, Cyrenaica,³ "Syria and Phoenicia," and parts of Asia Minor and other outlying places. This is all illuminating, not least when Bengtson speaks about the disputed question of the extent to which cities under royal control lost their autonomy—and he rightly refuses to minimize this. Finally he gives a most useful summary of the Ptolemaic use of *strategia* as an instrument of government and some admirable concluding reflections on Hellenistic *strategia* and administrative technique in general.⁴ The volume concludes with rich addenda to I and II, a tabular conspectus of Ptolemaic *strategoi* with full references, and indexes.

The reader will lay this work down with a signal sense of satisfaction. A mass of complicated detail is handled in a lucid and fascinating manner with a keen sense of the underlying political realities of men in various relations to native populations and Greek cities, "doing the King's work all the dim day long." It is what its subtitle indicates, a contribution to ancient *Staatsrecht* (a term which can hardly be translated; constitutional law is much too narrow); and this volume avoids, I think, any shadow of a suspicion of "the fallacy of misplaced concreteness."⁵

I cannot close without a word of gratitude to the publisher of this admirably produced volume who deserves, as he has deserved, very well of the commonwealth of scholarship.

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Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XXI, edited by E. LOBEL. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1951. Pp. 149; 13 plates.

This Part of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* consists entirely of fragments identified either as Aeolic verse or as commentary on Sappho or Alcaeus, and contains all such texts, not previously published, in the Oxyrhynchus collection. They are edited, with notes, by E. Lobel. The publication follows the regular method used in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, except that there is no *index verborum*. A complete edition of Sappho and Alcaeus, which will contain such an index, is now in preparation (preface).

There are no complete poems in this collection but, sometimes even

³ For the suggestion (p. 162) that Ptolemy I named some deputy to fill the place assigned to him among the civic *strategoi* of Cyrene, cf. the *praefecti* who did as much for the *princeps* or members of his family in relation to local magistracies; M. Grant, *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius* (*Num. Notes and Mon.*, CXVI [1950]), pp. 35, 101, 137.

⁴ Add that, as Bengtson has remarked (*Gr. Gesch.*, p. 286), Macedonian monarchy was a *Heerkönigtum*.

⁵ Cf. *A. J. P.*, LXXI (1950), p. 108.—Sir William Tarn's latest remarks on Seleucid eparchies (*Greeks in Bactria and India*², p. 521) will not have reached Bengtson in time to be mentioned on p. 200; on *meris* (p. 204), a reference to J. A. O. Larsen, *C. P.*, XLIV (1949), pp. 85 f. might be added.

from tiny scraps, our knowledge of the two poets is measurably increased. The most important texts are perhaps the following, which I will describe briefly.

Sappho, fragments of new poems.

2294 is probably the only significant item which can be so described. This is a tantalizing list of first lines, of what are presumably wedding songs, to judge from *εὐποδα νύμφαν* (5) and *γα]μβρόν* (11). No single line is complete, none yields a certain restoration, and the list as a whole raises problems rather than solving them.

Sappho, fragments of or bearing on known poems.

2288 = Σμ. α 1 = 1 Diehl.¹ Only part of lines 1-21. A stop between *χ]ρύσιον* and *ἦλθες* (8) shows, as Lobel points out, that *χρύσιον* goes with *δόμον*, not with *ἄρμα* (or at least that this copyist, or his authority, so thought). Line 19 is not solved. It appears to begin *ἄψ σ'* ("The first visible sign seems necessarily to be the top of *φ* or *ψ* and there is no room for a letter between this and the next, which seems to represent *σ'*").

1231. 1. 19-24 with new scraps in the Addenda, p. 122 = Σμ. α 5. 7-12 = 27a. 7-12 Diehl. We now have for 19-21 (7-9)

κάλλος [ἀνθ]ρώπων Ἑλένα [. . .]ν ἄνδρα
τὸν [. . . .]ιστον
καλλ[ίποι]σ' ἔβα 'ς Τροίαν πλέοι[σα, κτλ.

This blows away various hopeful, some not unattractive, arrangements. I am only disappointed that Lobel has not here indicated possible supplements for the spaces left. There is not very much choice. [*τὸ*]ν for 19 (7) would seem to be required, *αρ]ιστον* still seems unavoidable, but with *τὸν* at the beginning of this line we need one short syllable, no verb presents itself, and we seem to be left with something like *πανάρ]ιστον*, which I do not like; but still, the line is there, the passage must make sense, and Lobel's guess or guesses would be worth knowing.

Alcaeus or Sappho, fragment of a new poem.

2300. 1. Part of a poem in Sapphic stanzas, about Helen. Lobel compares it to Alcaeus, Αμ. 26 = 74 Diehl, rather than to Sappho, Σμ. α 5 = 27 Diehl; he thus, and on somewhat frail linguistic grounds, attributes it to Alcaeus rather than to Sappho.

Alcaeus, fragment of a new poem.

2303. 1(a). Part of a poem in Alcaics, telling how Aias of Loeris offended Athene by his attack on Cassandra. Line endings are clear for 11 lines. Perhaps Lobel is prudent not to do much by way of restoring the line beginnings, though supplements *exempli gratia* would have been easy for him and instructive to others.

¹ I give in such cases first the consecutive numbers for *Ox. Pap.*, then Lobel's definitely inconvenient numeration, finally the numbers of Diehl's second edition. Lobel resolutely ignores the existence of Diehl. It is a small point, but I find neither good manners nor good method in Lobel's habit of referring exclusively to his own editions of Sappho and Alcaeus.

Alcaeus, fragments of or bearing on known poems.

2295. 1 = $\Lambda\mu$ 119 = 54 Diehl. Five lines only. The form *κατέπερθεν* (not *κατύ*— or *καθύ*—) is verified (*ἐπερθα* in 2297. 5. 8).

2297. 5. This reads in part

τοὶ πόδες ἀμφότεροι μενο[
ἐν βιμβλίδεσσι· τοῦτό με καὶ σ[άοι
μόνον· τὰ δ' ἄχματ' ἐκπεπ[.] ἄχμενα

In 2306, col. II, which is commentary, we seem to find reference both to this poem and to $\Lambda\mu$ 87 = 46a Diehl. If so, Lobel would withdraw his suggestion that the latter poem is continued in $\Lambda\mu$ 51 = 46b Diehl. Our new fragment would be part of the continuation. The fact seems to emerge that Alcaeus was not averse to repeating his themes, i. e., that he wrote at least two poems in Alcaics describing the fortunes of stasis in terms of the imagery of a storm-beaten ship, and at least two poems in Sapphics about the career of Helen (see above, 2300).

2298. 1. Lines 6-9 = *Scol. An.* 8 Diehl (Athenaeus, XV, 695a). The text here is written in Aeolic, thus vindicating the ascription of the poem to Alcaeus, and perhaps fortifying the ascription of other scolia to named poets. The quatrain is not isolated, but belongs inside a poem of at least three quatrains. *προῖδην* is now established instead of *κατίδην*, which is otherwise unsatisfactory in any case.

If the texts here quoted and cited seem scrappy or minute, most of the 149 pages of this volume are devoted to what is even scrappier or smaller. Nowhere, I believe, in the whole collection are there two consecutive complete lines of verse. All has been edited at full length, with the most meticulous care, with exemplary method (despite whatever grounds there may be for such few and minor strictures as have emerged in the foregoing). It would be easy to say that the world's best authority on Aeolic verse has been wasting space and effort. But it would be utterly wrong to say so. Such items as 2300 and 2303.1(a) need only a little more help from additional scraps in order to become restorable as complete sequences. More Sappho and more Alcaeus will be found, and what we have here could never be fitted in so well with the new pieces to come, and with the old thus better understood, had they not been edited with this kind of finality.

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RICHMOND LATTIMORE.

A. J. VAN WINDEKENS. *Le pélasgique. Essai sur une langue indo-européenne préhellénique.* Louvain, Publications Universitaires, 1952. Pp. xii + 179.

It is a generally accepted hypothesis that a number of non-Greek elements in the Greek vocabulary date back to the time when the Hellenic tribes first entered the Aegean area and began to borrow culture traits from the people whom they found already settled there. A half-century ago, scholars spoke of a pre-Greek, non-Greek "Mediterranean" language from which the Greeks were supposed to have derived *θάλασσα*, *λαβύρινθος*, *πλίνθος*, and many other words. More recently, Indo-European etymologies have been found for a number of supposedly "Mediterranean" words, and there has been some theorizing about a proto-Indo-European language which may have been spoken by certain groups in Greece before the Greeks came. Extremists have even denied the existence of a "Mediterranean" language and insisted that the only predecessor of Greek in Greece was an Indo-European tongue.

Now, "Mediterranean" may well prove to be a mythical language, but before the Indo-European hypothesis in its most radical form can be accepted, it will be necessary to find a niche for Eteo-Cypriote and the strange language of Praisos in Crete, and "Minoan" must be identified (or rather, the two different languages one of which underlies Linear A, and the other Linear B).

Fortunately, Professor A. J. Van Windekens, the author of the monograph to be reviewed here, is no extremist. His essay on "Pelagian," a hypothetical pre-hellenic Indo-European language, is eminently sensible and very persuasive. His procedure has been to select from the Greek vocabulary a limited number of words for which there is no apparent etymology. From a careful study and analysis of these words, it has been possible to discern regular patterns of phonetic change which permit the conversion of this select vocabulary into recognizable Indo-European forms. In his own words, "Le présent ouvrage est né de la conviction . . . que le vocabulaire grec comprend effectivement des mots dépourvus d'étymologie, dont aussi bien les suffixes que les racines s'expliqueraient par l'indo-européen, si l'on appliquait des règles phonétiques autres que celles présidant à l'interprétation étymologique des mots véritablement grecs."

The end result of this process may be illustrated by a few obvious examples: *πηλός* may be related to I-E **del-* (mud); *πέργος* and *Πέργαμος* to words like *burg*, *berg*, and I-E **bhereǵh-* (high); *τύρως* and *turris* to I-E **derk-* and *δέρκομαι*.

Van Windekens concludes that phonetically and morphologically "Pelagian" was a language of Indo-European origin. He would assign to this language labyrinth, terebinth, and kindred words denoting the -nth endings as suffixes. Many of the "Pelagian" words are names of animals, plants, minerals, and material objects which the Greeks would naturally adopt upon their arrival. There are also many place-names which he believes were taken over by the

Greeks from "Pelasgian." Among these are Argos, Pergamos, Pindos, and Olympos.

The "Pelasgian" word list of Van Windekens does not include all the words once thought to be "Mediterranean" in origin, nor does he at any point insist that no language other than "Pelasgian" could have been spoken in Greece before the Greeks came. It is possible, of course, that ultimately other "Mediterranean" words may be shown to be "Pelasgian" or that Oriental (Sumerian, Semitic, Hurrian) etymologies may be found for others. At present, it must be concluded that, barring a few objections which the linguists are bound to raise, the hypothesis of Van Windekens is reasonable. With good luck, we may some day discover that "Pelasgian" actually existed.

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ÉDOUARD DELEBECQUE. Euripide et la guerre du péloponnèse. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1951. Pp. 489. (*Études et commentaires*, X.)

A brief "Avant-propos," which explains the difficulties encountered in the composition of a work begun in 1939, is followed by the "Introduction," in which Delebecque sets out his principles and methods of attack.

Euripides is essentially the poet of his time, an Athenian vitally concerned about the fortunes of his city, which, during his most productive period, was undergoing the vicissitudes of a long and gruelling war. "Chacune des tragédies d'Euripide semble avoir . . . le caractère d'une œuvre de circonstance" (p. 10). Thus a comprehensive understanding of Euripides demands a chronological study of the plays. Delebecque does not approve of editions in which the plays are grouped alphabetically or by subject. The securely dated tragedies reveal the development of the poet's thought; conversely, allusions to contemporary events and changes of tone towards persons and places help one to assign dates to those plays that have not hitherto been surely placed. There is, of course, a danger of circularity here, of which Delebecque is at least aware.

The core of the volume is divided into three parts, of which the first, "Indices d'allusion contemporaine" (pp. 23-56), is devoted to a discussion of the kinds of historical reference to be met in the plays and Euripides' manner of employing them.

Only now may the reader approach the detailed study, play by play, of the reflexion of the war in the playwright. This forms Part II, "La guerre et l'œuvre" (pp. 59-400). Here Delebecque examines the plays in what he considers their chronological order and makes a careful search for historical reference to persons, places, and events.

On the basis of the evidence assembled in Part II, Delebecque is able, in Part III, "La guerre et les époques de la pensée" (pp. 403-53), to reconstruct the thought of Euripides in relation to the major problems of the war and its participants. This he does in terms of

"Le sentiment hellénique" (i. e., towards barbarians), "Les états grecs" (e. g., Thessaly, Argos, Corinth, Sparta), "Athènes" (i. e., her policies and statesmen), and "Guerre et paix."

The "Conclusion" (pp. 454-62) is brief and at the same time embodies the important results of the study. Euripides' style changed remarkably, became more serious, in 431 B. C. under the impact of the Peloponnesian War. His work is of vital significance historically, more so than comedy, which exaggerates and distorts. But Euripides must be viewed as a whole, for his moods vary with the fortunes of war; witness, e. g., his different attitudes towards Sparta, Argos, and Corinth. "Ainsi sa tragédie non seulement sert à contrôler les faits déjà connus; elle apporte encore des connaissances nouvelles" (p. 456). Euripides often corroborates Thucydides. He is, to be sure, a poet; but, after 431, he is a grave and intense patriot. It was the great war that wrought the transformation.

The end-matter includes a "Tableau chronologique," built upon the plays, a lengthy "Bibliographie," down to 1944 (pp. 471-82), a list of abbreviations, and a useful and detailed "Table des matières." There is no index, despite the size of the book.

The study is carried out with admirable enthusiasm and the conclusions are interesting if not always convincing. Delebecque is sometimes inclined, I think, to read the reference into the play; he exaggerates the historical consciousness of Euripides and underestimates that of Aristophanes. He insists on a precise analysis of Euripides; he is not always so aware of the desirability of historical precision (e. g., in dating). His zeal leads to repetition.

The least satisfactory part of the book is the bibliography, which is divided according to subject. So pretentious a document merits the most careful preparation. But the principle of selection is a mystery and what some of the items have to do with the book I cannot determine; in addition, the entries are thrown together, in haphazard order and inconsistent form, often incomplete and sometimes wrong (e. g., Finley's initials are incorrect as is the periodical cited on p. 477; cf. p. 10, where he is designated as English). It seems curious too that the bibliography could not have been brought up to date in the years between the completion of the book (1944) and its publication.

The study was worth doing and is illuminating in its results. Apart from the bibliography, it has been nicely edited and the few errors are negligible.

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GEORGE JOSEPH SIEFERT, JR. Meter and Case in the Latin Elegiac Pentameter. Philadelphia, Linguistic Society of America, 1948. Pp. 126. (*Language Dissertations*, No. 49.)

This is the fifth of a series of studies undertaken under the direction of the late Professor Roland G. Kent on the frequency of certain forms with short endings, especially neuter plurals, in relation to the need for short syllables in Latin verse. The earlier studies had already furnished convincing proof that these "poetic" plurals provided the poets with one of their means of escape from the difficulty of employing verse-schemes of Greek origin for a language whose normal ratio of short syllables was not sufficiently high. But Dr. Siefert's dissertation is not concerned only with neuter plurals; other sources of short syllables which he treats include nom.-acc.-voc. neuter singulars in *-e*, third-declension genitives, ablatives in *-e*, *mihi*, *tibi*, *sibi*, dat.-abl. plurals in *-bus*, and certain Greek forms. A further complication arises from the nature of the verse-form under consideration, for here it is necessary to distinguish the two lines, the hexameter and the pentameter, which make up the elegiac distich, and more especially to distinguish the two halves of the pentameter, since the rule against spondees in the second hemistich was rigidly observed. Closely connected with this dactylic requirement is the disyllabic law whereby the poets after the time of Catullus ended their pentameters with iambic words in a very high majority of instances (100% in Ovid's *Amores* and *Heroides*, I-XIV). In an argument too elaborate to be outlined here Dr. Siefert shows (pp. 64-70, Table XLVIII) that the disyllabic law was not so much a cause as a natural consequence of the choice of rhythmical word-types which resulted from the effort to avoid conflict between ietus and accent in the second hemistich.

In compiling the figures on which the whole study is based, the author has consistently followed the practice of breaking down his material into the texts of Catullus 65-116, Tibullus I, II, I and II together, (pseudo-)Tibullus III, the four books of Propertius first separately and then together, and Ovid's *Amores*, *Heroides*, I-XIV, XV-XX with the *Epistula Sapphus*, these last two groups first separately and then together, then the *Fasti*, the *Tristia*, the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, then the elegiac poems of Ovid collectively. Of the 48 statistical tables the first 19 show the apportionment of forms among declensional categories, the next 19 the proportions of short syllables provided by various classes of declensional inflection, while the last 10 are of miscellaneous character, being designed to illustrate certain portions of the main body of the text. There is no general summary of conclusions, but in a sense the whole work constitutes a great mass of conclusions drawn from what must have been an immense amount of careful compilation, and, because of the wealth of figures presented in every paragraph (one might almost say in every line), the book makes by no means easy reading. But Siefert always shows sound judgment and sensitive feeling for poetic art in dealing with those questions to which figures alone cannot give us the answers. As for the figures themselves, they confirm with greater precision what was already known of the history of Latin elegiac

composition in its broad outlines: that the transition from Catullus through Tibullus and the four separate books of Propertius to Ovid is marked by a progressive elimination of rhythmical harshness, leading to a smoothness and regularity in some respects almost tending towards monotony. Connected with this increasing tendency to fit the language into a sort of stereotyped mould is the fondness for words in grammatical agreement inclosed between another pair of agreeing words standing one at the end of the first hemistich and the other at the end of the second (e.g., Tib., I, 1, 2 *et teneat culti iugera multa soli*). This leads to a discussion of the debated question of rhyme in classical poetry (pp. 39-43). When one considers the low frequency of this type of poetic ornament in proportion to the opportunities for its use, it becomes apparent that Siefert is quite right in his belief that rhyme results incidentally from grammatical agreement in many more cases than it is sought for its own sake.

On p. 27 in Ov., *F.*, VI, 130, read *noxas* instead of *noxam*.

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I. J. GELB. *A Study of Writing*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952. Pp. xvi + 295. \$5.00.

Professor Gelb gives to his book the subtitle "Foundations of Grammatology." He defines *grammatology* as the science of writing, and the study may be described as an attempt to map out such a science. The work falls into twelve chapters, but only ten of these belong to the text proper, the eleventh being a glossary of terms (called "terminology of writing") and the twelfth a classified bibliography. The notes come at the end, unhappily enough, instead of being put in the body of the book as footnotes. They are followed by a nine-page index, chiefly but not wholly one of proper names. The text is adequately illustrated with 95 figures. The end-papers provide a chronological chart (called "origin of the alphabet") covering the years from 3100 B. C. to A. D. 900. The book is well printed and I have found few typographical errors; the *so* of p. 141, line 23 is a mistake for *of* and the first *rho* of p. 176, line 11 should be *phi*.

The author begins with a chapter on ways of communicating ideas; writing takes its place as one of these ways, a method of communication "by means of conventional visible marks" (p. 12). The author rightly makes much of the difference between what he calls *semasiographic* writing and *phonographic* writing. The former expresses "meanings and notions loosely connected with speech" (p. 11), whereas the latter is a representation of the sound-sequences of speech itself. But the term *phonographic* is hardly a happy one, since it has associations remote from conventional writing.

The second chapter (pp. 24-59) is headed "forerunners of writing" and takes up "those phases which, while they do not yet represent real writing, form the elements from which real writing gradually developed" (p. 24). In other words, this chapter is con-

cerned with communication by more or less stylized pictures, drawings, maps, and the like. Chapter III deals with "word-syllabic systems" (pp. 60-119); chapter IV, with "syllabic writings" (pp. 120-65); chapter V, with "the alphabet" (pp. 166-89). The author rightly reckons the Greeks the first to have an alphabet. The early West Semitic scripts were syllabaries, not alphabets. Yet in the so-called *matres lectionis* the Semites had a starting-point for the development of a true alphabet, and, as the author acutely observes,

the Greeks did not invent a new vowel system but simply used for vowels those signs which in the various Semitic systems of writing likewise can function as vowels. . . . The greatness of the Greek innovation lies, therefore, not in the invention of a new method of indicating vowels but in a methodical application of a device which the early Semites used only in an irregular and sporadic fashion (pp. 181-2).

In the sixth chapter, called "evolution of writing" (pp. 190-205), the author reviews the material presented in the earlier chapters and traces the development of writing from the pictorial stage (rightly if paradoxically called "no writing") through communication by "the descriptive-representational and the identifying-mnemonic devices" to "full writing" of the "word-syllabic" kind, whence in due course the syllabic and alphabetic systems came. This sequence of structural change the author calls the principle of inner development. Parallel to it is the principle of outer development, whereby pictures become more and more stylized until they lose their pictorial form and take final shape as lines, angles, curves, and the like. Other principles brought out are those of phonetization (by rebus), position, economy, and reduction.

Chapters VII-X are headed "modern writings among primitives" (pp. 206-11), "monogenesis or polygenesis of writing" (pp. 212-20), "writing and civilization" (pp. 221-35), and "future of writing" (pp. 236-47) respectively. The author favors monogenesis but wisely refuses to be positive about it. To quote,

one feature stands out clearly in favour of monogenesis, and that is that all Oriental systems outside of Sumerian came into existence in periods of strong cultural influences from abroad. . . . The problem, of course, is not limited to writing alone, since it affects many other aspects of our civilization. Take, for example, the problem of the origins of Greek astronomy. It is, I believe, taken for granted that many elements of Greek astronomy were borrowed from the Babylonians. . . . It seems to me that the arguments brought forth above in favour of the monogenesis of writing are neither stronger nor weaker than those adduced in favour of the dependency of Greek astronomy on Babylonian prototypes (pp. 219-20).

The author throughout makes much of the novelty of his work. Thus, in his Preface he tells us that "the aim of this study is to lay a foundation for a new science of writing" and adds:

While the general histories of writing treat individual writings mainly from a descriptive-historical point of view, the new

science attempts to establish general principles governing the use and evolution of writing on a comparative-typological basis. The importance of this study lies in its being the first systematic presentation of the history and evolution of writing as based on these principles.

In a way this sweeping claim is justified, but Holger Pedersen in his *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century* had included a study of the history of writing (pp. 141-239) which anticipates Gelb in many if not most of his main contentions. Gelb himself on p. 153 of his book speaks of Pedersen's "correct evaluation of the theoretical development of writing" but fails to bring out the comprehensive character of Pedersen's treatment of the subject.

On the linguistic side the author sometimes falls short. He still accepts the old but now discredited belief in a "tendency of languages to develop from isolating to agglutinative to inflectional stages" (p. 201) and even revives Grimm's "tenuis > aspirata > media > tenuis > aspirata > media" (p. 202), a formula which ought to be forgotten. The author puts altogether too high a value on "historical spelling" (p. 224). The truth is, historians of language prefer phonetic spellings, written forms that reflect the pronunciation of the writer himself. Other details in the study might be questioned or even challenged, but the book as a whole is a fine piece of work, an investigation that throws much new light on a subject of the first importance.

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LUDWIG PRALLE. *Die Wiederentdeckung des Tacitus*. Fulda, Verlag Parzeller and Co., 1952. Pp. 105. (*Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Abtei und der Diözese Fulda*, XVII.)

Dr. Pralle has investigated thoroughly the records of the Abbey of Fulda in the state archives of Marburg and has brought to light a large amount of evidence concerning the search for manuscripts in the early fifteenth century. Of major interest is the material dealing with the so-called Hersfeld manuscript of the *Minor Works* of Tacitus. He has discovered that the Hersfeld monk with whom Poggio had long and irritating dealings was Heinrich von Grebenstein who represented the Benedictine Abbey of Hersfeld in a long drawn out action before the Papal curia against the town of Hersfeld. This monk turns out to have helped his case and his own advancement by purveying manuscripts from Germany to scholars who could advance his interests. Since the action became involved in the struggle for the control of Hesse, he found a supporter in Hermann von Buchenau, coadjutor to the Abbot of Fulda. This Buchenau dominated the Abbot and, quite unconcerned with the interests of his library, furnished the manuscripts which von Grebenstein needed. For it was from the rich collection of Fulda and not from Hersfeld that the Tacitus manuscript really came. Nikolaus Cusanus was similarly involved in the traffic in Fulda manuscripts.

Up to this point the conclusions of Pralle are well documented

and convincing. When he goes further to draw certain startling inferences from the evidence, he argues well and subtly but the conclusions are less compelling. He believes that Poggio actually received the Tacitus volume in 1426 and kept it concealed for his own purposes. He credits Cusanus with several wrong citations: he mistook Dictys for Curtius and Tacitus I-VI for Pliny. He believes that the first six books of the *Annals* came to Rome from Fulda early in the fifteenth century and were concealed as were the *Minor Works*. These wide-ranging conclusions are exciting and will be the basis for long argument but they must be tested against much other evidence which Pralle ignores. Meanwhile he has added to our definite knowledge of the history of Tacitean material in notable fashion.

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M. L. CLARKE. *Rhetoric at Rome. A Historical Survey.* London, Cohen & West, Ltd., 1953. Pp. vii + 203. 21s.

This book gives a brief account of the principal tenets and rules of rhetoric as presented by the Auctor ad Herennium, Cicero, and Quintilian; this is followed by some consideration of the actual application of these rules by Cicero, the orators of the Empire, and the Christian Fathers. It does not claim to be exhaustive, and is, therefore, not a replacement for Volkmann; nor does it offer any new solutions of old problems such as the sources of the *De Oratore*. It is, however, a pleasantly written book, fully documented, and will be a useful text for anyone wishing an introduction to this branch of Latin Literature.

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL, but all pertaining to the classical field are listed under BOOKS RECEIVED. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

Van den Bergh van Eysinga (G. A.). *Godsdienst-Wetenschappelijke Studiën*, VII. Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon N. V., 1950. Pp. 79.

Van de Woestijne (Paul). *La périégèse de Priscien. Édition critique.* Bruges, "De Tempel," 1953. Pp. 156. (*Rijksuniversiteit te Gent: Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Wijsbegeerte en Letteren*, 116^e Aflevering.)

van Straaten (Modestus). *Panaetii Rhodii Fragmenta.* Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1952. Pp. xviii + 59. 7.50 guilders. (*Philosophia Antiqua*, V.)

Vian (Francis). *La guerre des géants. Le mythe avant l'époque hellénistique.* Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1952. Pp. xii + 305. (*Études et Commentaires*, XI.)

Westlake (H. D.). *Timoleon and his Relations with Tyrants.* Manchester, University Press, 1952. Pp. ix + 61. 7 s. 6 d.

Zürcher (Josef). *Aristoteles' Werk und Geist.* Paderborn, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1952. Pp. 453; 3 pls.



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WHOLE No. 299

TEXT OF THE TABULA HEBANA.

In the course of a class at the Johns Hopkins University on Roman institutions the following text emerged from a discussion¹ of the Germanicus inscription found at Magliano (ancient Heba in Etruria).² It so happens that two fragments were dis-

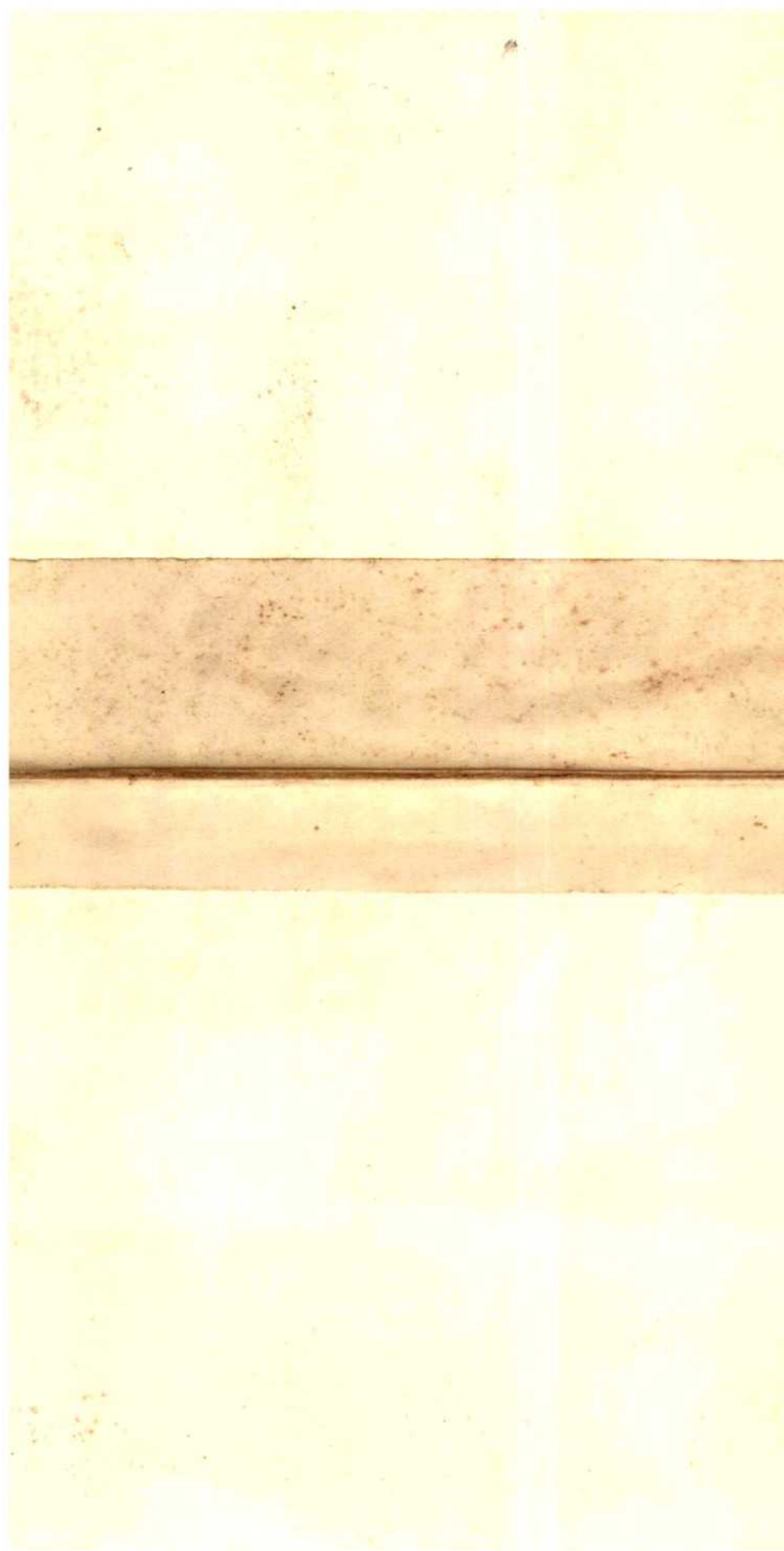
¹ Participating were Mr. Robert E. A. Palmer, Mr. Robert Lisle, Father Thomas W. Leahy, S.J., Father J. A. Fitzmayr, S.J., Mrs. Bonita H. Low, and Mr. Eugene Phillips. All contributed in different ways.—J. H. O.

² BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MAIN FRAGMENT BEFORE THE DISCOVERY OF TWO NEW FRAGMENTS:—P. Raveggi, A. Minto, U. Coli, "Scoperta di una tabula aenea iscritta nella località 'Le Sassaie' nel territorio dell' antica Heba," *Notizie degli Scavi*, LXXII (1947), pp. 49-68, where a photograph and a statement concerning measurements, condition, and discovery of the main fragment are published by Raveggi and Minto, a reconstruction of the text and a "Nota storico-giuridica" by Coli. Subsequent discussion as follows: Ugo Coli, "La 'destinatio magistratuum' in una nuova iscrizione dell' epoca di Tiberio," *Bullettino dell' Istituto di Diritto Romano*, LIII-LIV (1948), pp. 369-91 (reproduces with practically no change the "Nota storico-giuridica" and the text published in the *Notizie*); F. Castagnoli, "Sulla biblioteca del tempio di Apollo Palatino," *Rendiconti dell' Accademia dei Lincei*, 1949, pp. 380-2; G. Tibiletti, "Il funzionamento dei comizi centuriati alla luce della Tavola Hebana," *Athenaeum*, XXVII (1949), pp. 210-45; F. De Visser, "La table de bronze de Magliano," *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 5^e s., XXXV (1949), pp. 190-9, and "La Tabula Hebana et les aspects politiques de la réforme électorale d'Auguste," *ibid.*, 5^e s., XXXVII (1951), pp. 169-82 (= "La Tabula Hebana e gli aspetti politici della riforma elettorale di Augusto," *Atti e memorie dell'*

covered later and published separately so that this is not only a revised text but the first complete text, though of course it owes most to the excellent *editio princeps* of Ugo Coli, the first editor of all three fragments.

Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Modena, 1950-51, pp. 1-20; [*Année épigraphique*, 1949, No. 215; V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (Oxford, 1949), No. 365]; G. De Sanctis, *Riv. fil. class.*, XXVII (1949), pp. 312 f.; H. Nesselhauf, "Die neue Germanicus-Inschrift von Magliano," *Historia*, I (1950), pp. 105-15; F. della Corte, "Lingua e cultura nella Tabula Hebana," *La Parola del Passato*, XIV (1950), pp. 109-17; F. De Visscher, "La destinatio," *ibid.*, pp. 118-31; A. dell'Oro, "Rogatio e riforma dei comizi centuriati," *ibid.*, pp. 132-50; Clementina Gatti, "Gli honores postumi a Germanico," *ibid.*, pp. 151-7; M. A. Levi, "La Tabula Hebana e il suo valore storico," *ibid.*, pp. 158-70; W. Seston, "Germanicus héros fondateur," *ibid.*, pp. 171-84; photograph, *ibid.*, p. 108; text reconstructed by Levi, della Corte, De Visscher, and Gatti, and Italian translation by della Corte and Levi, *ibid.*, pp. 98-107; Alvaro d'Ors, "Tabula Illicitana," *Iura*, I (1950), pp. 280-2 (republishes with a new fragment and improved reading an inscription from Elche which Coli had brilliantly identified as a *rogatio* with closely similar honors for the younger Drusus, though d'Ors would identify it as another copy of the Germanicus *rogatio* itself); W. Seston, "La table de bronze de Magliano et la réforme électorale d'Auguste," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1950, pp. 105-11; E. Schönbauer, "Rechts-historische Erkenntnisse aus einer neuen Inschrift," *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*, VI (1951), pp. 191-260 (proposes restorations which do not fit the space available and interpretations which sometimes display a disregard for other data, but makes many observations well worth considering); F. De Visscher, "La Table de Heba et la décadence des comices centuriates," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4^e sér., XXIX (1951), pp. 1-38 (very important article with a new and much superior photograph); *idem*, "A propos d'une nouvelle interprétation de la 'Tabula Hebana'," *La Parola del Passato*, XVIII (1951), pp. 208-12 (against Schönbauer on the restoration of lines 46-7); A. Montenegro, "La Tabula Hebana," *Revista de estudios políticos*, XL (1951), pp. 119-40 (on historical and political significance); A. Piganiol, "La procédure électorale de la *destinatio* selon la Table de Magliano," *C. R. A. I.*, 1951, pp. 204-14.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AFTER THE DISCOVERY OF TWO NEW FRAGMENTS:—Ugo Coli, "Due nuovi frammenti della Tabula Hebana," *La Parola del Passato*, XXI (1951), pp. 433-8; M. Gelzer, "Zur neuen Germanicus-Inschrift," *Festschrift für Rudolf Egger (Beiträge zur älteren europäischen Kulturgeschichte*, I [Klagenfurt, 1952]), pp. 84-90 (*non vidimus*); F. De Visscher, "Tacite et les réformes électorales d'Auguste et de Tibère," *Studi in onore di Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz*, II (Naples,



A. D. 19/20

- 1 Utique in Palatio in porticu quae est ad Apollinis, in eo templo in quo senatus haberi solet, [inter ima]-
- 2 gines virorum in<l>us<t>ris ingeni Germanici Caesaris et Drusi Germanici, patris eius natural[is, fratrisq(ue)]
- 3 Ti. Caesaris Aug(usti), qui ipse quoq(ue) fecundi ingeni fuit, imagines ponantur supra capita columna[rum eius fas]-
- 4 ti[g]i quo simulacrum Apollinis tegitur " Utiq(ue) Sali(i) carminibus suis nomen Germanici Caesar[is pro ho]-
- 5 norifica memoria int<e>rponant, qui honos C. quoq(ue) et L. Caesarib(us), fratr(ibus) Ti. Caesaris Aug(usti), habitus est " [Utiq(ue) ad X]
- 6 centur(ias) Caesarum, quae de co(n)s(ulibus) pr(ae- toribus) destinandis suffragium ferre solent, adiciantur V centuri[ae; et, cum]

1952), pp. 419-34; [*Année épigraphique*, 1952, No. 164]; W. Seston, "Les chevaliers romains et le 'iustitium' de Germanicus," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4^e sér., XXX (1952), pp. 159-77; Ugo Coli, "Nuove osservazioni e congetture sulla 'Tabula Hebana'," *Iura*, III (1952), pp. 90-131 (very important in other ways and especially for the meaning of "rogatio"); Alvaro d'Ors, *Epigrafía jurídica de la España Romana* (Madrid, 1953), No. 2, pp. 25-35 and 447-9 (still holds that the Tabula Illicitana, which he so much improved in 1950, contains the *rogatio* for Germanicus, and not, as Coli and Tibiletti maintain and we ourselves think, a similar *rogatio* after the death of the younger Drusus); Clementina Gatti, "Gli 'equites' e le riforme di Tiberio," *La Parola del Passato*, XXIX (1953), pp. 126-31; E. Schönbauer, "Neue Bruchstücke der Heba-Inschrift," *Wiener Anzeiger*, LXXXIX (1952, published in 1953), pp. 383-99 (reply to Gelzer, De Visscher, and to Coli's article in *Iura*, III [1952]); Hugh Last, "The Tabula Hebana and Propertius II, 31," *J. R. S.*, XLIII (1953), pp. 27-9; G. Tibiletti, *Principe e magistrati repubblicani: Ricerca di storia augustea e tiberiana* (*Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica*, IX [1953]), viii + 289 pp. (very important study of lines 6-49 and revision of the whole text with more complete bibliography which includes some here omitted items of less direct bearing and with a brilliant historical survey); Ernst Meyer, "Neuere Erkenntnisse und Forschungen auf dem Gebiete des römischen Staatsrechts," *Die Welt als Geschichte*, XIII (1953), pp. 141-4; J. A. O. Larsen, "The Judgment of Antiquity on Democracy," *Cl. Phil.*, XLIX (1954), p. 12.

- 7 primae \overline{X} citabuntur C. et L. Caesar(um), adpellentur
insequen<t>es \overline{V} Germanici Caesaris inq(ue) i(i)s
omnib[us centuri(i)s]
- 8 senatores et equites omnium decuriarum, quae iudici-
or(um) publicor(um) caussa constitutae sunt erun[t,
suffragium]
- 9 ferant; quiq(ue)cumq(ue) magistratu(u)m destinationis
faciendae caussa sena<t>ores quibusq(ue) in [sena]tu
sen[tentiam]
- 10 dicere licebit, itemq(ue) eq(uites), in consaeptum ex
lege quam L. Valerius Messalla Volesus Cn. Corn[el]-
ius Cin[na Magnus]
- 11 co(n)s(ules) tulerunt, suffragi ferendi caussa convocabit
is, uti senatores, itemq(ue) equites omnium decuri-
a[rum, quae iudi]-
- 12 [ciorum publi]corum vvvvvvvv gratia constitutae sunt
erunt, suffragium ferant quod eius r[- - ± 12 - - in]
- 13 [\overline{XV} centur(ias) curet; qu]amq(ue) ex ea lege nongen-
tor(um), sive ii custodes adpellantur, sortitionem ad
 \overline{X} centu[rias fieri cau]-
- 14 [tum est perser]iptumvest uti fiat, eam is quem ex ea
lege exve hac rogatione{m} nongentorum, siv[e ii
custodes]
- 15 adpella[ntur, sort]itionem facere oportebit, in \overline{XV} cen-
tur(ias) faciat proinde ac si in ea lege in \overline{XV} centuria[s
nongentor(um)]
- 16 sive <e>ustodum sortitionem fieri haberive oportebit vv
Utiq(ue) eo die, in quem ex lege quam L. Valerius
M[essalla Vole]-
- 17 sus Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus co(n)s(ules) tulerunt
exve h(ac) r(ogatione), senatores et eq(uites) suffragi
ferendi caussa adess[e debebunt, is]
- 18 adsidentibus pr(aetoribus) e<t> tr(ibunis) pl(ebis) cis-
tas \overline{XV} vimineas grandes poni iubeat ante tribunal
suum in quas tabe[llae suffra]-
- 19 giorum demittantur, itemq(ue) tabellas ceratas secundum
cistas poni iubeat tam multas quam [opus esse ei]

- 20 videbitur, item tabulas dealbatas in quib(us) nomina candi-
didatorum scripta sint, quo loco commo[dissime legi]
- 21 possint, ponendas curet; deinde in conspectu omnium
magistratuum et eorum, qui suffragi[um laturi]
- 22 erunt, sedentium in subselli(i)s, sicuti cum in \overline{X} cen-
turias Caesarum suffragium ferebatur seq[uebant, is]
- 23 trium et \overline{XXX} trib(uum), excepta Suc(cusana) et Es-
q(uilina), pilas quam maxime aequatas in urnam versa-
tilem coici et[er] [sortitio]-
- 24 nem pronuntiari iubeat <et> sortiri qui senatores et
eq(uites) in quamq(ue) cistam suffragium ferre debeat,
du[m in centur(ias)]
- 25 primas, quae C. et L. Caesar(um) adpellantur, sortitio
fiat ita, u[t]i in primam, \overline{II} , \overline{III} , \overline{IIII} cistas sortiatur
bi[nas trib(us), in]
- 26 \overline{V} cistam tres, in \overline{VI} , \overline{VII} , \overline{VIII} , \overline{IIIII} binas, in \overline{X} tres,
in eas, quae Germanici Caesaris adpellantur, so[rtitio]
fiat ita],
- 27 ut in \overline{XI} , \overline{XII} , \overline{XIII} , \overline{IIIIII} cistas sortiatur binas
trib(us), in \overline{XV} tres trib(us); ita ut, cum tribum
unam cuius[cumq(ue) sors e]-
- 28 xierit citaverit, senatores quibusq(ue) in senatu senten-
tiam dicere licebit, qui ex ea trib(u) erunt [vocet
-- \pm $\overline{10}$ --]
- 29 et ad primam cistam accedere et suffragium ferre iubeat;
deinde, cum ita t[uleri]nt suffra[gium et ad subsellia]
- 30 redierint, ex eadem tribu vocet equites e[osq(ue) in]
eandem cistam suffragium fer[re iu]beat; de[inde]
alteram et]
- 31 alteram tribum sortiatur et singularum [omnium tri-
b]u(u)m senatores, deinde eq(uites), it[er]a vocet ut in
quam cistam suffra]-
- 32 gium ferre debebunt suffragium fer[ant, dummodo]
quod] ad eorum suffragium perti[nebit, si qui ex Suc-
(cusana) tribu]
- 33 Esq(uilina)ve erunt, item si qua [in] tribu senator
[ne]mo er[it, a]ut si nemo eq(ues) erit, et senatore[s]
equitesq(ue) si minus quam \overline{V}]

- 34 erunt, item quod ad cista[s suff]ragi(i)s latis signandas
et pr(aetoribus) qui aer(ario) praesunt praeint tr[a-
dendas ut cum suffragi(i)s]
- 35 destinationis in saept[a d]eferantur, deq(ue) signis
cognoscendis suffragi(i)s diribend[is, omnia quae
-- ±12 --]
- 36 [--]rii caussa in ea lege quam Cinna et Volesus co(n)-
s(ules) de \overline{X} centuri(i)s Caesar(um) tuler(unt) scripta
c[omprehensave sunt, ser]-
- 37 [vet] eademq(ue) omnia in $\langle \overline{X} \rangle \overline{V}$ centur(ias) agat
faciat, agenda facienda curet, uti eum ex ea l(ege)
qu[am Cinna et Volesus co(n)s(ules)]
- 38 [tuler]unt [in \overline{X}] cent[ur(ias) Caes]ar(um) agere facere
oporteret, quaeq(ue) ita acta erunt, ea iusta r[ataq(ue)]
sint; deinde diri]-
- 39 [bitis co(n)s(ulum) pr(aetorum) destinationi]s suffragi(i)s
ex \overline{XV} centuri(i)s C. et L. Caesar(um) et Germanici
Cae[s(aris) adductaq(ue) tabella centur(iae)]
- 40 [quaecumq(ue) ducta eri]t, is qui eam destinationem
habebit eam tabellam ita [recitet uti eum, ex ea lege]
- 41 [quam L. Valerius Messall]a Volesus Cn. Cornelius
Cinna Magnus co(n)s(ules) tuler(unt) \overline{X} centur(iarum)
[Caesar(um), eam tabellam quae ex]
- 42 [i(i)s centuri(i)s sorte duct]a esset recitare oporteret, dum
quae tabula centuriae C. [et L. Caesar(um) cuiusq(ue)]
sorte ex]-
- 43 [ierit, eam sub nomin]e C. et L. Caesarum recitandam,
quiq(ue) ea centur(ia) candidati dest[inati sint, unum-
quemq(ue) sub illo]-
- 44 [rum nomine pronunti]andum curet; quae tabula ex i(i)s
centuri(i)s quae Germanici Cae[s(aris) ex h(ac) r(oga-
tione) adpellantur sorte]
- 45 [exierit, eam s]ub nomine Germanici Caesar(is) recitan-
dam, quiq(ue) ea centuria candid[ati destinati sint,
unumquemq(ue)]
- 46 [item quoq(ue) pr]onuntiandum curet; isq(ue) numerus

- centuriarum, qui h(ac) r(ogatione) adicitur in nu-
[merum centuriar(um) C. et L. Caesar(um)],
- 47 perinde cedat atq(ue) eum numerum, qui \overline{X} centuriar(um)
est, cedere ex lege quam Cinna et [Volesus co(n)s(ules)
tulerunt cautum]
- 48 comprehensumve est uti cedat; itaq(ue) qui co(n)s(ulum)
pr(aetorum) creandorum caussa, destinatione a[cta,
comitia habebit, uti eorum]
- 49 ratio habeatur itaq(ue) suffragium feratur, curet; cetera
quae nominatim h(ac) r(ogatione) script[a non sint,
ea omnia perinde atq(ue)]
- 50 ex ea lege quam Cinna et Volesus co(n)s(ules) tuler(unt)
agantur fiant servantur / Utiq(ue) ludis Augu[stalibus
cum subsellia sodalium]
- 51 ponentur in theatris, sellae curules Germanici Caesaris
inter ea ponantur cu[m querceis coronis in memoriam]
- 52 eius sacerdoti, quae sellae, cum templum divi Aug(usti)
perfectum erit, ex e<o> templo pr[oferantur et interea
in templo]
- 53 Martis Ultoris reponantur et inde proferantur, quiq(ue)-
cumq(ue) eos ludos q(ui) s(upra) s(cripti) s(unt)
fac[iat, uti ex eo templo q(uod) s(upra) s(criptum) e(st)
in the]-
- 54 atris ponantur et cum reponendae erunt in eo templo re-
ponantur curet / Uti[q(ue) quo die cautum est ut
ossa Germanici]
- 55 Caesaris in tumulum inferrentur, templa deor(um)
clauderentur, et qui ordini[s utrius erunt pompam
irent, qui latum cla]-
- 56 vom habebunt, qui eor(um) officio fungi volent et per
valetudinem perq(ue) domestic[um funus non impedi-
entur, ii sine lato]
- 57 clavo, ii qui equom pub(licum) habebunt cum trabeis,
in Campum veniant / Utiq(ue) ad [memoriam Ger-
manici Caes(aris) quo die defun]-
- 58 ctus est, templa deor(um) immortalium, quae in urbe
Roma{m} prop{r}iusve urbem [Romam passus M sunt
erunt, quotannis]

- 59 clausa sint, idque ut ita fiat, ii qui eas aedes tuendas redemptas habent h[abebunt curent; et, in memoriam eius, magistri]
- 60 sodalium Augustalium qui quoq(ue) anno erunt inferias ante tumulu[m eodem die di(i)s manibus Germanici Cae]-
- 61 saris mittendas curent, aut si magistri unus pluresve ad id sacrifi[cium adesse non poterint, ii qui pro]-
- 62 ximo anno magisterio fungi debebunt in locum eorum qui eo mun[ere fungi non poterint fungantur].

APPARATUS CRITICUS IN TABULAM HEBANAM

1 *Levi et Della Corte*. 2 iniusiris *tabula*; natural[is fratris *Coli*; fratrisq(ue) *Levi et della Corte*. 3-4 *Coli*. 5 interponant *tabula*; *Coli*. 6 *Coli*. 7 insequenies *tabula*; *Coli*. 8 *Coli*. 9 seniores *tabula*; *Coli*. 10-15 *Coli*. 16 sustodum *tabula*; *Coli*. 17 adess[e *Coli*; debebunt is *Palmer*. 18 ei *tabula*; *Coli*. 19 *Coli*. 20 *Oliver*. 21-23 *Coli*. 24 <et> *Oliver* (sortiri<q(ue)> *Tibiletti*); du[m in centur(ias) *Coli*. 25-26 *Coli*. 27 cuius[cumq(ue) *Oliver*; sors d'Ors (sorte e]xierit *Coli*). 28 erun[t ordine vocet *Coli*. 29 t[uleri]nt *Tibiletti*; suffra[gium ad subsellia *Coli*; et *Nesselhauf*. 30 in d'Ors; e[osq(ue) *Tibiletti*; cetera *Coli*. 31 vocet, suffra[gium *Coli*; ita, ut *Nesselhauf*; in cistam in quam d'Ors; in quam cistam *Oliver*. 32 dummodo *Oliver*; cetera *Coli*. 33 nem[o della Corte et Levi; equitesq(ue) si minus quam *Oliver*; V *Schönbauer*; cetera *Coli*. 34 *Coli*. 35 omnia della Corte et Levi; saep[ta *Tibiletti*; cetera *Coli*. 36 *Coli*. 37 vV *tabula*; *Coli*. 38 tulerunt *Coli*; [in X] çent[ur(ias) *Caesar(um) Oliver*; r[ataq(ue) sint *Nesselhauf*; deinde *Lisle*; diribitis della Corte et Levi; cetera *Coli*. 39 co(n)s(ulum) pr(aetorum) destinationi[s, Cae[s(aris) *Coli*; cetera *Levi et della Corte*. 40-42 *Coli*. 43 unumquemq(ue) sub illorum *De Visscher*; cetera *Coli*. 44 nomine *De Visscher*; pronunti[andum *Tibiletti*; ex h(ac) r(ogatione) della Corte et Levi; cetera *Coli*. 45 unumquemq(ue) *De Visscher*; cetera *Coli*. 46 item quoq(ue) *De Visscher*; pr[onuntiandum *Tibiletti*; C. et L. *Caesar(um) Nesselhauf*; cetera *Coli*. 47 *Coli*. 48 comitia ediceret, ut eius *Schönbauer*; a[cta, comitia habebit *Oliver*; uti *Coli*; eorum *De Visscher*. 49-50 *Coli*. 51 memoriam della Corte et Levi; cetera *Coli*. 52 et della Corte et Levi; cetera *Coli*. 53 *Coli*. 54 uti[q(ue), ossa Germanici *Coli*; uti[q(ue) cum cautum sit ut quo die *Seston*; quo die cautum est ut *Oliver*. 55 ordini [equestri *Coli*; erunt *Seston*; ordini[s equestris, funeri adessent qui *Rowell*; utrius, pompam irent, latum cla]vom *Oliver*. 56 lato *Gatti*; sine *Seston*; ii *Oliver*; cetera *Coli*. 57 die defun]ctus *Coli*; cetera *Gatti*. 58 *Coli*. 59 h[abebunt *Gatti*; curent, magistri *Coli*; et in memoriam eius *Oliver*. 60 divis manibus *Gatti*; eodem die *Oliver*; cetera *Coli*. 61 adesse non poterint *Gatti*; ii qui *Oliver*; cetera *Coli*. 62 mun[ere *Coli*; cetera *Oliver*.

INDEX VERBORUM POTIORUM IN TABULAM HEBANAM

- accedo: accedere 29.
 adicio: adicitur in nu[merum centuriar. C. et L. Caesar.] 46;
 [ad \overline{X}] centur. Caesarum adiciantur 6.
 adpello: adpellantur 13, 15, 25, 26; adpellentur 7.
 adsideo: adsidentibus pr. et tr. pl. 18.
 adsum: adess[e] 17.
 aedes: aedes tuendas redemptas 59.
 aequo: pilas quam maxime aequatas 23.
 aerarium: pr(aetoribus) qui aer(ario) praesunt praerint 34.
 ago: agere facere 38; acta erunt 38; destinatione a[cta] 48; agat
 faciat agenda facienda curet 37; agantur fiant servantur 50.
 alter: alteram 31.
 annus: quoq(ue) anno 60; [pro]ximo anno 62.
 Apollo: ad Apollinis 1; simulacrum Apollinis 4.
 Augustalis: sodalium Augustalium 60; ludis Augu[stalibus] 50.
 Augustus: templum divi Aug. 52; Ti. Caesaris Aug. 3, 5.
 bini: binas 26, 27.
 Caesar: C. et L. Caesarum 7, 25, 39, 42, 43; Caesarum 6, 22, 36, 38;
 C. et L. Caesarib(us) 5. *See also* Drusus, Germanicus and
 Tiberius.
 campus: in Campum 57.
 candidatus: candidati destinati sint 43, 45; candidatorum 20.
 caput: supra capita columna[rum] 3.
 carmen: carminibus 4.
 caussa 8, 9, 11, 17, 36, 48.
 cedo: cedere 47; cedat 47, 48.
 centuria: centuria 45; centuriae C. [et L. Caesar.] 42; centur[iae]
 6; centuriarum 43, 46; \overline{X} centuriarum 41, 47; centur(ias)
 Caesarum 6; ad \overline{X} centu[rias] 13; in \overline{X} centurias Caesarum 22,
 38; in \overline{XV} centurias 15 bis, 37; de \overline{X} centuri(i)s Caesar. 36;
 ex \overline{XV} centuri(i)s C. et L. Caesar. et Germanici Cae[s.] 39; ex
 i(i)s centuri(i)s 44.
 ceratus: ceratas 19.
 ceterus: cetera 49.
 Cinna: Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus 10, 17, 41; Cinna 36, 47, 50.
 cista: ad primam cistam 29; [in] eandem cistam 30; in quamq(ue)
 cistam 24; [in] \overline{V} cistam 26; cistas \overline{XV} vimineas grandes 18;
 ad cista[s suff]ragi(i)s latis signandas 34; in primam, \overline{II} , \overline{III} ,
 \overline{IIII} cistas 25; in \overline{XI} , \overline{XII} , \overline{XIII} , \overline{XIIII} cistas 27; secundum
 cistas 19.
 cito: citabuntur 7; citaverit 28.
 claudo: clauderentur 55; clausa sint 59.
 clavus: [latum cla]vom 56; [sine lato] clavo 57.
 cognosco: deq(ue) signis cognoscendis 35.
 coicio: coici 23.

- columna: columna[rum] 3.
 commode: commo[dis]sime 20.
 comprehendo: comprehensumve est 48.
 consaeptum: in consaeptum 10.
 conspectus: in conspectu omnium magistratum 21.
 constituo: constitutae sunt erunt 8, 12.
 consul: co(n)s(ules) 11, 17, 36, 41, 50; co(n)s(ulum) pr(aetorum)
 creandorum caussa 48; de co(n)s(ulibus) pr(aetoribus) desti-
 nandis 6.
 convoco: convocabit 11.
 Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus 10, 17, 41; Cinna 36, 47, 50.
 creo: co(n)s(ulum) pr(aetorum) creandorum caussa 48.
 eum (conj.): 22, 27, 29, 51, 52, 54.
 curo: ponendas curet 21; agenda facienda curet 37; [pr]onuntiandum
 curet 44, 46; curet uti 49, 54; inferias mittendas curet 61.
 curulis: sellae curules 51.
 custos: custodes 13; custodum 16.
 dealbatus: tabulas dealbatas 20.
 debeo: debebunt 32, 62; debeat 24.
 decuria: omnium decuriarum quae iudicior. publicor. caussa con-
 stitutae sunt erunt 8; omnium decuria[rum] 11.
 defero: [d]eferantur 35.
 defungor: [defun] | ctus est 57/58.
 deinde: 21, 29, 30, 31.
 demitto: tabel[lae] suffragiorum demittantur 19.
 destinatio: magistratu(u)m destinationis faciendae caussa 9; [suf-
 fragiis] destinationis 35; qui eam destinationem habebit 40;
 destinatione a[cta] 48.
 destino: candidati dest[itu]ti sint 43; de co(n)s(ulibus) pr(aetori-
 bus) destinandis 6.
 deus: deor(um) 55; deor(um) immortalium 58.
 dico: dicere 10, 28.
 dies: eo die 16.
 diribeo: suffragi(i)s diribend[is] 35.
 divus: divi Aug(usti) 52.
 domesticus: perq(ue) domestic[um] funus 56.
 Drusus = Drusus Iulius Germanicus: Drusi Germanici 2.
 dum 24, 42.
 eques: nemo eq(ues) 33; equites 10, 17, 24, 30; equites omnium
 decuriarum quae iudicior. publicor. caussa constitutae sunt erunt
 8; equites omnium decuria[rum] 11; singularu[m] [omnium
 trib]u(u)m equites 31.
 equus: equom pub(licum) 57.
 Esquilina: excepta Sue(cusana) et Esq(uilina) 23; Esq(uilina)ve
 33.
 excipio: excepta Sue(cusana) et Esq(uilina) 23.
 exeo: [e] | xierit 27/28.
 facio: [sorti]tionem facere 15; agere facere 38; faciat 15; agat

- faciat agenda facienda curet 37; ludos fac[iat] 53; sortitionem fieri haberive 16; fiat 14, 59; sortitio fiat 25; agantur fiant serventur 50; destinationis faciendae caussa 9.
 fastigium: [fas]ti[g]i 3/4.
 fecundus: fecundi ingeni 3.
 fero: suffragium ferre 6, 24, 29, 30, 32; suffragium ferebatur 22; tulerunt 11, 17, 36, 38, 41, 50; suffragium ferant 9, 12, 32; suffragium feratur 49; t[uleri]nt suffra[gium] 29; [suff]ragi(i)s latis 34; suffragi ferendi caussa 11, 17.
 frater: fratr(ibus) 5.
 fungor: officio fungi 56; magisterio fungi 62.
 Germanicus = Germanicus Iulius Caesar: Germanici Caesaris 2, 4, 7, 26, 39, 44, 51, 54/55, 60/61. *See also* Drusus Germanicus.
 grandis: grandes 18.
 gratia 12.
 habeo: qui eas aedes tuendas redemptas habent h[abebunt] 59; qui eam destinationem habebit 40; [latum cla]vom habebunt 56; equom pub(licum) habebunt 57; senatus haberi solet 1; sortitionem fieri haberive 16; qui honos C. et L. Caesaribus habitus est 5; ratio habeatur 49.
 honorificus: [pro ho]norifica memoria 5.
 honos: qui honos C. quoq(ue) et L. Caesaribus habitus est 5.
 imago: imagines 3; [inter ima]gines virorum inlustris ingeni Germanici Caesaris et Drusi Germanici 1/2.
 immortalis: immortalium 58.
 inde: 53.
 inferiae: inferias mittendas 60.
 infero: in tumulum inferrentur 55.
 ingenium: inlustris ingeni 2; fecundi ingeni 3.
 inlustris: inlustris ingeni 2.
 insequor: insequentes 7.
 interpono: carminibus nomen interponant 5.
 ita: 25, 27, 29, 31, 38, 48, 49, 59.
 item: 10, 11, 19, 30, 33, 34.
 iubeo: iubeat 18, 19, 24, 29, 30.
 iudicium: iudicior(um) publicor(um) caussa 8.
 iustus: iusta r[ataq]ue] sint] 38.
 lex: lege quam L. Valerius Messalla Volesus Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus co(n)s(ules) tulerunt 10, 16, 36, 37, 47, 50; ex ea lege 13; ex ea lege exve hac rogatione{m} 14; in ea lege 15.
 licet: licebit 10, 28.
 locus: in locum 62; quo loco 20.
 ludus: ludis Augu[stali]bus] 50; eos ludos qui s. s. s. 53.
 magister: magistri unus pluresve 61.
 magisterium: magisterio fungi 62.
 magistratus: magistratu(u)m destinationis 9; omnium magistratuum 21.
 Magnus: *see* Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus.

- Mars: [in templo] Martis Ultoris 53.
 maxime 23.
 memoria: [pro ho]norifica memoria 5.
 Messalla: *see* L. Valerius Messalla Volesus.
 mitto: inferias mittendas 61.
 multus: tam multas quam 19; unus pluresve 61.
 munus: eo mun[ere] 62.
 naturalis: patris naturalis 2.
 nemo: senator [ne]mo 33; nemo eq(ues) 33.
 nomen: nomen Germanici Caesa[r]is 4; [s]ub nomine Germanici Caesar. 45; nomina candidatorum 20.
 nominatim 49.
 nongenti: nongentorum 13, 14.
 numerus: numerum qui \overline{X} centuriar(um) est 47; isq(ue) numerus centuriarum 46; in nu[merum] 46.
 officium: officio fungi 56.
 omnis: omnium 8, 11, 21; eademq(ue) omnia 37; omnib[us] 7.
 oportet: oportebit 15, 16; oporteret 38, 42.
 ordo: ordini[s] 55.
 Palatium: in Palatio 1.
 pater: patris eius naturalis 2.
 perficio: perfectum erit 52.
 perinde atque 47.
 perscribo: [perser]iptumvest 14.
 pertineo: perti[nebit] 32.
 pila: trium et \overline{XXX} trib(uum) excepta Suc(cusana) et Esq(uilina) pilas quam maxime aequatas 23.
 plebs: tr(ibunis) pl(ebis) 18.
 pono: poni 18, 19; ponentur 51; ponantur 3, 51, 54; tabulas ponendas 21.
 porticus: in porticu 1.
 possum: possint 21.
 praesum: praesunt praerint 34.
 praetor: co(n)s(ulum) pr(aetorum) creandorum caussa 48; pr(aetoribus) qui aer(ario) praesunt praerint 34; de co(n)s(ulibus) pr(aetoribus) destinandis 6; adsidentibus pr(aetoribus) et tr(ibunis) pl(ebis) 18.
 primus: primae 7; primas 25.
 profero: proferantur 52, 53.
 proinde ac si 15.
 pronuntio: pronuntiari 24; [pr]onuntiandum 46.
 prope: prop{r}iusve 58.
 propior: [pro]ximo anno 62.
 publicus: equom pub(licum) 57; iudicior(um) publicor(um) caussa 8; [iudiciorum publi]corum gratia 12.
 quicumque: quiq(ue)cumq(ue) 9, 53; cuius[cumq(ue)] 27.
 ratio: ratio habeatur 49.
 recito: recitare 42; recitandam 43, 45.

- redeo: redierint 30.
 redimo: aedes tuendas redemptas habent 59.
 reor: iusta r[ataq(ue) sint] 38.
 repono: reponantur 53, 54; reponendae erunt 54.
 rogatio: ex ea lege exve hac rogatione{m} 14; exve h(ac) r(oga-
 tione 17; h(ac) r(ogatione) 46, 49.
 Roma: in urbe Roma{m} 58.
 sacerdotium: sacerdoti 52.
 sacrifici[um] 61.
 saeptum: saept[a] 35.
 Sali(i): 4.
 scribo: scripta c[omprehensave sunt] 36; q(ui) s(upra) s(cripti)
 s(unt) 53; scripta sint 20; scrip[ta non sint] 49.
 secundum: secundum cistas 19.
 sedeo: sed[ebant] 22; sedentium in subselli(i)s 22.
 sella: sellae curules Germanici Caesaris 51; sellae 52.
 senator: senator [ne]mo 33; senatores 8, 9, 11, 17, 24, 28, 31, 33.
 senatus: senatus 1; quibusq(ue) in senatu sententiam dicere licebit
 9, 28.
 sententia: quibusq(ue) in senatu sententiam dicere licebit 9, 28.
 servo: agantur fiant servantur 50.
 si: 15, 33 *bis*, 61.
 sicuti: 22.
 signo: ad cista[s suff]ragi(i)s latis signandas 34.
 signum: deq(ue) signis cognoscendis 35.
 simulacrum: simulacrum Apollinis 4.
 singuli: singularu[m] 31.
 sodalis: sodalium Augustalium 60.
 soleo: solet 1; solent 6.
 sortior: sortiri 24; sortiatur 25, 27, 31.
 sortitio: sortitio 25, 26; sortitionem nongentor(um) 13; sortitionem
 facere 15; sortitionem fieri haberive 16; [sortitio]nem 23/24.
 subsellium: in subselli(i)s 22.
 Succusana: excepta Suc(cusana) et Esq(uilina) 23.
 suffragium: suffragium ferebatur 22; suffragium feratur 49; suf-
 fragi ferendi caussa 11, 17; suffragium ferre 6, 24, 29, 30,
 31/32; suffragium ferant 12, 32; t[uleri]nt suffra[gium] 29;
 suffrag[ium] laturi erunt 21; [quod] ad eorum suffragium perti-
 [nebit] 32; tabel[lae suffra]giorum 18/19; [suff]ragi(i)s latis
 34; suffragi(i)s diribend[is] 35; [diribitis] suffragi(i)s 39.
 tabella: tabellam 40; tabel[lae suffra]giorum 18; tabellas ceratas 19.
 tabula: tabula centuriae C. [et L. Caesar.] 42; tabula 44; tabulas
 dealbatas 20.
 tego: tegitur 4.
 templum: templum divi Aug(usti) 52; ex e(o) templo 52; in eo
 templo 1, 54; templa deor(um) 55, 58.
 theatrum: in theatris 51, 53/54.
 Tiberius (emperor): Ti. Caesaris Aug(usti) 3, 5.

trabea: cum trabeis 57.

trado: ad cistas pr(aetoribus) qui aer(ario) praesunt praeint tr[a-
dendas] 34.

tribunal: ante tribunal suum 18.

tribunus: adsidentibus pr(aetoribus) et tr(ibunis) pl(ebis) 18.

tribus: tribum unam 27; alteram tribum 31; ex ea tribu 28; ex
eadem tribu 30; [in] tribu 33; trium et XXX trib(uum) excepta
Suc(cusana) et Esq(uilina) 23; singularu[m] omnium tri-
b[u(u)m] 31; binas trib(us) 27; tres trib(us) 27.

tueor: aedes tuendas redemptas 59.

tumulus: ante tumulu[m] 60; in tumulum 55.

Ultor: Martis Ultoris 53.

urbs: urbem [Romam] 58; in urbe Roma{m} 53.

urna: in urnam versatilem 23.

ut: ut 27 bis, 59; uti 11, 14, 25, 37, 48; utiq(ue) 1, 4, 16, 50, 54, 57.

valetudo: per valetudinem 56.

L. Valerius Messalla Volesus: 10, 16/17, 41; Volesus 36, 50.

venio: veniant 57.

versatilis: versatilem 23.

video: videbitur 20.

vimineus: cistas XV vimineas grandes 18.

vir: virorum 2.

voco: vocet 30.

Volesus: see L. Valerius Messalla Volesus.

vol: volent 56.

The tablet is not the first tablet of the inscription, so that another 60 lines at least, those of the first tablet, have been lost. Our tablet, which is perhaps the second, contains seven articles, each introduced by the word *utique*. Article 1 (lines 1-4) orders that *imagines clupeatae* of Germanicus and his father be erected in a meeting place³ of the senate by the temple of Apollo. Article 2 (lines 4-5) orders that the name of Germanicus be inserted in the Salian hymns. Article 3 (lines 6-16) orders that five new centuries named after Germanicus be added to the existing ten centuries named after C. and L. Caesares in which senators and equites of the public courts are ordinarily expected to vote for the *destinatio*⁴ of candidates for consulship and

³ On this building see F. Castagnoli, "Sulla biblioteca del tempio di Apollo Palatino," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei*, 1949, pp. 380-2; Hugh Last, "The Tabula Hebana and Propertius II, 31," *J. R. S.*, XLIII (1953), pp. 27-9. For the type of portrait see W. H. Gross, "Cliqueata imago und *εἰκὼν ἐροπλος*," *Convivium: Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1954), pp. 66-84.

⁴ The *destinatio* now turns out to be a technical term meaning a solemn

praetorship, and that *custodes* for fifteen instead of ten centuries be appointed by lot. Article 4 (lines 16-50) orders that, on the

pronouncement by the distinguished men who served as jurors in the most respected Roman courts, an expression of opinion as to who ought to be elected. The very existence of a so constituted Electoral Council was unknown before the discovery of the Tabula Hebana. It is impossible here to go into the fascinating historical and legal implications (see particularly Coli, De Visscher, Tibiletti, and Levi); all we can do is to state our opinion that the Electoral Council agrees probably on two men for the consulship and so practically determines who exactly will be elected in the Electoral Assembly (*comitia*). The names of the *candidati* are to be presented to the Electoral Council; the names, not just of *candidati* but of *candidati destinati*, will then be presented to the Electoral Assembly (*comitia*). Thus election of consuls and praetors is preceded, not only by *professio* and *nominatio* as under the Republic, but, if the emperor is not officially interested, by *destinatio* as well. This is Coli's present opinion, which we share. Tibiletti (*Principe*, pp. 50-9) has clearly formulated a different opinion to the effect that the centuries which carry out the *destinatio* are part of the Electoral Assembly itself, *centuriae praerogativae* so to speak. According to Tibiletti, the Electoral Assembly operates in two phases.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE BY J. H. O. ON THE HISTORY OF *Destinatio*:—The *destinatio* was established in order to give the Electoral Assembly some help or guidance and to preclude disorders without resort to direct appointment of magistrates by the princeps, who posed as a restorer of the ancient constitution. The *destinatio* not only pre-existed in A.D. 19 but was the ordinary procedure (*solent*, line 6). *Destinatio* may, as Tibiletti notes, have been used for the case of Octavian in 43 B.C. and in the cases of C. and L. Caesares, but it was the senate which destined in these sporadic early cases, and there was always an atmosphere of unconstitutionality about it. The procedure here was openly oligarchial rather than republican.

The Lex Valeria Cornelia of 5 A.D. did not merely name the designating centuries (*contra* Tibiletti) but set them up for the first time. So line 10 implies. In order that it should have a republican look and not smack of monarchical or oligarchical tyranny, the Council was disguised with division into tribes and centuries and with a list of eligible voters the majority of whom were non-senators. The non-senators were, of course, a select group, consisting of the safest possible men, but for appearances the important thing was that, being *equites*, they belonged to the *populus* and not to the senate. For appearances, also, it was most important that the voting occurred in the manner, not of the senate, but of the popular assembly. The designating centuries were meant to look like *centuriae praerogativae*.

The change assigned by the historians to A.D. 14, whereby elections

day on which the Electoral Council meets, the president of the meeting have fifteen instead of ten wicker baskets for ballots set up, allot tribes to fifteen instead of ten centuries, and then carry out all the steps of the voting and *relatio* by fifteen instead of ten centuries, the vote of each century to be read out on each occasion under the name either of C. and L. Caesares or of Germanicus, as the case may be, and that the future president of the Electoral Assembly accept the names of the winners as those to be presented at the comitia. Article 5 (lines 50-4) orders that at the ludi Augustales the curule chairs of Germanicus be placed among the chairs of the sodales Augustales in the theatre and then, after the Games, be returned to their proper place of storage. Article 6 (lines 54-7) orders those *qui latum clavum habent* not to wear the broad stripe at the funeral of Germanicus, and orders the *equites equo publico* to wear the *trabea* on that occasion. Article 7 (lines 54-62) orders that on each anniversary of the death of Germanicus all temples within a mile of Rome be closed and that the *magistri* or *magistri designate* of the sodales Augustales offer *inferiae* to the Manes of Germanicus.

Each of the seven articles constitutes a unit, which is sometimes that of a day. Thus article 3 concerns preparations for the meeting of the Electoral Council, while article 4, to which the text from line 16 as far as line 50 probably⁵ belongs, concerns the procedure of the day on which the Electoral Council

passed from the control of the People to the senate, is convincingly interpreted by Tibiletti as a real but not legally expressed change in the basic character of *destinatio*. It is unrecorded but likely that the president of the Electoral Assembly (comitia) merely received instructions to recognize *only* destined candidates. Thus the Electoral Assembly becomes a mere ceremony. Between A.D. 5 and 14 the judgment of the Electoral Council was influential but not binding. Sometime after A.D. 23 (date of the Tabula Illicitana) the pretense or slight risk of an Electoral Council was dropped, but a regular and binding *destinatio*, except during one or two brief returns to an earlier system, remained customary, with the senate designating. Every change was in accordance with the desire of the princeps.

⁵ It seems unlikely that a new article began either in line 32 or in line 38, though previous editors have postulated the beginning of new articles in these lines. Similarly in the Lex Ursonensis ch. 95 is of unusual length.

actually meets.⁶ Article 7, which probably runs from line 57 to the end of the tablet, concerns the memorial services on the anniversary. Article 6 concerns the day of the funeral.

The honors given to Germanicus in 19 A. D. resemble honors given to C. and L. Caesares, specifically in the Lex Valeria Cornelia of 5 A. D., here frequently mentioned but not extant. As Coli pointed out, comparative material for reconstruction of the Tabula Hebana may be found in the Lex Malacitana and in the Tabula Ilicitana (*vide infra*). The certain restoration at the end of line 16 shows the student how much to restore in every other line.

Line 12 presents two problems: (1) why space for eight letters has been left blank; (2) what kind of restoration should be made at the end of the line. The vacant area has nothing to do with punctuation, and it has not resulted from a correction after engraving, because nothing has been chiseled away. Normally an engraver draws or paints the inscription on and examines it for errors before cutting, and if he finds errors, he redraws. A meaningless vacant area often reflects, not an error in the drawing, but failure of the engraver to cut one or more of the letters he intended. Accordingly, Levi assumed that here the engraver merely skipped a whole word. Yet it cannot be said that a modern reader feels the absence of an essential word, and it is quite possible that the engraver had committed dittography or some other error in the drawing and, upon discovering the error, without bothering to redraw merely refrained from cutting the erroneous addition. At the end of the line Coli restored *quod eius r[ei fieri poterit* and pointed to the formula *quod eius fieri poterit*, which occurs in the Lex Malacitana. The same formula occurs in the Lex Ursonensis 80 and 128. The word *r[ei* constitutes only a slight difference from the attested version, but Schönbauer (p. 245) rightly objected that the formula "as much of this as will be possible" was quite out of place in the context of the *rogatio*. Schönbauer's own suggestion, *quod eius r[ei caussa fieri oportebit*, does not fit even the space,⁷ while De Visscher's adaptation, *quod eius r[ei fieri oportebit*, is open to the same objection as Coli's. Now Seston and Coli have emphasized that the procedure in respect to the *destinatio* is modeled not only on comitial procedure but on that in the public courts. Accordingly, an altogether different

⁶ In lines 48-9 a prescription for a future date is included among the prescriptions for the day of the *destinatio*; this is an exception easily explained.

⁷ The phrase is also inappropriate. Compare its proper use in Lex Ursonensis 99.

kind of restoration, *suffragium ferant quod eius r[ei iudicium erit]*, occurred to Oliver; this too might be considered.

In line 13 (end) the word *feri* restored by Coli to go with the words *cautum perscri[ptum]vest uti fiat* was replaced by a later editor with the word *haberi*. The parallel in lines 47-8, *cedere . . . [cautum] comprehensumve est uti cedat*, vindicates Coli.

In lines 16-18 Coli restored *Utiq(ue) eo die in quem . . . senatores et eq(uites) suffragi ferendi caussa adess[e quis iusserit, is] . . . cistas XV vimineas grandes poni iubeat*. This was meant to mean: "When in accordance with the Lex Valeria Cornelia and this rogation someone will have ordered for a certain day a meeting of senators and knights for the purpose of voting, on that day he shall order fifteen large wicker hampers to be placed before his tribunal." In line 17 Levi's substitution of the relative pronoun *qui* for the indefinite pronoun *quis* of Coli deprives the relative *quem* of its verb and so renders the sentence unintelligible. But even Coli's restoration is unacceptable on spatial grounds. Comparison with the imposed restoration at the end of line 16 shows that only eleven letters can be restored at the end of line 17, where, if we count I as only half a letter, Coli has restored fourteen, especially when there was no reason to crowd the last two letters. Since Coli's restoration of line 17 cannot be shortened, it must be wrong. If, however, on the analogy of lines 32 and 62 we restore *debebunt* instead of *quis iusserit*, the meaning is, "On the day on which in accordance with the Lex Valeria Cornelia and this rogation senators and equites will have to attend for the purpose of voting, he shall order," etc. Against this restoration it might be argued that the subject of *iubeat* is no longer identified in this section. This is true, but the identification in lines 9-11 is sufficiently close.

In line 20 (end) the formula seems to be *quo loco commo[dissime legi] | possint* on comparison with the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*, line 27, *ubi facillime gnoscer potisit*, which attests the superlative, and on comparison with the well known formula *ut de plano recte legi possit*, which (examples collected by R. Bartoccini, *Epigraphica*, IX [1947], p. 10) attests the verb *legi*. A verb *perlegi*, which appealed to previous editors, seems out of place for a short list.

In line 21 Coli's restoration *suffrag[ium] laturi | erunt* has been confirmed by the evidence of the *Tabula Illicitana*.

In line 24 the *Tabula Hebana* reads in Tibiletti's revision,⁸ *et sortitio | nem pronuntiari iubeat sortiri qui senatores et eq(uites) in quamq(ue) cistam suffragium ferre debeat* (read *debeant*). At this point the *Tabula Illicitana* reads in the editions of Coli and d'Ors *sortiriue sen[atores]*, but the drawing published by Mommsen, *Eph. Ep.*, IX (1903), p. 11 (*Ges. Schr.*, I, p. 160), attests for the *Tabula Illicitana* too the reading *sortiri qui*. Accordingly, no connecting

⁸ *Principe*, p. 278.

enclitic follows the word *sortiri* in either text, and in the face of our only evidence we cannot assume an accidental loss of the same enclitic at the same place in each document. Now d'Ors acutely detected the presence of an extra word somewhere just before *sortiri* in the Tabula Ilicitana, because when he reconstructed the latter by transferring the words of the Tabula Hebana, the restored line at this point became two or three letters too short. Since Tibiletti's reading shows that a connective has actually fallen out of the Tabula Hebana, it becomes necessary to interpret the extra length of the line in the Tabula Ilicitana as due to the presence of this connective. The Tabula Hebana should read *pronuntiari iubeat <et> sortiri*.

In line 27 Coli originally restored *cuiu[s nomen sorte e] | xierit* (cf. the Lex Malacitana 57, *ut cuiusque curiae nomen sorte exierit*), but d'Ors, in making his revision, discovered that the Tabula Ilicitana read at this point *s]ors*. D'Ors interpreted the Tabula Hebana, line 27, as *cuiu[s nominis sors du] | x{i}erit*. Schönbauer restored *cuiu[s nominis sors e]xierit*, and this may be right. However, the parallels collected by Coli, *Iura*, III, p. 114⁹ show that *nominis* is superfluous. Without *nominis* the restoration would be too short, but the indefinite relative *cuiu[scumq(ue)]* could then be accommodated.

In line 31 the question might have been whether to restore *i[tem vocet donec ii qui suffra] | gium ferre debebunt [suff]ragium fer[ant]*, as Coli originally proposed, or to restore with Nesselhauf *i[ta vocet ut omnes qui suffra] | gium ferre debebunt [suff]ragium fer[ant]*. But when d'Ors, *Iura*, I (1950), p. 281, republished the Tabula Ilicitana with a new fragment which at this point contained the words *in c]istam in qu[am]*, the question assumed a new form. Furthermore, a vertical hasta belonging to the second letter of *it[a]* was read by De Visscher and appears in the new photograph. The sense would seem to be *it[a vocet ut in cistam in quam suffra] | gium*, but this exceeds the available space; with *it[em]* the excess would be still greater. In our opinion the evidence of the Tabula Ilicitana cannot be ignored, as F. della Corte *apud* Tibiletti, *Principe*, p. 274 still ignores it, but a slight variation, *in quam cistam*, would enable us to meet the spatial requirement.

Line 33 concerns problems of insufficient representation in the panel of any one tribe. Schönbauer (p. 251) adduced the evidence of Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 109, for a minimum of five in a comitial unit, and it seems likely that a minimum representation would be stipulated in precise terms, surely not in some vague and longer expression like *minimo tantum numero*. Schönbauer makes a restoration treating a case where there is no *eques* and fewer than five senators present. What, then, if there is one *eques* present and only two senators, or if there is only one senator present and two *equites*? Schönbauer, though he emended extravagantly, did not produce a

⁹ Livy, XXIV, 7, 12 and XLV, 15, 5 and Cicero, *Ad Att.*, I, 19, 3.

text which covered this contingency. Therefore, it seems that line 33 refers to the following two things, (1) to a quorum, which must be precisely stated, and (2) to a stipulation for some representation from each order in every tribe. These are the two tests which the president of the meeting must apply to every tribal panel. The phrase is probably not *infra V* (so Schönbauer) but *minus*. For the phrase *minus erunt* the Lex Ursonensis 67 offers a parallel: *Neve quis quem in conlegium pontificum kapito sublegito cooptato nisi tunc cum minus tribus pontificib(us) ex iis, qui c. G. sunt, erunt. Neve quis quem in conlegium augurum sublegito cooptato nisi tum cum minus tribus auguribus ex eis, qui c(oloniae) G(enetivae) I(uliae) sunt, erunt*. The ablative is paralleled in the SC de Bacchanalibus, lines 6 and 9, but the nominative with *minus* may be found in the Lex Ursonensis 64 and in the Lex Malacitana 61, 64, 67, and 68. For other examples of *minus* and *amplius* (not *infra* and *supra*) see the Lex Ursonensis 69, 75, 95, 97, 98, and 100.

Of line 38 new readings on the basis of the superior photograph published by De Visscher are here presented and have now been confirmed by Tibiletti's revision. Traces of letters at the beginning are still visible also at the end, where the new photograph vindicates Nesselhauf's restoration *iusta [rataq(ue) sint* against Levi, for the *r* of *rataq(ue)* actually appears. For examples and discussion of this formula see A. d'Ors, *Epigrafía jurídica de la España romana* (Madrid, 1953), p. 185. For *diribitis* restored between lines 38 and 39 see the Lex Malacitana 55 and *S. E. G.*, IX, 8, line 32.

In line 40 the restoration [*quaecumq(ue) sorte ducta eri*]t rather than [*cuiuscumq(ue) sors exieri*]t (cf. line 27 and commentary) is suggested by the words *duct]a esset* in line 42 and *sorte ducito* in the Lex Malacitana 57.

In line 42 the restorations *cuiusque* and *sorte exierit* are suggested by parallels in the Lex Malacitana 56.

In lines 43-4, though we accept De Visscher's reconstruction with a personal object, we hold with Tibiletti (*Principe*, pp. 20 f.) that *pronunti]andum* must be restored here because *re]nuntiandum* cannot be supplied in the parallel passage of line 46, where the first visible trace is that of a rounded letter.

In lines 46-7 the big question is whether to interpret the phrase *in nu[merum] with cedere* or with *adicitur*. De Visscher has made a case for the former interpretation by restoring *isq(ue) numerus centuriar(um)*, *qui h(ac) r(ogatione) adicitur*, *in (until reaching) nu[merum] ad quem creari oportebit [proi]nde cedat* (be counted) *atq(ue) eum numerum qui X centuriar(um) est cedere ex lege quam Cinna e[t Volesus co(n)s(ules) tulerunt cautum]* [*comprehensumve est uti cedat*],¹⁰ and by citing the parallel in the Lex Malacitana 56,

¹⁰ De Visscher, *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4^e sér., XXVIII (1951), p. 16, translates, "et que le nombre de centuries ajoutées par la présente loi entre en compte (dans la proclamation)

which mentions a *numerus ad quem creari oportebit* but does not use the word *cedere* (*donec is numerus . . . expletus est*). This interpretation now seems to Coli so attractive that in *Iura*, III (1952), he has abandoned a previous idea of his own and given his support to De Visscher. The chief objection to this interpretation is that it assumes that the word *numerus* occurs three times in the same sentence in two meanings. Nesselhauf, on the other hand, takes the phrase in *nu[merum* with *adicitur* and restores *isq(ue) numerus centuriar(um), qui h(ac) r(ogatione) adicitur in nu[merum centur(iarum) C. et L. Caesarum, | proi]nde cedat*, etc. The objection to Nesselhauf's interpretation might be the absence of a parallel for the construction *adicitur in*; the preposition is normally *ad*. However, either preposition may be used with the word *additur*, and so there is no strong objection to Nesselhauf's interpretation on that score, because the analogy permits either preposition. Furthermore, the prescription which De Visscher has indeed, by comparison with the Lex Malacitana, shown to be necessary really belongs, not in the *rogatio* concerning honors for Germanicus, but in the original Lex Valeria Cornelia concerning the *destinatio* of candidates for consulship and praetorship. In our opinion De Visscher has practically proved the point that the prescription existed, but we think that the prescription was not explicitly repeated in the *rogatio*. The whole clause we translate as follows: "And that group of centuries which by this *rogatio* is added to the group [of *centuriae C. et L. Caesarum*] shall function (as voting units) just as it was specifically and comprehensively provided in the Lex Cornelia Valeria for said group of ten centuries to function." However *normal* group voting was in the popular assemblies, it was not customary in the senate and public courts, and the provision is essential. Tibiletti, *Principe*, pp. 28-47, very ably treats all the interpretations of lines 46-9; he rejects De Visscher's version but he retains the connection between *in nu[merum* and *cedat*, to which he gives the, to us unacceptable, interpretation *si aggiunga*. He restores *in nu[merum reliquarum centuriarum]* and means the rest of the centuries in the Electoral Assembly, to which he thinks all centuries belong (see note 4 *supra*).

In lines 48-9 the formula *ratio habeatur*, which refers to the presiding magistrate's recognition of candidates, should be completed with a reference to those whose names he shall present at the comitia, as De Visscher shows. They are the *destinati*, whether one restores *eius* (= the *destinatio* just mentioned) or *eorum* (= the *destinati* implied thereby). After the letters *destinatione* Robert Lisle thinks he sees in De Visscher's photograph a point of separation. If there is no dot, there is at least enough vacant space to separate this word from the following, which seems to begin with an oblique

jusqu'à ce que soit atteint le nombre de magistrats à créer, de la même manière qu'entre en compte les dix centuries selon les prescriptions de la loi des consuls Cinna et Volesus."

stroke. The word seems, accordingly, to be *destinatione* and not *destinatione[m]*. The restorations *a[cta, comitia habebit]*, occurred independently to Oliver and to Tibiletti.^{10a} The phrase *destinatione a[cta]*, if this participle represents the right word, constitutes a necessary limitation because not every election of consuls and praetors is preceded by a *destinatio*.

Lines 54-7 have been the subject of special studies by Seston and Gatti. In line 56 Coli's restoration *funus* is certain (cf. *Lex Ursonensis* 95, *funus familiare*). But at the beginning of line 56 the letters VOM cannot belong to the word *equom*, because the engraver, *pace* Seston, carefully respected the law of syllabic division. Even if it were true that there were two cases of violation of syllabic division, the preponderance of cases of genuinely syllabic division would be so great that we should have to proceed on the assumption of syllabic division between lines 55 and 56. But two cases of violation are not to be found, nor even one clear case between lines 57 and 58, where *defun] | ctus* may have represented syllabic division to some speakers. Accordingly, the restoration *eq] | uom* of previous editors must be replaced with *cla] | vom*. For the phrase *qui latum clavum habebunt* compare Seneca, *Ep.*, 98, 13, *latum clavum divo Iulio dante non recepit*, and Suetonius, *Divus Vespasianus*, 2, 2, *sumpta virili toga, latum clavum, quamquam fratre adepto, diu aversatus est*, cited by A. Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand* (Munich, 1927), p. 198.

With line 55 we are not yet finished, but it may first be noted that in line 56 the restoration *ii* is imposed by the parallel *ii qui* in line 57 (for its position after the relative clause see for example the *Lex Malacitana* 52 and 54), and the restoration *sine* due to Seston is indicated by Livy, IX, 7, 8 and Appian, *Samn.*, 4, 7, cited by Gatti (*P. P.*, XXIX [1953], p. 131) for the laying aside of the broad stripe in time of mourning.

To return to line 55, the restoration, as here presented, was completed in discussion between Oliver and H. T. Rowell. Oliver had already replaced previous restorations at the end with *latum cla] | vom* and in the commentary we referred to one group as those *qui latum clavum habent*, but like previous editors we thought of the verb *habebunt* in line 56 as introduced by the extant *qui* of line 55. Rowell now proposed to restore another *qui* in the lacuna of line 55 and to transform Coli's restoration *ordini* [*equestri* into a genitive, so that the passage would read *et qui ordini[s equestris erunt funeri adessent, qui latum cla] | vom habebunt*, etc. These suggestions at once seemed an important step forward, because Clementina Gatti's interpretation of *et* as meaning "also" and her

^{10a} Tibiletti, however, because of his general theory of the *destinatio*, much prefers the restoration *destinatione[m habuerit, uti eius numeri comiti(i)s] | ratio habeatur*, where the phrase *eius numeri* would mean the group of five *centuriae Germanici Caesaris*.

assumption that *inferrentur* and *clauderentur* were asyndetically connected as the only two verbs of the *ut* or *cum* clause were desperate indeed. But Rowell's restoration was for our count too long, even when Oliver substituted *pompam irent* for *funeri adessent*. The extant *qui*, which is not in an enclitic position, can hardly be the archaic indefinite pronoun; rather it must be taken as a relative, and so the verb *erunt* seems imposed. Now the word *equestri* had been restored by Coli, Gatti, and Seston, merely because in view of line 57 the word *senatorio* could obviously not be restored; they had never thought of *utri*. But is it conceivable that the *equites* alone would be asked to attend the funeral? Is it not more important to have the state represented by the magistrates, ex-magistrates, priests, and other members of the senatorial order? After all, lines 54 and 55 summarize the article or edict (we do not know which) concerning the funeral. So Oliver's restoration *utrius* too seems imposed. Accordingly, we restore for spatial, linguistic, and historical reasons *et qui ordini[s utrius erunt pompam irent, qui latum cla] vom habebunt*, etc. The whole section, lines 54-7, we translate as follows: "When, as provided, the bones of Germanicus are to be placed in the tomb, the temples of the gods to remain closed, and members of each of the two orders are to attend the funeral, on that day those who have the broad stripe, i. e. those of them who will wish to perform the office and will not be prevented by illness or a death in the household, shall come to the Campus without the broad stripe, *equites equo publico* shall come wearing the *trabea*."

For the restoration *dis Manibus* in line 60 see, above all, the Cenotaphium Pisanum, I. I., VII, 6 and 7, *Manibus eius inferias mittere*.

Lines 61-2 specify what is to happen in case one or more of the three *magistri* are unable to perform the rites. The words *in locum eorum qui eo munere* show that they were to be replaced by others. The words *pro]ximo anno magisterio fungi debebunt* are interpreted by previous editors as indicating what the absent *magistri* are ordered to do. Since a procedure like this would create an astonishing complication in the next year, the interpretation can hardly be right. Since each article is introduced by *utique*, the command should be, not in a future indicative *debebunt*, but in a present subjunctive. Surely the word *debebunt* belongs to a relative clause identifying the substitutes as the *magistri* designate, *ii qui pro]ximo anno magisterio fungi debebunt*. Appointments for the following year apparently occurred before the anniversary of the death of Germanicus (Oct. 10), and if a successor was available, he would be expected to serve. Compare I. L. S., 6964, line 18: "Si flamen in civitate esse desierit ¹¹ *neque ei subrogatus erit*, tam . . .

¹¹ "If a flamen has ceased to be in a position to carry out his public duties (because of death, illness, absence, pollution, disgrace, or any reason), and his successor has not been elected, then let so-and-so per-

sacra facito" (another).¹² The restoration of line 61 is four to six letters short, but the last two lines of the tablet may not have been carried all the way to the right-hand edge.¹³

TABULA ILICITANA

By way of comparison we present the text of the Tabula Ilicitana (from Elche in Spain) with those letters underlined which appear in the Tabula Hebana. There are two non-contiguous fragments of the Tabula Ilicitana, *undique mutila*. The distance of neither fragment from the right or left edge is known. Moreover, the vertical relationship of fragment 1 (Coli's)¹⁴ to fragment 2 (d'Ors') is fairly clear, but not the horizontal relationship. Division between lines and horizontal position of the fragments are, accordingly, arbitrary and surely inaccurate, but they will do for purposes of illustration. The text here presented is due chiefly to Coli and d'Ors, except that we have omitted restorations which d'Ors made for lines 9-11, we have assumed the loss of still another line between fragments, and we have brought lines 3, 7, and 13-18 into closer conformity with our view of the corresponding section in the Tabula Hebana, the model. In line 5 the Tabula Ilicitana clearly differs from the model, and we infer a difference in lines 7 and 18. D'Ors believes that the Tabula Ilicitana is another copy of the Germanicus inscription of 19 A. D.; Coli, Tibiletti, and we believe that it is a different document for the younger Drusus who died and received similar honors in 23 A. D.

form the rites." J. A. O. Larsen, *Cl. Phil.*, XXXIX (1944), p. 197, and others, who likewise discussed the words *in civitate esse desierit*, did not know the comparative material in the yet undiscovered Tabula Hebana.

¹² Just as we were going to press we came upon the new article in the *Wiener Anzeiger*, LXXXIX (1952, published in 1953), where on p. 399 Schönbauer proposes the restoration, *si magistri unus pluresve ad id sacrifici[cium tum accedere non possunt, ii qui pro]ximo anno magisterio fungi debebunt, in locum eorum, qui eo mun[ere functi non erunt, succedant]*. The restoration *ii qui* occurred, therefore, independently to Schönbauer and Oliver and is surely right.

¹³ For example, in the famous inscription containing the Edict of Tib. Julius Alexander, four vacant spaces were left at the end of the next to the last line: *Greek Inscriptions of Hibiis* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Egyptian Expedition*, XIV [New York, 1938]), No. 4.

¹⁴ First published by Th. Mommsen, *Eph. Ep.*, IX. (1903), p. 11 (= *Ges. Schr.*, I, p. 160). For bibliography of both fragments see note 2 *supra*.

Fragment 1 (cf. Tab. Heb., lines 19-25)

- 1 . . . item]q(ue) tabellas c[eratas
secundum cistas poni iubeat tam multas]
 2 [quam opus esse ei videbitur, item t]abulas dealbatas in
[quib(us) nomina candidatorum scripta]
 3 [sint, quo loco commodissime legi p]ossint, ponendas
curet; [deinde in conspectu omnium]
 4 [magistratuum et eorum, qui suffragi]um laturi erunt,
sede[ntium in subselli(i)s, sicuti cum in]
 5 [XV centurias Caesarum et Germani]ci Caesaris suf-
frag[ium ferebatur sedebant, is trium]
 6 [et XXX tribuum, excepta Suc(cusana) et Esq(uilina),
pila]s quam maxime a[equatas in urnam versatilem
coici]
 7 [et sortitionem pronuntiari iubeat et] sortiri qui sen[a-
tores et equites in quamq(ue) cistam]
 8 [suffragium ferre debeant, dum in centurias pri]mas,
qu[ae C. et L. Caesar(um) adpellantur, sortitio . . .

Fragment 2 (cf. Tab. Heb., lines 27-32)

- 12 [-----] c[istas sortiatur -----, ita ut
cum tribum unam]
 13 [cuiuscumq(ue) s]ors [exierit citaverit, senatores qui-
busque in senatu sententiam dice]-
 14 [re licebit, q]ui ex ea [tribu erunt vocet ----- et ad
primam cistam accedere et suf]-
 15 [fragium f]erre iube[at; deinde, cum ita tulerint suf-
fragium et ad subsellia redierint],
 16 [ex eadem t]ribu vocet eq[uites eosq(ue) in eandem
cistam suffragium ferre iubeat; deinde]
 17 [alteram et] alteram tri[bum sortiatur et singularum
omnium tribuum senatores, deinde eq(uites), ita]
 18 [vocet ut in c]istam in qu[am suffragium ferre debebunt
suffragium ferant . . .

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LEIDENSIS BPL. 16. B. TACITUS, XI-XXI.

Since the "Agricola" manuscript of Tacitus, XI-XXI has been brought to light again in the University Library of Leiden (cf. *A. J. P.*, LXXII [1951], pp. 337 ff.) it should be possible to assess its value and define its place in the text tradition of these books.

The manuscript, BPL. 16. B, is on paper measuring $11\frac{5}{8}$ by $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches. It has 192 leaves (plus one blank) with 31 lines to a page and is gathered in quinions. The pages are ruled both horizontally and vertically but the right hand margin is not carefully observed. The hand is humanistic Italian, slightly inclined to the right and tending toward a running hand. The ink is somewhat faded in the latter half of the book and is occasionally restored in a later, blacker ink. Marginal corrections and insertions are in a very small hand with a different pen from that used in the text and presumably by a different person. There are a very few titular notes in two different hands, one of which may be that of the scribe of the manuscript. A few comments of no importance appear in a fourth scrawling hand. The title is: *Ex cor. Taciti libro undecimo*. This approximates closely the titles of Vat. Lat. 1863 and Ven. 381 and also the title added by a hand different from that of the scribe in Neap. IV. C. 23. Apart from this opening title there are no titles or colophons and there is no illumination. The binding was added by the Leiden Library in the nineteenth century. The text ends with *potiorem*, XXI, 23 as does that of Vat. Lat. 1863, Ven. 381, and Neap. IV. C. 23, as well as that of Vind. 49 and Paris Reg. 6118, two closely related MSS of which the former has no title, the latter an elaborate and unique one. These six MSS agree against all the rest in reading *conversis in Demetrium* at the close of XVI and do not have the external characteristics which mark the other MSS.

At first glance, Leidensis seems then to be a normal member of what I have called Group II.¹ Its ending at XXI, 23 is the most outstanding characteristic of that group, *conversis in De-*

¹ See C. W. Mendell, "Manuscripts of Tacitus XI-XXI," *Yale Classical Studies*, VI (1939), pp. 41 ff.

metrium the next. Furthermore it has none of the striking characteristics of the other groups, the long lacuna and the appended excerpts of Group I or the titles and notes and the Octavia gloss of the Genoans. On the other hand Leidensis has a considerable number of unique readings and in the variant readings which differentiate the groups it agrees about equally with each of the three.

Ryck made some twelve hundred citations from the Agricola MS although he was definitely conservative about accepting Agricola readings into his text. Koestermann, who considered all such readings as emendations by Rudolph Agricola, accepted 42 of them into his Teubner text and cites 17 more as worthy of consideration in a most conservative apparatus. But, in addition to these acknowledged "emendations," there are approximately 300 readings in the Koestermann text (*Annals*, 1936; *Histories*, 1950) at variance with the Medicean MS on which it is based and in agreement with Leidensis. These are ascribed as emendations to various editors from Puteolanus to Andresen.

The most striking difference (and perhaps the most important) between Leidensis and all the other MSS, including Laurentian 68.2 (M), is the fact that it alone shows no indication of a misplacement of text in Book XX, that is the fourth book of the *Histories*. The text from c. 52, *ferunt, ne criminantium*, through c. 53, *defuisse crede*,² was at some early date misplaced by a faulty folding so as to come between the words *pecunia* and *tanta* in c. 46. Two MSS, Yale I and Yale II, show a corrected text, restoring the passage to its proper place. The correction in Yale I was made on a manuscript of the so-called Genoan group as shown by Walter Allen³ and results in a faulty text at the junctures. Puteolanus in his edition of ca. 1480 also corrected the transposition with similar but slightly different faults at the junctures. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century was our modern text finally established by Halm. With this text Leidensis shows only one small but significant divergence. Leidensis reads *dicebatur* at the juncture of the transposed text with that which properly follows it. That the manuscript in which the transposition took place read *credebatur* is

² This fragmentary *crede* will be discussed later.

³ *Yale Classical Studies*, VI (1939), pp. 29 ff.

generally assumed because of the fragmentary *crede* in most MSS, expanded to *creditum quo* in others.

This so-called third inversion has suffered in its treatment from being joined with the first and second and treated as though all three occurred at the same time. The difference in the amount of text per page involved in the third inversion as compared with the others, while not great, is significant. Now that *Leidensis* has appeared with no misplacements at all in this section of the *Histories* although it is in agreement with the other MSS as regards the first two inversions, the situation must be reviewed.

The crux of the matter lies of course in detecting the exact point of each faulty juncture caused by the misplacement of the passage. At the first juncture (XX, 46) M reads: *pellī poterant sed immensa pecunia fer* [space] *ne criminantium*. In the margin are the words, *hinc in alio filio* (i. e. folio) but the exact point of departure for *hinc* is not clearly shown. The second juncture (c. 52) reads: *defuisse crede* [space] *tanta vis hominum retinenda erat. Ingressus castra*. The third juncture (c. 53) reads: *sermone orasse dicebatur audita interim*. All MSS except Y¹, Y², and *Leidensis* approximate these readings. In some, *fer* (= *ferunt*) becomes *fere* or *ferme*. In the *Genoans*, *crede* is changed to *creditum quo* in an effort to make sense. Y¹ and Y² have restored the correct order of the passage but that it is in each case a restoration is shown by the minor confusions still remaining. Y¹ has lost *sed immensa pecunia* and has *tanta vis hominum retinenda erat* and *dicebatur* in the wrong places. It has also retained the *Genoan* emendation, *creditum quo* and on its own part has added (above the line), to compensate for the omissions, *ob haec*. Y² has *sed immensa pecunia* correctly and has dropped the *creditum quo*, leaving no trace of *crede*. But it has *ferme* (in the wrong place) and also has *dicebatur* and *tanta vis hominum retinenda erat* in the wrong places. *Puteolanus* followed Y¹ but without the added *ob haec*.

Our modern text has corrected these errors but has eliminated *dicebatur* and made *credebatur* out of *crede* to take its place on the ground that the break came in the middle of the word *credebatur* leaving *crede* at the beginning of one juncture and *batur* at the end of the next. The scribe of M, it is contended, made *dicebatur* out of *batur*.

Leidensis has none of the confusions caused by restoration. It reads *dicebatur* and not *credebatur*. It therefore seems probable that this was the reading of the archetype, that M, or more probably an ancestor of M, perceiving the need of a verb after *defuisse*, started to write *credebatur*, saw his mistake when he had written *crede* but forgot to expunctuate the five letters. (Somewhat the same sort of thing happened in XII, 14 where *rursus*, a mistake for *Burrus*, has survived.) The breaks then actually came between *pecunia* and *tanta*, between *orasse* and *ferunt*, and between *defuisse* and *dicebatur*.

This solution, changing as it does a long established tradition, might seem at first too radical, but before rejecting it, one question must be answered. If the scribe of M was copying so meticulously as to retain the fragmentary *crede*, why did he feel justified in completing the fragmentary *batur*?

That the scribe of Leidensis should have recognized the transposition and attempted its correction would not be surprising. Several MSS note difficulties at the junctures and as we have seen two undertook to restore the text. But that the scribe of Leidensis could have ignored all the misleading corruptions which had crept in and could have hit upon the correct text which eluded all editors down to the last century is almost beyond belief. The alternative conclusion is that Leidensis alone of all our MSS derives from the tradition at a point antecedent to the mutilation, that is, before the eleventh century when M was written.

At the end of Book XX, all MSS except Leidensis have mistakenly added the words, *neque vos impunitos patiantur*, which appear also correctly in XX, 77. The Genoan MSS note the impropriety of these words in c. 86 and it would be quite possible for a clever scribe to delete them. It is, however, striking that only in Leidensis are they missing, and without comment.

A third unique rendering in Leidensis presents a somewhat more complicated problem. It occurs in the description of Agrippina's death in XIV, 8. Our modern text reads with M and the majority of MSS: *protendens uterum "ventrem feri" exclamavit multisque vulneribus confecta est*. Tacitus frequently cites famous remarks by his historical characters at the point of death. As a famous last word, however, this lacks something of precision as well as distinction. The so-called Genoan MSS

(Vat. Lat. 1958, Cesena, etc.) elaborate the situation by using a considerable quotation from the *Octavia* tragedy in the Senecan corpus. They read:

protendens uterum ventrem feri exclamavit rogans ministrum ut utero dirum ensem conderet adiciens hic est hic est fodiendus ferro monstrum qui tale tulit. Post hanc vocem cum supremo mixtam gemitu animam tandem post fera tristem vulnera reddidit. Ictibus enim multisque vulneribus confecta est.

A comparison with the *Octavia* text (368 ff.) will show the method of quotation:

caedis moriens illa ministrum
rogat infelix
utero dirum condant ut ensem:
"hic est, hic est fodiendus" ait
"ferro, monstrum qui tale tulit."
post hanc vocem
cum supremo mixtam gemitu
animam tandem
per fera tristem vulnera reddit.

The reading of Leidenensis is at first puzzling: *protendens uterum hunc exclamavit hunc feri monstrum qui tale tulit multisque vulneribus confecta est*. Of the last words of Agrippina this offers a more notable version than that of the Medicean. The fact that up to the last moment Agrippina has pretended ignorance of Nero's designs gives point to the bitter accusation which is only remotely suggested, if at all, by the bald *ventrem feri* of M. Dio's account of the matter (LXI, 13)—καὶ τὴν γαστέρα ἀπογυμνώσασα, παῖε τανύτην, ἔφη, παῖε, Ἀνίκητε, ὅτι Νέρωνα ἔτεκεν—is definitely closer to the Leidenensis rendering and suggests that the actual words had been preserved and that Tacitus was reproducing them. The author of the *Octavia* would have somewhere found, as did Tacitus, the phrase, *hunc feri monstrum qui tale tulit*, and around this would have built his flamboyant verses. The gloss in the Genoan manuscripts is more natural if this phrase was already in the text of Tacitus to suggest it.

The first and obvious conclusion is that these three strikingly unique readings of Leidenensis are changes made in the text by some able but not too scrupulous scholar of the late fifteenth century, possibly Agricola himself or perhaps Pier Candido De-

cembrio with whom he worked at Ferrara. A study of the manuscript as a whole scarcely bears out this claim. In the first place we should expect changes of a sophisticated sort from an editor who made these three,—one, a somewhat lengthy addition to the text which he had before him; one, a correct deletion from the text; and the third, the masterly correction of a difficult corruption. If these are scribal changes we are dealing with a very able scribe. We should *not* expect such errors as the persistent misspelling, *struprum* (XII, 25; XIII, 75, etc.) or the repeated *nec . . . quidem* for *ne . . . quidem* (XI, 38; XIV, 35; XVII, 66, 69, 76 *et passim*). We should not expect aural errors like *inde vilis* for *indebilis* (XIII, 14). We should not expect *spem* for *speciem* (XIII, 8, 31, 40, etc.) which would be wholly understandable if Leidensis came from an archetype which employed an abbreviation as M does not. Many small stupidities will appear in Leidensis of which a Decembrio or an Agricola could hardly have been guilty. It will appear from the readings which follow that the scribe or his predecessor was perfectly ready to make minor corrections in the text but that these indicate no great cleverness. Specifically, Agricola and Decembrio seem to be eliminated as possible scribes: the hand is definitely not that of Agricola of which we have extensive samples; Decembrio is known to have owned and edited the Gudianus MS now at Wölfenbütl which has the complete text and is definitely of the Genoan tradition and he would therefore have supplied the final chapters.

In XIV, 32 M reads perfectly clearly exactly what our texts have: *visamque speciem in aestuario Tamesae subversae coloniae*. Not only the writing but the sense is clear. Leidensis reads: *visamque speciem noctu motam esse subversae coloniae*. If all our MSS derive from M it is hard to see why no one of them preserves the sense of the passage. But, overlooking that strange fact, the rendering of Leidensis does not suggest an able scholar, emending a corrupt passage. And yet it does indicate a scribe who *tried* to improve the text. For other MSS which will be shown to be somewhat akin to Leidensis have: *in esthiariotam esse* (Vat. 1863), *mestu notam esse* (Vat. 1864 and Kop.), *mestu motam e se* (Y³). It is possible to see how these readings developed from the correct reading as retained in the M tradition but they suggest a source in which the words were

not clearly divided. The word division in M is sharp and the meaning clear. The *noctu motam esse* of Leidensis might be a clumsy attempt to restore meaning to what the scribe found in his source if that source read, for instance, *mestu motam esse*.

In XVI, 17 the scribe of Leidensis or a predecessor must have made a stupid attempt to improve the text. Our texts read with M: *Mela quibus Gallio et Seneca parentibus natus*. This becomes in Leidensis: *Mela quidem Gallia et Seneca parentibus natus*. This surely looks as though a stupid scribe were copying what he saw or making an absurd correction; certainly no scholar could have deliberately made the change.

In XIII, 39 the scribe of Leidensis or his predecessor seems to have tried to use his ingenuity. M. reads: *Corbulo ne irritum bellum traheretur utque Armenios ad sua defendenda cogeret excindere parat castella*. Leid.: *Corbulone irritum bellum trahente ut Armenios ad sua defendenda cogeret exinde repetita castella*. Having run the first two words together, he would seem to have tried to cover his error by changing the verb and making an ablative absolute. But the sense is destroyed; it is the enemy, not Corbulo, who wishes to delay the war and the conclusion makes an improbable change of subject.

In XVIII, 7 the text reads with M: *Vespasianus Mucianusque nuper, ceteri olim, mixtis consiliis*. Leidensis has *Titi opera* for *ceteri olim* which is a conceivably possible reading but one which does not improve the sense and looks like the thoughtless copying of a previous blunder. The same impression is left by the change of *alia* to *puerilia* in XIII, 3, caused presumably by the preceding *pueritia*. The change is not that of a scholar for it does damage to both sense and style. *Traditis* for *perpetratis* in XV, 14, after *tradi*, leaves the same impression.

In XIII, 14, M reads: *indebilis rursus Burrus et exul Seneca trunca scilicet manu et professoria lingua*. *Rursus* is crossed out by the scribe, and rightly, as it was probably an error by a previous scribe who mistook *burrus* for *rursus*, then saw his mistake and wrote *burrus* without deleting *rursus*. *Indebilis* is generally taken to be an error for *inde debilis*. Leidensis reads: *Inde vilis rursus Burrus et exul Seneca tunicata scilicet manu*. *Inde vilis* is evidently a mistake. It makes no sense. The *rursus* would seem to have been copied, not from M, in which it is expunctuated, but from an earlier uncorrected exemplar.

Tunicata can hardly have been a misreading of *trunca* nor can it be the conjecture of an intelligent editor. The scribe of Leidenensis would seem to have been copying what he saw or thought he saw.

Such readings as *gratiam iactam* for *Graeci amictus* (XIV, 21) do not indicate a brilliant scribe. There are some mistakes of sheer carelessness. In XVIII, 32: *apud hostes atrocissimum apud hostes*; in XIX, 23, a line repeated from XIX, 18; XII, 22, *celeriter* for *sceleri*; XII, 24, *uti* for *urbi*; XIII, 25, *multi* for *inulti*; XXI, 12, *fremetibus* for *frumenti ambusta*; XXI, 20, *ceteris imminetibus* for *ceteri se munimentis*. There are the usual number of these slips but not more than an ordinarily good manuscript would have. There are extraordinarily few careless omissions.

In one regard the scribe of Leidenensis is unusually inept or (more probably) copies faithfully the ineptitudes of a predecessor. This is in the transcription of proper names. *Pharasmanes opibus* (XI, 8) becomes *pharas magnis opibus*. In XIII, 1, *P. Celerius . . . et Helius* appears in Leidenensis as *p. cedrius . . . et aelius*. *Troxobore* (XII, 55) becomes *Arsoboro*. In XI, 35 *Saufeium* becomes *Sanfelum*; *Decrius, dorius*; *Vergilianus, virgilibus*. It is the exception when a proper name at all unusual is rendered correctly.

A comparison of the readings of Leidenensis in Book XI with those of M should provide evidence for estimating the relation between the two and in general the value of Leidenensis. It should be remembered that the Koestermann text is based primarily on M. Nevertheless, in Book XI, it accepts *Italicus* (c. 16) as an emendation by Agricola as well as forty-five other readings of Leidenensis ascribed as emendations to Puteolanus, Rhenanus, Lipsius, etc. Of 249 readings in which M, Leidenensis, or both disagree with the text of Koestermann, Leidenensis is clearly wrong and M right in 49, M clearly wrong and Leidenensis right in 52. Both seem pretty surely wrong in 37 while in 17 both seem to me at least possibly preferable to the reading of the text. This leaves 94 instances in which both MSS give possible readings but differ from each other. Of these, 11 are matters of word order, 25 are very minor matters of variation between *et, ac, atque, -que; exin, exinde*; etc., and 5 are variations between singular and plural (c. 9 *laborum, laboris; libidinem,*

libidines). The Koestermann text quite naturally accepts the reading of M in 49 of the remaining 53 cases. But if M had read in c. 2, as Leidensis does, *sciscitatus* instead of *scrutatus*, the reading would have been accepted without question. Both fit the situation and both are Tacitean. Similarly in the second chapter, *indicto silentio* and *victo silentio* are equally apt. In c. 5, Leidensis reads *capiat* for the Medicean *accipiat*, a more vivid expression in the context. On the other hand, in c. 38, Leidensis omits *quidem* after *honestas*. It is not absolutely essential but adds definitely to the force of the phrase and is thoroughly Tacitean. Except for six passages which show major variants, the choice between M and Leidensis is largely a question of individual preference. The more important instances are the following.

C. 4. M: *nesteris* (= *Mnesteris*); Leidensis: *Valerii*. Valerius Asiaticus is represented as the victim of Messalina. She suspects him of adultery with Poppaea. She gets Suillius to bring charges. Sosibius also is persuaded to warn Claudius of possible subversive action on the part of Valerius. Claudius hastily arrests Valerius and gives him a star chamber hearing with Messalina present and Suillius making three charges: corruption of the military, adultery with Poppaea, sexual abnormality. The last charge infuriates Valerius who defends himself vigorously. Messalina withdraws and frightens Poppaea into committing suicide. Valerius is given permission to choose his own method of death and cuts his veins. The senate is then called and Suillius brings charges against two Roman knights named Petra, charges of vague subversive remarks. The real reason for prosecuting them was that they had loaned their home for the meetings of Mnester (acc. to M) or Valerius (acc. to Leid.) and Poppaea. The intrusion of Mnester is a surprise. C. 28 is cited as evidence of Mnester's activities but the text there is insecure and it must in any case refer to adultery with Messalina, not Poppaea. The same is true in c. 38 when Mnester meets his fate. There is no evidence of any intrigue on his part with Poppaea. The reading *Valerii* seems probable.

C. 10. M reads: *positusque regiam*. Leid.: *potitusque rerum*. Editors have accepted *potitus* as an emendation. *Regiam* is something of a surprise but possible; *rerum*, especially as the discussion began with *turbatae Parthorum res*, is more natural

and suits the context better, in addition to being more orthodox Tacitean Latin: the accusative after *potior* would be unique.

C. 22. M reads *velut*, Leid., *voluit ut*. The clause runs, *donec sententia Dolabellae velut* (or *voluit ut*) *venundaretur*, the subject of the verb being *quaestura*. The chapter began with *P. Dolabella censuit* and the Leid. reading gives a parallel concluding phrase. Either reading, if it were the only one we had, would be acceptable. The construction with *ut* does not occur in Tacitus but does in Livy.

C. 30. This case presents a serious problem in interpretation. The marriage of Silius and Messalina is being discussed before Claudius and Narcissus is giving his opinion of what should be done to Silius. Narcissus says that he is not going to press a charge of adultery *ne domum servitia et ceteros fortunae paratus reposceret*. M follows this with: *frueretur immo his et redderet uxorem rumpereque tabulas nuptiales*. Leid., on the other hand, reads: *cogeretur una cum his et reddere uxorem rumpereque tabulas nuptiales*. Acidalius' change of *et* to *set* in the reading of M has been accepted in the Koestermann text. Ritter suggested *nedum* for *ne domum* and Halm *nedum domum* in the first sentence. It is the interpretation of this first sentence which must determine the choice of reading in the second. Editors who do not emend interpret *ne* as equal to *nedum* which is not wholly satisfactory. The subject of *reposceret* is variously taken as Claudius or Narcissus. Such interpretation is quite possible and makes the reading of M, if not satisfactory, at least plausible. On the other hand it should be noted that elsewhere Tacitus uses the verb *reposcere* six times and never with the meaning "ask back." It is always used of demanding as a right. If so used here with Silius as the subject then the reading of Leid. is satisfactory without emendation and the contrast between *adulteria* and *uxorem* is even sharper.

C. 31. M: *quis fatentibus certium ceteri circumstrepunt*. Leid.: *quibus dubitantibus et incertis ceteri circumstrepunt*. It is clear that *certium* is wrong in M and Puteolanus changed it to *certatim* as read in Koestermann. The situation is the inquiry by Claudius into the wedding of Silius and Messalina. Two witnesses have been called on from the council of friends summoned. If they "confess" it can only mean that they con-

firm the charge against Silius. They have nothing to confess on their own part. The Leid. reading, presenting them as hesitating to give evidence which must be distasteful to the emperor, gives a better contrast with *ceteri circumstrepunt* and requires no emendation.

C. 35. M: *custodem a Silio Messalinae datum*. Leid.: *custodem Silio et Messalinae dat*. Titius Proculus is the person referred to. By the reading of M he is included among the victims although he has given evidence. The logic of the situation calls for a guard to watch Silius and Messalina. Either reading is possible.

The significant cases in which Leid. is seriously wrong while M gives the correct reading are as follows: 1. *emptos* for *coeptos*; 3. *imperii* for *impetu*; 18. om. *dites*; 21. om. *ex se*; 23. om. *si*; 29. *per potentiam* for *peritus et potentiam*; 31. *qua non alia* for *non alias*; 32. *et auspicia marito* for *et aspici a marito*; 38. om. *epulanti*.

The cases where M is seriously wrong while Leid. gives what seems to be the correct reading are as follows: 2. *contionem* for *in contione*; 6. om. *crimina*; 7. *tacere* for *dicere*; om. *statuit*; 10. *habeat* for *in animo habebat*; 14. *publico dis* for *publicandis*; 16. *Augustus* for *aggesta*; 22. *desenoni* for *de se confessus*; 28. *dum histrio cubiculum principis exultabero* for *dum inservit cubiculum principis adulterio*; 30. *ei cis vetticis* for *cicios vectios* (= *titios vettios*); 31. om. *quemque*; 35. *cupido . . . fuit* for *cupidos . . . fecit*.

Aside from the cases cited above the mistakes of both MSS in these two categories are susceptible of fairly easy emendation. The mistakes of M as indicated above are on the whole the more serious. Several require further discussion. In the first five Leid. offers definite improvement to our current text as it does also in c. 16, *aggesta* for the impossible *Augustus* and c. 22, *de se confessus* for *desenoni*; *quemque* (c. 31) accepted by Andresen as a sound emendation by Agricola, has been unwisely rejected by Koestermann. The other four are not so immediately convincing. In chapter 14, *publico dis* (M) makes no sense but if the original were *publicandis* (as in Leid.) it is not difficult to understand the scribe's mistake: he took *publico* with *aere* and changed *fixis* to *fixo* to agree, but left *dis plebiscitis* with no meaning to be bracketed in modern editions. Leid. may not

provide the complete solution but it confirms *publicandis* as conjectured by Madvig.

C. 28 offers just as much difficulty. The reading of M (*dum histrio cubiculum principis exultabero*) goes to pieces with the impossible *exultabero*. *Adulterio* furnishes the contrast which Tacitus wishes to make between the secret disgrace of adultery in the emperor's home and public revolutionary action against the throne. *Histrio* (M = *histruo*) would refer to Mnester and is in sharp contrast with *iuvenem nobilem* but may have crept in on that account. No other manuscript has it. (Vat. 1863 and Vat. 1864 have *instruo*, the Genoans, *industria*.) On the whole the reading of Leid. (*dum inservit cubiculum principis adulterio*) would seem to satisfy the situation. Tacitus uses *inservire* elsewhere with abstract nouns (XIII, 8: *famae inserviret*; XVI, 27: *hortorum amoenitati inservirent*).

The case from c. 30 is less dubious. It is strong evidence of the value of Leidensis. M reads: *quod si cis vetticis plautio dissimulavisset*. All MSS except Leid. follow M closely. Leid. is not perfect: *quod cicios vectios plautios dissimulavisset*. It is easy to reconstruct Titios, Vettios, Plautios (which Brotier had already guessed but which modern editors have rejected) because of the frequent confusion of *c* and *t* in Leid. and because Narcissus is defending himself for not having informed against Vettius Valens (31), Plautius Lateranus (36), and Titius Proculus (35).

Finally, in c. 35, Leid. has a reasonable explanation of four words which were bracketed by Ritter and have been so treated by most subsequent editors: *cupido maturae necis fuit*. M reads: *eadem constantia et illustres equites romani cupido mature necis fuit*. Leid. has a reading which does not require any emendation: *eadem constantia et illustres viros equites R. cupidos maturae necis fecit*.

Attention should be given to the cases in the above lists in which Leid. furnishes a probable reading which improves our current text. C. 1, *contionem* of M makes no sense. Andresen reads *contionem in* after Nipperdey who compared the postpositive use of the preposition with *unum intra damnum* in III, 72. There are better examples of the usage to be found in Tacitus but none with *in*. Leid. reads *in contione*. In c. 6 the question of fees for counsel is under discussion. M reads: *quodsi in*

nullius mercedem negotiant, pauciora fore. Apparently *negotiantur* was written first and *ur* erased. A noun is required and editors have read (with certain minor MSS) *negotia tueantur*. Leid. furnishes a different solution: *quodsi in nullius mercedem negotiantur, pauciora fore crimina.* In c. 7, *tacere* of M is impossible because what they said follows immediately. Weissenborn ingeniously suggested *ita agere* but Leid. reads *dicere*. In the same chapter Andresen adds *posuit* but Orelli had conjectured *statuit* which is the reading of Leid. In c. 10, Koestermann follows Lipsius in changing *habeat* of M to *avebat* to make sense but Leid. has the more probable *in animo habebat*. Similarly, in 22, Gronovius' correction of *desenoni* to *de se non infitiatus* has become established in the text but, in view of the probable abbreviation of *con* in the archetype, Leid. *de se confessus* seems sound. *Quemque* (31) is essential and appears in Andresen as a conjecture of Agricola.

C. 18 furnishes an instance of widely differing readings. M has what appears to be a perfectly sound text: *feruntque militem quia vallum non accinctus atque alium quia pugione tantum accinctus foderet morte punitos.* Leid. has also a readable but quite different text: *erantque milites quia vallum non accincti foderent morte puniti.* It is possible that *atque alium quia pugione tantum accinctus* dropped out because of the repetition of *accinctus*. It is also possible that it was a marginal note which crept in. In either case the tradition which did not have it in the text at some stage diverged radically from the tradition which had it. Vat. 1863, Vat. 1864, and B9 agree with Leidensis.

There still remain in Book XI passages which are corrupt in both M and Leid. and which still await solution. 10: *inter se umregum* (M); *pares fuisse uni regum* (Leid.). 18: *auxiliare ex diu meritis* (M); *auxiliaris ex diu meritis* (Leid.); Koestermann: *auxiliare stipendium meritis*. 23: *per se satis* (M and Leid.); Koestermann: *prostrati*. 27: *subisse* (M); */subisse/* (Leid.); Koestermann: *subisse <flammeum>*. 35: *iulius* (M and Leid.); Koestermann: *Vitellius*. 38: *tristitiis multis* (M); *reisticis multis* (Leid.); Koestermann: [*tristitiis multis*].

This survey of Book XI indicates a considerable contribution to the improvement of our text on the part of Leidensis. It seems safe to conclude that the writer of Leidensis was not a

scholar introducing his own emendations into the text of Tacitus but a competent and reasonably scrupulous scribe not proof against the temptation to make minor changes which to him seem like obvious corrections and capable of falling into stupid errors. In general he seems to have copied what he saw. We may then proceed to a study of further variant readings in Leidensis with a view to determining its relation to M or, more fundamentally, its position in the manuscript tradition, and to discover what value Leidensis may have in determining our text.

At XX, 77, M reads: *pars montibus alii alii viam inter Mosellamque flumen tam improvisa adsiluire*. The other MSS (apart from Leid.) do not vary from this reading except in detail: the Genoans have only one *alii*; 1864 and B9 leave a space after *flumen*; 1863 has a *hic deficit* in the margin. Leidensis gives a satisfactory solution: *pars montibus alii viam inter Mosellamque flumen dispositi per pontem tam improvisi assiluire*.

It may be worth while to pause a moment to see what ingenuity has been expended on this passage. Madvig wrote *via* for *viam* and introduced a *montes* between *inter* and *Mosellamque*. The change from *improvisa* to *improvisi* is credited as an emendation to Agricola. Meiser made much of the correction by the scribe of M, deleting an *a* between the two *alii*'s. But Meiser made this a capital I and developed it into *via*, reading *alli via alii viam inter Mosellamque flumen*. Quill enthuses over Meiser's "brilliant and certain" emendation. All ignore the lacuna indicated by B9 and Vat. 1864. Evidently, before the time of M, the mistake of *alii alii* had come in and the three words *dispositi per pontem* had been lost. Leidensis seems to represent the unmutilated reading. In its completely Tacitean style, it is hard to believe that the scribe of Leidensis invented this reading. The parallelism of an ablative with a prepositional phrase and the use of the postpositive *inter* are both characteristic of Tacitus and both were misunderstood by the other scribes and overlooked by the editors. It is particularly significant that only 1863, 1864, and B9 indicate a loss after *flumen*, a loss which Leidensis supplies.

Editors have struggled with XIV, 7: *nisi quid Burrus et Seneca expergens quos statim acciverat incertum an et ante ignaros*. This is the reading of M; 1864 and 1863 agree; B9, 1422, and several others read *expertes* for *expergens*. The Ge-

noans have *expergiscerent* or *expurgent*. Leid. has *expromerent* which furnishes a better solution than any arrived at by subsequent editors. Leidensis also omits the *et* before *ante*. This is of special interest inasmuch as M has *an & ante ignaros*. The *an* may have been in the margin of the archetype or perhaps more probably the *et* which would require a change to *gnaros*.

At XIV, 60, M reads: *his quamquam Nero paenitentia flagitii coniugem revocavit*. Koestermann prints: *his * * * tamquam Nero paenitentia flagitii coniugem revocarit*. This is wholly unsatisfactory for the actual recall of Octavia is assumed as a fact in the next line. Leidensis offers a solution: *his motus Nero an paenitentia flagitii coniugem revocavit*.

In XI, 22 the story is told of the trial of Cn. Novius who appeared in the senate wearing a sword when greeting Claudius. M reads: *desenoni conscios non edidit*, with a space before *conscios*. This is followed, with or without the space, by all MSS except those which change *desenoni* to *de se novius* without salvaging the sense of the passage. Leid. has: *de se confessus conscios non edidit*.

The reading of M in XI, 10 indicates some loss of text: *recuperare Armeniam habeat*. 1863 has the same while 1864 has *habebat* for *habeat* without satisfying the sense of the passage. Leid. does make sense: *recuperare Armeniam in animo habebat*. It is possible that *in animo* dropped out because of a superficial similarity to *Armeniam*.

In XV, 14 Leidensis suggests a considerable change in the reading of a passage which has never been questioned. M reads: *illum locum tempusque consilio destinatum quid de Armenia cernerent adiecisse deos dignum Arsacidarum simul ut de legionibus Romanis statuerent*. Leidensis reads: *locum illis tempusque consilio designatum quo de Armenia cernerent quod se fastigioque dignum Arsacidarum*. If the reading of M is accepted it furnishes the only example in Tacitus of *dignum* used with the genitive. *Arsacidarum fastigium* occurs in XV, 1.

One more instance of text improvement made possible by Leidensis will suffice for the moment. In XXI, 8 Jerusalem is named as the capital of Judaea. The next sentence reads in M: *illic immensae opulentiae templum et primis munimentis urbs de ingia templum intimis clausum*. (This is clear in the later rewriting of M although the original is in very bad shape.)

Modern editors have assumed that the whole of Jerusalem is being described, citadel, palace, and temple, and have revised the text, with small success, to read: *illic immensae opulentiae templum, et primis munimentis urbs, dein regia, templum intimis clausum*. Leidensis seems to hold the key. Only the temple is under consideration at the moment: *illic immensae opulentiae templum ex primis munimentis urbis alienigenis templum interius clausum*.

There are several readings which differ in M and Leidensis which are best explained by assuming a marginal reading in the common archetype. The difficult problem in XVII, 2 is best understood on this basis. M reads *opibus casibus*, quite obviously wrong although Vat. Lat. 1863 has the same. Leidensis reads *opimum casibus* which makes sense and is also the reading of Vat. Lat. 1864, B9, Vind., Par., and Ven. The Genoan group reads *plenum variis* (or *gravioribus*) *casibus*. These Genoan MSS derive from Vat. Lat. 1958 (or its source), which has *variis* with *gravioribus* as a variant. It would look as though the archetype had had an abbreviation for *opimum* which the M tradition wrongly assimilated to *casibus*, making *opibus*, while the Leidensis tradition correctly interpreted it as *opimum*. Unless the Genoans show merely a learned improvement, *variis* and *gravioribus* were presumably in the margin of the archetype.

Rather more convincing is the reading in XVIII, 79. M has *V nonas Iulii apud ipsum iurasset* and is followed by the Genoans, including Y¹ and Y². Vat. Lat. 1863 has *Vº non in nomen Iulii* and is followed by Par. The Group I MSS all have *in nomen Iulii*. Leidensis reads *quinto nonas Iulias in nomen apud ipsum iurasset*. It looks as though the archetype had had *V nonas Iulias* with *in nomen* in the margin as a gloss on *apud ipsum iurasset*. One copy of the archetype must have had *V nonas Iulii* which caused the stupid mistake, *in nomen Iulii*.

XXI, 22 affords a third instance of similar sort. M reads *Inpia donum Veledae traxere*. It looks as though *Inpia* were corrected from *Lupia* but this would hardly have been guessed if all other MSS had not read *Lupia*. But the correction in M is contemporary with the hand of the MS. The Genoans largely follow M with *Inpia*. (Vat. Lat. 1958 has *pupia*.) Unfortunately Group I ends at chapter 13 and therefore lacks this passage. Vat. Lat. 1863 has *Lupia trascere*. Urb. 412 has *impia*

donum vela detraxere. Leidensis has *Lupia detraxere*. It would look as though the archetype had had *Lupia detraxere* with the gloss *donum Veledae* in the margin. Perhaps M or its source, in taking the gloss into the text, changed *detraxere* to *traxere* to eliminate the repetition in *-de de-*.

When a word appears in three different positions in a sentence in different MSS the chances would seem to be that it was originally omitted and written in the margin. Such is the case in XIV, 2 where M reads *ardore retinendae Agrippinam potentiae*, Leid. reads *Agrippinam ardore retinendae potentiae*, and Y² reads *ardore retinendae potentiae Agrippinam*. So in XIV, 14, we find: *donis subegit ingentibus, subegit donis ingentibus* and *donis ingentibus subegit*. In XVII, 88: *luxoriosos conviviorum apparatus* shows similar variations.

There are over three hundred instances in which the order of a pair of words is different in M and Leid. In 99% of these the Genoans, and also Y¹ and Y², agree with M. 60% are unique with Leid., indicating either a distinct tradition or a peculiarity of the scribe of Leid. But in 11% five MSS agree with Leid. This is too large a percentage to be accounted for by coincidence, especially as these five MSS (Vat. Lat. 1864, Vat. Lat. 1863, B9, Kop., and Y³) are found often in agreement against M. Individually they agree with Leid. in these cases of word order from 17% to 23%.

In XIII, 41, M reads: *ob haec consolatus imperator Nero et senatus consulto supplicationes habitae*. A later hand has corrected *consolatus* to *consalutatus*. Editors follow this reading, accepting the correction. But Leid. reads: *ob haec consuli imperatori Neroni ex S. c° supplicationes habitae*. Nero was consul this year for the third time and the reading of Leidensis is possible.

XIII, 54, as it reads in our texts today, seems unreasonable: *eoque Frisii iuventutem saltibus aut paludibus inbellem aetatem per lacus admoveere ripae*. The men beyond military age ought not to be moved toward the enemy. Leidensis has *condentes* instead of *per lacus*. What would seem to be needed is *both*, giving the meaning "hiding them away among the lakes," probably on islands. Perhaps the archetype had *per lacus* in the text and *condentes* in the margin or the other way around. One

tradition ignored the marginal reading, the other took it to be a correction.

In XIII, 57 M has: *non si fluvialibus aquis aut quo alio humore*. Editors solve the difficulty by omitting the *si*. But Leidensis seems to me better: *non si fluvialibus aquis aut quo alio humore perfunderentur*.

In XV, 2 M reads *in absitium suum* which is obviously corrupt. Koestermann reads *in exitium suum* which makes sense and is attractive because of the *numquam ipsis prospere lacesitam* which precedes. It seems a trifle strange that the scribe of M should have written *absitium* for *exitium*. Leidensis has *per obsidium suum*. In XI, 10 Tacitus uses *obsidium* to mean "hostage-ship" and in XV, 1 it has been remarked that the Romans did not lead the incursion under discussion but that it was *temeritate obsidis tot per annos inter mancipia habiti*. If the archetype had the unusual word *obsidium*, the mistake of M's scribe is more comprehensible and Leidensis may well be correct.

In the account of the fire in XV, 38, the confusion is described: *ad hoc lamenta paventium feminarum fessa aetate aut rudis pueritiae aetas . . . cuncta impediabant*. Koestermann brackets *aetas* without helping the sense. Lipsius wrote: *fessa aut rudis pueritiae aetas*. Leidensis seems to have the answer: *fessa senum aut rudis pueritiae aetas*.

In XV, 55, M seems to go astray: *diffideret. Enimvero liberales semper epulas struxisse. diffideret enimvero vitam hamenam (=amoenam) et duris iudicibus parum probatam*. Koestermann deletes the second *diffideret enimvero*. Leidensis has in its place: *egisse enim* which may well be correct.

M. is clearly corrupt in XIX, 13: *postquam domos hortos, opes principi abstulerint, etiam militibus principem auferre litem*. Halm would write *etiam auferre militem*; Koestermann: *etiam militibus principem auferre*. Heraeus suggested: *etiam militem principi militibus principem auferre*. That he may have come nearer to the original is indicated by the reading of Leidensis: *etiam militibus principem auferre, principi militem*. It is possible that *principi mi* was omitted in the archetype and added in the margin, overlooked by the scribe of M.

Somewhat similar is XIX, 20. M reads *non si pateant portae nisi explorato nisi die*. The argument is against attacking Cre-

mona at once without waiting for daylight and the proper preparations. The reading is sufficiently clear but awkward. Leidensis reads *non si pateant portae, non die nisi explorato*. If *non die* had been omitted and added in the margin of the archetype, it could have come back as *nisi die* in the wrong place in M.

M reads in XII, 35: *ac ni cito nuntiis et castellis proximis subventum foret*. Help to the surrounded legionaries would hardly have come from messengers. Leidensis has, *ac in vicis et castellis proximis cito subventum foret*. The *in* for *ni* (a frequent error in Leidensis) is the guarantee that this is not a smart emendation. *Cito* may be another case of a word in the margin of the archetype.

There are two instances in which Leidensis omits some eight words which appear in M and in our texts. They are not essential to the meaning. In each case there is some reason to consider them additions and yet they are not so conspicuously out of place as to make it seem plausible that Leidensis deliberately omitted them. At the same time, there is no mechanical explanation of their omission. The first case is XIX, 84. M reads: *contra Vitelliani, quamquam numero fatoque dispaes, inquietare victoriam, morari pacem, domos arasque cruore foedare suprema victis solacia amplectebantur. Multi semianimes*. . . . The situation is the attack by Vespasian's troops on the praetorian camp held by the Vitellians in a desperate stand made only to tarnish and delay the victory of the Flavians. There can be no question of homes and altars (nor would they be likely to destroy these) for this is the camp. Leidensis omits *domos* . . . *amplectebantur* which looks like a gloss that crept into M. The same probability exists in connection with XX, 17. M reads: *Nuper certe caeso Quintilio Varo pulsam e Germania servitutem, nec Vitellium principem, sed Caesarem Augustum bello provocatum. Libertatem natura etiam*. . . . Leidensis omits *nec* . . . *provocatum*. This brings *servitutem* and *libertatem* together in typically Tacitean fashion.

That this sort of error *did* occur is shown by a reading in XIX, 32. M reads *ingenia*. Vat. 1864 and B9 read *iudicia*. Leid. and Vat. 1863 read *iudicia vel ingenia*. Both words are certainly not wanted in the text and the most obvious explanation is that the archetype had *vel ingenia* in the margin. A

reading in XV, 52 is best explained in the same way. M reads: *haec in commune ceterum timore occulto ne L. Silanus*. The other MSS have essentially the same with the exception of Leidensis which has *nerone occiso* for *timore occulto*. This is no improvement of the text and can hardly be a simple mistaken reading. If the archetype had *nerone occiso* in the margin as a comment or even as correcting an omission after *ne*, it might have been taken by the scribe of Leidensis (or a predecessor) as a correction for *timore occulto*. One phrase in XIX, 20 has generally been accepted as a gloss incorporated in the text: *machinamenti genus ad expugnandos muros in modum turrium factum*. (A later hand in M marks this *vacat* and inserts brackets.) The phrase does not appear in Leidensis. The same cause may explain the following omissions in Leidensis: XV, 5, *petenda Armenia et*; XVI, 3, *promissi specus*; XV, 47, *non alias crebrior*. In XIV, 4, the MSS vary between two readings which presumably arose originally from different interpretations of the archetype: *gestamine sellae*, the reading of M, the Genoans, Vat. 1863, Vind.; *moesta misella*, the reading of Vat. 1864, B9, Kop., Y³. Leidensis has *moestam misellam* which is expunctuated and followed by *gestamine sellae*. There is at least the possibility that this correction was in the margin of the archetype, as were presumably the alternative readings which produce such differences as (XV, 36) *quae natura* (M), *ut solet in* (Leid.); (XIV, 20) *tenebras* (M), *noctem* (Leid.); (XIII, 55) *orabant* (M), *postulabant* (Leid.).

A not inconsiderable number of differences between M and Leid. appear to arise from a different division of words, indicating an archetype in which the word divisions were not clear. M, for instance, has correctly (XIX, 57) *ac tum forte Minturnis*. Leid. reads: *ac tum fortem in turmis*. That this is not a "correction" by the scribe of Leidensis is indicated by the fact that Vat. 1863, Vat. 1864, and B9 all read the same. Something of a similar sort happened in XIV, 21. M reads: *Graeci amictus*. Vat. 1863 and Vat. 1864 have *Graeciam iactus*, which makes no sense. B9 has *Greciam ictam* and Leid., *gratiam iactam*. The following variations seem to depend on word division. XII, 56: *undeviginti* (M); *inde viginti* (Leid.); XIII, 25: *via temptantem* (M), *vi attentantem* (Leid.); *aspici a marito* (M), *auspicia marito* (Leid.); XV, 31: *tumultuariam* (M), *tum multo variam*

THE PROBLEM OF CRATYLUS.

In his paper thus entitled in *A. J. P.*, LXXII (1951), pp. 225-53, Mr. G. S. Kirk has called attention to an apparent contrast in the presentation of the views of Cratylus by Plato, in the dialogue *Cratylus*, and by Aristotle in the *Metaphysics*.¹ In the dialogue, Cratylus appears as a defender of the thesis that names are not conventional, but have a natural rightness; his grounds for holding this remain obscure, and it is not represented as a deduction from more general philosophical principles. It is Socrates who introduces the name of Heraclitus, and professes to find evidence that the first inventors of language were convinced Heracliteans. Cratylus warmly approves of this suggestion, but has nothing whatever to say in defence of that system when Socrates, at 436 E ff., turns round and points out that there are many contrary instances. At the end, Cratylus apparently says that he has often reflected on the subject before, and remains convinced that the position of Heraclitus is the true one (εὖ μέντοι ἴσθι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅτι οὐδὲ νυνὶ ἀσκέπτως ἔχω, ἀλλὰ μοι σκοπούμενῳ καὶ πράγματα ἔχοντι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκείνως φαίνεται ἔχειν ὡς Ἡράκλειτος λέγει, 440 D-E). But Kirk holds that Cratylus is here "referring to the active consideration which he has been devoting to the problem during the dialogue itself."

On the other hand Aristotle, in well-known passages, (a) names Cratylus as the most extreme of "those who profess to be followers of Heraclitus," and says that he finally abandoned

¹ 987 a 32-b 5: ἐκ νέου τε γὰρ συνήθης γενόμενος [ὁ Πλάτων] πρῶτον Κρατύλῳ καὶ ταῖς Ἡρακλειτέοις δόξαις, ὡς ἀπάντων τῶν αἰσθητῶν αἰεὶ ῥέοντων καὶ ἐπιστήμης περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ οὐσης, ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ὕστερον οὕτως ὑπέλαβεν· Σωκράτους δὲ περὶ μὲν τὰ ἡθικὰ πραγματευομένου, περὶ δὲ τῆς ὅλης φύσεως οὐδέν, ἐν μέντοι τούτοις τὸ καθόλου ζητοῦντος καὶ περὶ ὁρισμῶν ἐπιστήσαντος πρῶτον τὴν διάνοιαν, ἐκείνον ἀποδεξάμενος διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπέλαβεν ὡς περὶ ἐτέρων τοῦτο γιγνόμενον καὶ οὐ τῶν αἰσθητῶν.

1010 a 7-15: ἔτι δὲ πᾶσαν ὁρῶντες ταύτην κινουμένην τὴν φύσιν, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ μεταβάλλοντος οὐδὲν ἀληθεύμενον· περὶ γε τὸ πάντη πάντως μεταβάλλον οὐκ ἐνδέχεσθαι ἀληθεύειν. ἐκ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς ὑπολήψεως ἐξηνθησεν ἡ ἀκροτάτη δόξα τῶν εἰρημένων, ἡ τῶν φασκόντων ἡρακλειτίζειν, καὶ οἶαν Κρατύλος εἶχεν, ὅς τὸ τελευταῖον οὐδὲν ᾤετο δεῖν λέγειν ἀλλὰ τὸν δάκτυλον ἐκίνει μόνον, καὶ Ἡρακλείτῳ ἐπετίμα εἰπόντι ὅτι δις τῷ αὐτῷ ποταμῷ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμβῆναι· αὐτὸς γὰρ ᾤετο οὐδ' ἅπαξ.

the use of words, and indicated his meaning by gestures; (b) nowhere mentions his championship of the view that language has a natural foundation, or explains how it could be reconciled with the ultra-Heraclitean abandonment of language; and (c) implies that the whole thesis *ὡς πάντων τῶν αἰσθητῶν αἰὲρ ρεόντων καὶ ἐπιστήμης περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ οὐσίας* was one which Plato took over from Cratylus.

Having examined various attempts by scholars to bring these two accounts of Cratylus into harmony, Kirk seems to lean towards the conclusion that Aristotle's version of the doctrine of Cratylus may simply be founded on his reading of the dialogue, and thus have no independent authority.

With many points made in Kirk's paper I agree, and I should follow him wholeheartedly in dating the *Cratylus* at the same period as the *Theaetetus*. I am not concerned here either with this question of chronology, or with the relation between Plato's views on language and the rest of his theory of knowledge. But I am convinced that the problem posed by Kirk is an unreal one, and that a different account of the personality and influence of Cratylus, and the source of Aristotle's information about him, must be given.

It is usual to suppose that Cratylus was senior to Plato, and that the main part of his career falls in the Vth century B. C., and Kirk has not questioned this assumption. I wish to maintain (i) that no such implication follows from Aristotle's statements, though these were misunderstood, in a way which I hope to explain, by later Greek writers; (ii) that Plato himself has made it sufficiently clear that Cratylus was still a young man in 399 B. C.; (iii) that the ancient biographies of Plato preserve a tradition, independent of the passage from Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, A, according to which Cratylus was of the same age as Plato, and may have influenced him after the death of Socrates; and (iv) that from the manner of Aristotle's reference to Cratylus we can infer that he speaks from personal recollection; but that the tenets of Cratylus may have become more extreme during the interval (of at least thirty years) since the time to which Plato's dialogue relates; and hence that Kirk's problem admits of a simple answer. To establish these points, beginning with the second:

That the scene depicted in the dialogue *Cratylus* is meant to

occur during the last year of Socrates' life can be inferred as follows. Socrates is advanced in years, whereas Cratylus and Hermogenes are mere youths (429 D, 440 D). Earlier on the same day Socrates has spent a long time with the enthusiast Euthyphro; he has come away in a state of inspiration, and his ears still resound with superhuman wisdom (396 D, 399 A and E, 407 D, 409 D); he proposes to use this gift today, and to lay it aside with due ceremony on the morrow, when the right person, be he a priest or a sophist, has been "discovered" (ἐξευρόντες ὅστις τὰ τοιαῦτα δεινὸς καθαίρειν, εἴτε τῶν ἱερέων τις εἴτε τῶν σοφιστῶν, 396 D-E). It is natural to suppose from all this that a dramatic connection is intended between the *Euthyphro*, *Theaetetus*, *Cratylus*, and *Sophist*. Now the first two of these dialogues are explicitly assigned by Plato to the time immediately previous to the trial of Socrates; and the *Sophist* is a dramatic continuation of the *Theaetetus*. For bringing the *Cratylus* into the series we have two grounds; first, the mention of Euthyphro, though it is true that the dialogue in which he appears hardly corresponds to the meeting referred to in the *Cratylus*; and secondly, the fact that the words cited above from 396 D-E plainly refer to a definition of the sophist given in the dialogue of that name, 230 A-E. If he is to be "discovered tomorrow," the conversation in the *Cratylus* occurs on the same day as that in the *Theaetetus*. From this it seems safe to infer that Cratylus was still a young man in his twenties in 399 B. C.; but some sceptical objections must first be met.

A. E. Taylor, for instance, professes to doubt whether the Euthyphro mentioned here is the same person as the theologian cross-examined by Socrates about the meaning of piety, and thinks that Socrates is depicted in the *Cratylus* as a man still in his forties. Now it is true that Euthyphro, in the little dialogue on piety, gives no amazing exhibition of wisdom. But Burnet shows convincingly that there is no such contrast between the two personalities as Taylor would have us suppose: "Moreover, we learn that our Euthyphro was an authority on Ouranos, Kronos and Zeus, and it is just in connection with their names that he is first mentioned in the *Cratylus*" (J. Burnet, edition of *Euthyphro*, p. 5). And the burden of proof surely rests upon any scholar who supposes that there were two men at Athens within a period of twenty years, both named Euthyphro

and both claiming the powers of a *mantis*. Taylor's strange assumption is in all probability due to his belief that a spirit of badinage, which would be hardly consonant with the mood of Socrates during the trial, prevails throughout the *Cratylus*. It may be added that the remark of Socrates at 429 D, "your argument, my friend, is too ingenious for a man at my time of life," is hardly in character for a Socrates still in his forties. Making abundant allowance for Socratic irony, can we believe in such a premature sclerosis of his argumentative powers? Further, Hermogenes was present both at the trial of Socrates (Xen., *Apol.*, 2) and at his death (*Phaedo*, 59 B), and in the period previous to the trial attempted to turn his mind to the composition of a defence (Xen., *Memor.*, IV, viii, 4, ἔφη γὰρ, ἤδη Μελέτων γεγραμμένον αὐτὸν τὴν γραφὴν, αὐτὸς ἀκούων αὐτοῦ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τῆς δίκης διαλεγόμενου λέγειν αὐτῷ ὡς χρὴ σκοπεῖν ὃ τι ἀπολογησεται). Xenophon's account of him suggests that he was a young man at the time of the trial, and this again is inconsistent with Taylor's proposed date.

Others may perhaps doubt whether Plato, in writing the *Cratylus*, was already able to give an explicit promise of a discussion in the *Sophist*, and whether the words quoted from *Crat.*, 396 D-E will really bear this interpretation. But the point is that the notion of the sophist's business conveyed in these two passages is unique—they can be paralleled only by one another. In attempting to define the sophist by logical division, the Stranger arrives at the surprising view that he is the person who reduces others to perplexity by his questions, and thus purges their minds of the conceit of knowledge which is the principal obstacle to true learning. The purgation which he performs is more essential and valuable than any other. But are those who exercise this craft really to be termed sophists? We must beware of ascribing to them too great an honour (*Soph.*, 230 B-231 A).

The last remark of course means that the Socratic dialectic, which is what has really been described, bears only a superficial resemblance to the arguments of the sophists usually so called. But this does not weaken the connection between the definition offered here and the words in *Crat.*, 396 E, ἐξευρόντες ὅστις τὰ τοιαῦτα δεινὸς καθάρειν, εἴτε τῶν ἱερῶν τις εἴτε τῶν σοφιστῶν. Socrates is not, indeed, purged of the *δοξοσοφία* which he inherited

from Euthyphro, and is not even a party to the conversation in the *Sophist*; to this extent the promise is not realized; on the other hand, a sophist is, in a different sense of the word, undeniably "found"; and this may be compared with other passages which are nominally spoken by the personages of the dialogue, but really addressed by Plato to his readers. Cf. for instance *Polit.*, 284 B, Πότερον οὖν, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ σοφιστῇ προσαναγκάσαμεν εἶναι τὸ μὴ ὄν, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τοῦτο διέφυγεν ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τὸ πλεόν αὐ καὶ ἔλαττον μετρητὰ προσαναγκαστέον γίνεσθαι μὴ πρὸς ἄλληλα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μετρίου γένεσιν; and *Theaet.*, 183 E-184 A, which gives both a promise of the *Sophist* and a backward glance at the *Parmenides*.

I turn next to Aristotle's evidence about Cratylus, beginning with *Metaphysics*, A, ch. 6, 987 a 32 ff. "In the first place, Plato was from youth familiar with Cratylus and with the Heraclitean theories that all sensible things are in continual flux and cannot be the objects of science; and so he continued afterwards to think."²

It may be asked why ancient writers such as Proclus, who themselves thought in Greek, understood this passage to mean that Cratylus was Plato's "first teacher in philosophy." The main reason is that there is a word in Aristotle's narrative which has led them astray. The word *συνήθης* is frequently used by Plato himself, meaning familiar with a person, a place, an opinion, etc. In later Greek, however, it was a recognized term for "a pupil," and in this sense was used not with the dative, but with the genitive case: thus Plutarch, *Adv. Col.*, XXXII, 9, describes Eudoxus and Aristotle as *συνήθεις Πλάτωνος*. There is

² The word *πρῶτον* has been understood by all modern and some ancient readers in a *temporal* sense. It is, however, followed in the Greek not by *ἔπειτα*, but the adversative clause *Σωκράτους δὲ περὶ μὲν τὰ ἡθικὰ πραγματευομένου, περὶ δὲ τῆς ὅλης φύσεως οὐδέν*; and this indicates that it is *logical* priority which Aristotle has in mind. He probably names Cratylus before Socrates because it was from him that Plato derived his view of the sensible world, together with the doubt whether it could be the object of science, whereas the concepts to which Socrates called attention could not be apprehended by the senses. In general, it is natural to represent the doubt about the stability of the sensible world as the *first* premiss of Plato's reasoning, without implying that he was clearly aware of it before the teaching of Socrates made its impact on his mind. (Mr. Kirk, by a slip, omits the *πρῶτον* in his translation on p. 243.)

no sign that, for Aristotle, it had already begun to have this sense, but when later Greek writers came to the passage in the *Metaphysics*, they would naturally take it in their own fashion. Thus we find Κρατύλος . . . οὐ καὶ Πλάτων ἡκροάσατο (Proclus, in *Cratylum*, Prooemium).

With this interpretation of the facts, the view that Cratylus was in any sense Plato's *teacher* disappears—for to say that A was from youth familiar with B of course implies nothing about the relative age of the two persons—but the general view of the origin of the theory of Ideas remains unaffected. It can still be said that the theory arose from the Heraclitean doctrine on the one hand, and Socrates' search for definitions on the other, the former being familiar to Plato "from youth." But it is important to realize that the story that Cratylus was Plato's teacher is founded entirely on a misreading of Aristotle's statement, and Plato might have been annoyed if he could have foreseen that this eccentric contemporary, of whom he had drawn a satirical sketch, would go down to history as his tutor.³ Further, we can now give the answer to a question asked by Kirk, namely why Cratylus, if Aristotle's account of him is correct, is not named by Plato in those contexts, especially *Theaet.*, 179 E ff., in which he is describing the follies of exaggerated belief in the perpetual flux. The elderly Theodorus, who is speaking at that point, could not include Cratylus among the Heracliteans whom he had known, if at the time of the dialogue the latter was still a young man in his twenties.

We have, then, *less* excuse than later Greek writers had for supposing Aristotle to mean that Plato received formal instruction in the Heraclitean philosophy from Cratylus. Nor is there any evidence that Cratylus subsequently became a teacher. What seems to be true is that he was, from early youth, a generally recognized spokesman of those Heraclitean views which Theodorus had met with at Ephesus and found to be on the increase

³ It is an advantage of my theory that Plato can now be finally acquitted of such a breach of taste. J. van Ijzeren ("De Cratylo Heracliteo et de Platonis Cratylo," *Mnemosyne*, N.S. XLIX [1921]), taking the bull by the horns, maintains that "priorem praeceptorem ludibrio haberi a Platone discipulo, quem deceperat spes nimis fortasse excelsa." German scholars, however, have felt bound to insist that Cratylus is treated "mit gewisser Rücksicht" (Wilamowitz, *Platon*, I, pp. 91, 287; C. Ritter, *Platon*, I, p. 476).

there (*Theaet.*, 179 E). I see no reason why we should expect Aristotle to comment on the fact that Plato was deeply impressed by views put forward by a young man of his own age. Presumably young men in the fifth century B. C. sometimes professed to have made up their minds on philosophical problems, as they still do today; they sometimes influenced one another, and a superficial mind might contribute towards the development of a profound genius. (It remains, however, a surprising fact that Aristotle takes no account of the influence of Parmenides upon Plato.)

I come now to the evidence of Diogenes Laertius, and other ancient biographers. The following texts must be compared, with a view to deciding whether there is or is not some trace of a report by some earlier and more reliable authority (e.g. Xenocrates or Hermodorus) stating that Plato was influenced by Cratylus during the years following the death of Socrates:—

(1) Diog. Laertius, III, § 6: τὸν τεύθεν δὴ γεγονώς, φασιν, ἔκοσιν ἔτη διήκουσε Σωκράτους· ἐκείνου δ' ἀπελθόντος προσείχε Κρατύλῳ τε τῷ Ἡρακλείτῳ καὶ Ἑρμογένει τῷ τὰ Παρμενίδου φιλοσοφοῦντι. εἴτα γεγόμενος ὀκτώ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη, καθά φησιν Ἑρμόδωρος, εἰς Μέγαρα πρὸς Εὐκλείδην σὺν καὶ ἄλλοις τισι Σωκρατικοῖς ὑπεχώρησεν.

(2) *Prolegomena in Platonis phil.* (ed. Hermann, VI, p. 199): Μετὰ οὖν τὴν πρὸς Σωκράτη φοίτησιν ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς τοὺς Πυθαγορείους . . . ἐφοίτησεν δὲ καὶ Κρατύλῳ τῷ Ἡρακλείτῳ καὶ Ἑρμίπῳ τῷ Παρμενίδει, τὰ Ἡρακλείτου καὶ Παρμενίδου δόγματα μαθεῖν βουλόμενος, ὅθεν καὶ δύο διάλογοι γεγραμμένοι εἰσὶν αὐτῷ, ὃ τε Κρατύλος καὶ ὁ Παρμενίδης, ἐν οἷς τῶν δογμάτων τῶν προειρημένων ἀνδρῶν μέμνηται.

(3) Olympiodorus, *Vita Platonis* (ed. Hermann, VI, p. 192): Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευταίαν Σωκράτους διδασκάλῳ πάλιν ἐχρήσατο Κρατύλῳ τῷ Ἡρακλείτῳ, εἰς ὃν καὶ διάλογον ὁμώνυμον ἐποίησεν, . . . μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ πάλιν στέλλεται εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ διδασκαλεῖον εὐρὺν ἐκὰς τῶν Πυθαγορείων συνιστάμενον Ἀρχύταν πάλιν ἔσχε διδάσκαλον τὸν Πυθαγόρειον

OBSERVATIONS. (a) Modern scholars have usually pronounced that these reports, in so far as they all declare that Cratylus taught Plato after the death of Socrates, are incompatible with the evidence of Aristotle and must be rejected. I have now shown that there is no such conflict, and that, since Plato himself has plainly indicated that Cratylus was a young man in 399 B. C., there is some presumption that the reports, garbled as they are, may preserve the truth. (When I say this, however, I do not mean that it is in fact true that Plato learnt from Cratylus

after the death of Socrates—see below—but only that Aristotle's statement, being analytical and not chronological, does not conflict with the other reports.)

(b) The words of Olympiodorus need not be understood to mean that Plato went to Cratylus *again* after the death of Socrates (and so had been to him before); for Olympiodorus uses *πάλιν* in the sense of "next . . ." Cf. *πάλιν στέλλεται εἰς Ἰταλίαν*.

(c) The chronology of the passage from Diogenes Laertius is confused. The writer seems to assume that there was some interval between the death of Socrates (if that is when he means by *ἐκείνου δ' ἀπελθόντος*) and the retirement to Megara at the age of twenty-eight. But there can have been no such interval, since Plato had already reached that age at the time of Socrates' death. What the writer has done is to combine a reliable report about the retirement to Megara with another account (he is unable to name its source) which professed to deal with Plato's philosophical studies. He, or some intermediary, has changed the name Hermippus to Hermogenes, as the passage from the *Prolegomena* shows.

(d) So far as Cratylus is concerned, there is much to be said for the view that these passages are independent of Aristotle and do not rest on conjectural expansion of his evidence. Anyone who had read the *Metaphysics* could hardly have made the mistake of supposing the instruction of Cratylus to follow, in mechanical fashion, upon the lectures of Socrates. All three writers are copying from some common source, in which they found that Plato, at the age of twenty, was moved by Socrates to commit his poems to the flames, that he listened to the discourses of Socrates, then "attended" to Heraclitean and Eleatic teachers, and finally set out for Italy in pursuit of Pythagorean learning. This, apart from other objections, cannot, as it stands, be reconciled with the fact attested by Hermodorus that Plato and other disciples of Socrates retired to Megara after his death, unless this visit was of short duration. It would indeed be imprudent to argue, on the basis of these reports, that it was only in the years following 399 that Plato began to associate with Cratylus; and moreover we should then come into conflict with Aristotle's *ἐκ νέου συνήθης γινόμενος*. Nevertheless, I would suggest that the reports do preserve the echo of a well-founded belief that Cratylus was a figure who lived on into the fourth century.

What effect would this revision of the chronology have upon the principal problem raised by Kirk—namely, that whereas the Cratylus of Plato's dialogue is a believer in the natural rightness of names, who does not appear to be a Heraclitean, the Cratylus to whom Aristotle refers in *Metaph.*, Γ, 1010 a 7 ff. is an ultra-Heraclitean who has abandoned words, because he can find no status for them in the nature of things? My answer is that we now have a long span of life for Cratylus within the fourth century, and can allow him to develop between the time represented in the dialogue and the time of which Aristotle spoke. To the five types of theory which Kirk has examined and found unsatisfactory, a sixth must be added.

I shall argue, therefore, that this sixth theory opens up a clear road ahead; that we can trace the curve which leads from the position maintained by Cratylus in Plato's dialogue to that which Aristotle in *Metaph.* Γ says that he reached "in the end"; and that the wording of the latter passage reveals that Aristotle is speaking of Cratylus from his own experience, not making, as Kirk fears, a bold inference from his reading of the *Cratylus* and *Theaetetus*.

I must begin, however, by denying that premiss that Cratylus is not depicted in the Platonic dialogue as a convinced Heraclitean. Referring to the sentence at 440 D-E, quoted above, p. 271, Kirk says (p. 236), "If Cratylus meant that he had in the past, i. e. before the time of the dialogue, devoted and was continuing to devote, careful attention to the Heraclitean view, we should have not present but perfect participles. The phrase ἀσκέπτως ἔχω is neutral and can either mean σκοποῦμαι or ἔσκερμαι, but the former must be the case in view of the present forms which follow. Cratylus is therefore referring to the active consideration which he had been devoting to the problem during the dialogue itself, and especially during the formulation by Socrates of the alternatives."

But the words οὐδὲ νυνὶ ἀσκέπτως ἔγω denote a *state*, already of some duration, and are too ponderous to describe the consequence of two or three minutes' reflection. So is the phrase πράγματα ἔχοντι. Also it is not, in general, true that if the reference were to *past* reflection, perfect participles would be required. Surely σκοποῦμένην and πράγματα ἔχοντι are here equal to a clause containing an *imperfect* indicative, which would imply protracted

or frequent enquiry. The thought is, "I will persevere, as you recommend, but even now I am not unprepared, and after much reflection and trouble I agree with Heraclitus."

Plato then depicts Cratylus as an upholder of the natural rightness of language and also as a believer in the perpetual flux. How he really defended the former belief we cannot infer from the dialogue itself. The positive argument in its defence comes from Socrates, and this means that it conveys what was prominent in Plato's mind at the time of writing. (It is, as might be shown if space permitted, intimately related to the logical enquiry in the *Theaetetus* and *Sophist*.) But at least the *position* ascribed to Cratylus in the last phase of the dialogue is clear, and it is possible to indicate the course of his decline into silence and scepticism.

According to the second Aristotelian passage, it was only *at the end* (τὸ τελευταῖον) that Cratylus abandoned the use of words and resorted to gestures. This must, in my opinion, refer not to the culmination of the Heraclitean theories in the thesis of Cratylus, an idea which has already been sufficiently conveyed by ἐξήγησεν, but to the ultimate phase in the development of the thought of Cratylus. (Kirk probably understands the words in the former sense; he gives the translation "finally." It seems to me that if these words merely take up again an idea already expressed, the sentence has a redundancy of style which is not characteristic of the writer.) Aristotle makes two definite statements of fact: Cratylus criticized Heraclitus for saying that one cannot step *twice* into the same river, because one cannot step *once*; and he finally resolved to abandon language in favour of gestures. By no process can we tone this down into a statement of what Cratylus, as depicted by Plato in his dialogue, *might* have done, or *should* have done if he had been logical. Further, the imperfect tense is used here four times (εἶχεν—ᾤετο—ἐπετίμα—ᾤετο), a fairly safe sign that Aristotle is drawing upon his own recollection. In recording the published views of other thinkers, including Plato, he normally uses the *present*; the *imperfect* is used (a) in order to indicate repeated action or repeated maintenance of a thesis, as for example in speaking of the historical Socrates; and (b) in reference to the unpublished doctrine of Plato or other Academic thinkers. Thus in *E.N.*, I, 1095 a 32, εὖ γὰρ ὁ Πλάτων ἠπύρει τοῦτο καὶ ἐξήτει, πότερον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχάς ἐστιν ἡ ὁδός, there is a reference to

the oral doctrine, probably to the lecture *On the Good*. No such problem is ever raised in Plato's dialogues. Elsewhere in the *Ethics* the imperfect is used in describing the controversy about pleasure between Eudoxus and Speusippus.

The question at issue now is whether the imperfect, when applied to Cratylus, merely denotes repeated action, as when used with reference to Socrates; or whether it is of the same nature as the imperfect used in speaking of Plato and Speusippus.

Even if it is used in the former way, there remains a statement which is certainly not an inference from Plato's writings; and I think that Aristotle gives a clear account of the rise of neo-Heracliteanism, which he had witnessed in its final phase. (His *ἐξήγησεν* may be an intentional echo of the words ascribed to Theodorus at *Theaet.*, 179 E, *περὶ μὲν τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐπιδίδωσι καὶ παμπολύ.*) This account we are not in a position to contradict. It is one thing to be critical of Aristotle's accounts of rival systems of philosophy, and quite another to dispute his record of events in his own lifetime, when this is confirmed by the evidence of Plato, and they are the only available authorities.

In the *Cratylus*, at 428 C, Cratylus expresses approval of the entire thesis developed by Socrates, and therefore of the view that the primary components of both nouns and verbs are vocal gestures imitative of the essence of things. As the discussion proceeds, however, it becomes clear that Cratylus and Socrates are thinking on very different lines. Two questions have been shelved during the preceding discussion between Socrates and Hermogenes. First: what are the things (*πράγματα*) upon which names are imposed—are they sensibles, or classes of sensibles, or Platonic Ideas? The doctrine of Ideas played a part in the first phase of the discussion (Plato's terminology in *Crat.*, 386 E-388 E closely resembles that in *Rep.*, X, 596 A ff.), but has subsequently been left out of account. The vague word *πράγματα* has been deliberately used instead. Plato wishes to describe what he supposes to be the foundation of *actual* language, and he cannot impute to primitive legislators a belief in his own philosophical doctrine. (Cf. 425 A.) Secondly, though language may originally have been founded upon gestures, there is nevertheless a large element of convention in the symbols of which actual languages are composed; and the question arises whether this is a hindrance to the precision of our thought.

The purpose of the discussion between Cratylus and Socrates is to work out these problems.

Socrates holds that there are degrees of correctness in names. There are degrees of excellence in all the other arts, so why not in that of the legislator, by whom a vocabulary is imposed? Cratylus, on the other hand, maintains that there are no faulty names, but only correct names, and meaningless sounds which are not names at all. Now Cratylus has assented to the view that it is the function of a name to imitate the essence of a thing. Thus he is now implying that an imitation ought to be in all respects equal to its original, but on this thesis the very notion of imitation will disappear.

(Already it is clear that Cratylus is tending towards scepticism. His ideal is impossibly high, whereas Socrates can allow that the existing language, including as it does a large admixture of merely conventional "names," may nevertheless be an effective instrument of thought. This, as appears later, is because he considers words to be instruments, and does not view them as the very objects to which thought and knowledge relate. Cratylus, on the other hand, is trying to exact from words a double duty—he wishes to make them at once the objects and the instruments of thinking. He believes, as a Heraclitean, that the "names" which express the flux are the true ones and have come to us from divine wisdom, and that learning the truth consists in finding out those names. He has not yet come to realize, like the people mentioned at *Theaet.*, 180 A and 183 AB, that if the perpetual flux is universal, names cannot be allowed to be an exception to it. When he does so, he will have no use for language, and no barrier against scepticism.)

Names are, according to Cratylus, not only the means of teaching, but the objects of research and discovery (436 A). But, it is objected, we are often deceived when in research we allow ourselves to be guided by names. At best the names can only represent an opinion held by the name-giver. Perhaps, says Cratylus, he *knew*, being either a divine being or divinely inspired. (Cf. 438 C.) Socrates has himself already suggested (at 401 C-402 B) that many of them testify to a belief in the flux. But Socrates now objects, first, that consistency is no proof of truth, and secondly that there are many names which express a preference for stability, and that we can hardly hope to settle this conflict of names by counting. As for the suggestion that

the author of names was a divine being, a god would have taken care to preserve consistency. *Cratylus*: But if the names which express permanence and rest are not names at all, there is no inconsistency between *names*. *Socrates*: On this view, we can never hope to decide in practice which names are true. If we suppose that there are *objects* of learning, and that they are exempt from the flux, then we can afford to overlook the imperfections of language. Otherwise we shall ourselves be part of the flux, and there will be no such thing as learning and knowledge, and no room for the true names in which Cratylus believes.

Here Cratylus is again clinging perilously to an ideal of language. His position is illogical, while that of Socrates is plainly incomplete. The effect of the discussion with Hermogenes was to set a high value upon words; now they have been depreciated again, and have become symbols or instruments. Surveying the whole dialogue, we find that the view that language and vocabulary are natural has issued in two somewhat different assertions, neither of which has been withdrawn. First, the name is an *instrument*, fabricated by the dialectician, with reference to the nature of things, for the purpose of teaching. The process of naming, like other activities natural to man, admits of varieties which are themselves natural; the diversity of human languages does not show that language is conventional, any more than the existence of varieties of the genus *knife* shows that there is no natural way of cutting (389 B-C). Secondly, names are designed to depict the *οὐσία* (here used in the sense of "essence," and opposed to shape and colour) of things and processes (423 E ff.). On the ground of this second assertion, Socrates adheres to the view that names must show some resemblance to the "essence" which they represent. He does not seem to reflect that if they enable us to comprehend this "essence" with our minds, they have done their work, no matter whether they resemble it or not. The belief in Ideas could accommodate itself equally well to the doctrine of the VIIth Letter and the *De Interpretatione*, that language is conventional. To this point Plato has brought the enquiry in the *Cratylus*, and his doctrine may have developed afterwards.

The conclusion is now clear. At the time when Plato himself was engaged on the train of thought which would lead to the doctrine of Ideas, and to the distinction between *νοητά* and *αἰσθητά*, his companion Cratylus had embraced the fantastic

theory that language comprises a few "true names" which are a divine creation, and that the aim of human wisdom must be to learn these names. Whether this was an original view, or was borrowed from those earlier Heracliteans whom Theodorus had met in Ionia, one cannot say; but it seems to have been the mission of Cratylus to transplant this style of thought to Athenian ground. The persons of whom Theodorus says (179 E), αὐτοῖς μὲν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑφεσον, ὅσοι προσποιούνται ἔμπειροι, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἶόν τε διαλεχθῆναι ἢ τοῖς οἰστρώσιν· ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ κατὰ τὰ συγγράμματα φέρονται, resemble Cratylus as described by Aristotle.

Plato shows us Cratylus before he has begun to reflect that the "true names" must fluctuate together with the flux which they truly depict. Aristotle knew, or knew of, him at a more advanced stage, as the words τὸ τελευταῖον indicate, when the precarious barrier constituted by the supposed true names had fallen down. The passage from *Metaphysics*, A refers to Plato's youthful companion, that from Book Γ refers to the older man.

And, for all we know to the contrary, Cratylus, if his principles did not debar him from reading as well as from speech, may have been alive to read the Platonic dialogue, supposing it to be written at about the same time as the *Theaetetus*. I have not heard of any recent discussion of the view maintained in 1913 by L. Parmentier, that Plato, in accordance with a convention of the age, did not introduce persons still living as characters in the dialogues.

The purpose of this paper is to dispel misunderstandings about the life of Plato, but I wish to consider briefly the part which the theory of language plays in the analysis of false propositions which Plato offers in the *Sophist*. The question which I have in mind is whether he there assumes the "resemblance" theory of language stated, and never withdrawn, in the *Cratylus*, or rather the theory, which we find in the VIIIth *Letter* and in Aristotle, that vocabulary is conventional. Should it appear that the view of language in the *Cratylus* is not merely consistent with, but complementary to, the analysis in the *Sophist*, this would have an important bearing on the date of the former dialogue.

It is necessary to realize (a) that the purpose of the *Cratylus* and the *Sophist* is distinct, even where similar questions are broached, (b) that in the *Sophist* Plato's main undertaking is to show that both δόξα and λόγος can blend with not-being, in the

sense which he has found for that term (260 D, E); and that when this has been shown, he is not committed to the exposition of a satisfactory view of both true and false judgment. (He does not, for example, find the answer to those psychological problems about error which were stated in the *Theaetetus*.)

(a) The *Cratylus* hardly alludes to the composition of "names" into propositions; where this is mentioned, the implication is that this is a fresh stage in the same process of aggregation by which sounds are formed into syllables (424 E 6 ff.: *καὶ συλλαβὰς αὖ συντίθεντες, ἐξ ὧν τὰ τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ ῥήματα συντίθενται· καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων μέγα ἤδη τι καὶ καλὸν καὶ ὄλον συστήσομεν, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ τὸ ζῷον τῇ γραφικῇ, ἐνταῦθα τὸν λόγον τῇ ὀνομαστικῇ ἢ ῥητορικῇ, ἢ ἥ τις ἐστὶν ἡ τέχνη*). The distinction between the *ὄνομα* and the *ῥήμα* is made here, but is not explained. Conversely, the *Sophist* entirely leaves aside the question how "names" are imposed, and elaborates the distinction between the *ὄνομα* and the *ῥήμα*, because this is necessary to the explanation of false judgment. It now appears also that the relation between these parts of speech is an organic one, not a mere collocation of atoms. A person uttering a proposition *οὐκ ὀνομάζει μόνον ἀλλὰ τι περαίνει, συμπλέκων τὰ ῥήματα τοῖς ὀνόμασιν* (262 D).

(b) In the *Sophist* Plato has not promised to say *what it is* that makes some statements true and others false; whether e. g. it is some correspondence between the parts of the statement and the substances and processes of the real world. It is one thing to show that there can be true and false statement, another to define truth or provide some kind of criterion by which it can be tested. Plato's main purpose is, of course, to dispose of the paradox that a false statement relates to a non-existent subject, and also to show that there can be true statements other than assertions of identity, since this also had been denied. On any interpretation, his analysis amounts to this: a statement is true when it describes *things which are as they are*; i. e. its components must (a) stand for real entities and (b) in their relation to one another, depict the relation between those entities. (As has been said, the way in which words become affixed to things and processes is not discussed in the *Sophist*.) In the false statement, on the other hand, the terms will likewise stand for entities—that is why it is significant—but they will represent them as related in a way which does not correspond to the facts.

Whether Plato has said here that every significant sentence

must comprise at least one universal (i. e. as he would phrase it, a word which denotes a form), may perhaps be doubted. Cornford's exposition assumes that this is so. This makes no difference to the point we are now considering, *viz.* what view of language (if any) is here assumed.

Now Plato makes two statements which, on close inspection, are seen to be rather mysterious. (1) Having shown that a proposition cannot be formed from two nouns, but only by the union of a noun and a verb, he says "We have recently seen that some objects fit together and others do not. So also among the vocal symbols there are some which do not fit into one another; but those which do so form a proposition" (οὕτω δὲ καθάπερ τὰ πράγματα τὰ μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἥρμωσεν, τὰ δ' οὐ, καὶ περὶ τὰ φωνῆς αἱ σημεῖα τὰ μὲν οὐχ ἁρμόττει, τὰ δὲ ἁρμόττοντα αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπηργάσατο, 262 D). Just as there are forms which blend with one another and forms which are mutually exclusive, so there are some words which can unite to form a significant proposition, and others which cannot. But the word *καθάπερ* is slightly misleading, and at first seems to promise more than is given. Plato is not now explaining what it is that makes one statement true and another false, though he must to some extent touch upon that question in order to establish the fact that both true and false propositions are possible. He has certainly said here that the total fact expressed in a true proposition is one which is really found in the world. But for this purpose it is not essential that the *internal constitution* of propositions should represent that of things, in such a way that noun and verb severally answer to real entities or processes. Thus we must not seek to expand Plato's account by supposing a system of nouns and verbs, and of relations between them, which precisely mirrors the pattern of the world of Ideas. In any case, judgments about persons and things are more frequent in ordinary life than judgments about the permanent relationships between the Ideas; any general account of truth and falsehood in speech and thinking must be wide enough to include these; and, as if to emphasize this fact, Plato here chooses for examination two judgments which have for their subject the individual Theaetetus.

However, in comparing the union of the noun and verb to the connections which have been proved to exist among the Ideas, Plato is not simply giving an otiose illustration; for the demon-

stration of those connections, by bringing to light the legitimate sense of not-being, has also given the *reason* why false propositions are possible.

(2) Further, every true proposition must be about someone or something (*Soph.*, 263 A-C). The false proposition is distinguished from the true not, as the sophists might pretend, by its relation to a non-existent subject, but by its describing the state or actions of a real subject in a way which does not correspond to the facts. It asserts what *is not* in the legitimate sense of those words.

Only the one example of a true and a false proposition with Theaetetus as the subject is given; it is not made clear how far this is to be generalized, how those propositions which have no apparent subject are to be treated, etc.; and it is because the doctrine is not made explicit that it is hard to say whether any view about the relation between words and facts, or the validity of linguistic distinctions as a guide to the structure of the world, is implied. Plato in the *Cratylus* was concerned with vocabulary, and hardly at all with syntactical structure. He has developed the view that names give a phonetic imitation of objects, but has also, in the discussion between Socrates and Cratylus, indicated that an exact correspondence between "names" and things is not necessary for precision of thought. The analysis of false judgment in the *Sophist* could be accommodated *either* to the view that all language is conventional *or* to the view that it is natural, in the sense defended in the *Cratylus*. But one may say that *if* Plato, in continuation of his analysis in the *Sophist*, had proceeded to consider whether language, in its traditional form, reveals the structure of things; and *if*, at the same time, he had followed up the suggestion made in *Crat.*, 423-4 that rightly imposed names (in the broader sense, which includes names of both subjects and processes) reveal the essence of the objects named, the two lines of enquiry would have met, and he would have been obliged to make clear whether or not he still required the doctrine of the *Cratylus*.

D. J. ALLAN.

ON *AENEID*, III, 270-280.

iam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos	270
Dulichiumque Sameque et Neritos ardua saxis.	
effugimus scopulos Ithacae, Laertia regna,	
et terram altricem saevi exsecramur Ulixi.	
mox et Leucatae nimbosa cacumina montis	
et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.	275
hunc petimus fessi et parvae succedimus urbi;	
ancora de prora iacitur, stant litore puppes.	
ergo insperata tandem tellure potiti	
lustramurque Iovi votisque incendimus aras,	
Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis.	280

This passage, tracing the route of the *Aeneadae* from shortly after their departure from the Strophades to the landing and the celebration of games on the Actian shore, is a troublesome one and one which has offered many difficulties to commentators on Vergil. These difficulties have been variously dealt with and avoided, and solutions which have been suggested are only partially satisfactory. It is the hope of the present study, by a systematic investigation of these problems, to throw some light on the passage. The difficulties center around three points in the narrative:

I. In the list of regions passed (270-3), Zacynthos, Dulichium, Samê and Ithaca are the familiar Homeric islands, but what is Neritos?

II. Where exactly do the Trojans land (275-6): at Leucate (274), at Actium (280)? To what small town does Vergil refer (276)?

III. Is a lustration to Jove (279) in order, considering that the *Aeneadae* have landed at a shrine of Apollo and are about to celebrate games which anticipate the Augustan *Actia* in honor of the Actian Apollo?

I

Lines 270-1 are clearly adapted from *Od.*, IX, 21 ff. Odysseus, in beginning his narration to the Phaeacians, states that he is from Ithaca on which is the mountain *Neriton* which he characterizes as *εινοσίφυλλον* and *ἀριππεές*. Around Ithaca are many

islands: Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε καὶ ἰλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος, which line Vergil simply translates: *nemorosa Zacynthos/Dulichiumque Sameque*. The difficulty lies in what follows: *et Neritos ardua saxis*. Vergil seems to be adding *Neritos* (note feminine gender) here as another of the islands in the vicinity of Ithaca.¹ Is this a misadaptation of the Homeric *Neriton*? It has been argued² that Vergil, faithful to Homer, is indicating Ithaca's mountain here, being the first view of the island for the approaching Trojans who flee therefrom and curse the land of Ulysses. This interpretation, however, fails to come to grips with two obvious obstacles: 1) the gender of *Neritos*³ and 2) the characterization, *ardua saxis* which is hardly in keeping with Homer's εἰνοσίφυλλον and καταειμένον ὕλη.⁴ If we assume, with Servius Danielis and most modern commentators, that Vergil was indicating an island here, where did he get this notion and the epithet *ardua saxis*?

Any references which can be construed to indicate *Neritos* as an island are post Vergilian and in essence borrowed from him. Ovid uses the adjective *Neritius* as a literary convention meaning little more than *Ithacan*: of Ulysses himself,⁵ of his companion Macareus,⁶ of his ships.⁷ A single passage which could perhaps be taken as indicating a place other than Ithaca is in direct imitation of the Vergil passage at hand:⁸

et iam Dulichios portus Ithacaeque Samonque
Neritiasque domus, regnum fallacis Ulixis.

¹ Cf. Servius Danielis on line 270: "Hae omnes insulae Graeciae sunt, quas Homerum secutus mutatis tantum coniunctionibus de Graeco in Latinum transtulit." On line 271, however, he notes: *NERITOS: mons Ithacae*.

² See Wagner's Heyne (Leipzig, 1830-41), on lines 270-3; cf. Conington, eds. rev. by H. Nettleship and F. Haverfield (London, 1883-98), on line 271.

³ The shift from *Neriton* to *Neritos* is easy (the mountain, in fact, appears as *Neritus* in Pliny, *N. H.*, IV, 12, 55); but why is it feminine here? Cf. Mackail's edition (Oxford, 1930), on 268-76.

⁴ *Od.*, XIII, 351.

⁵ *Trist.*, I, 5, 57-58; *Fast.*, IV, 69.

⁶ *Meta.*, XIV, 159.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 563; *Rem. Am.*, 264.

⁸ *Meta.*, XIII, 711-12.

Seneca in the *Troades*, 856, following Vergil, certainly indicates an island by the comparison with *Zacynthos*: *Neritos parva brevior Zacyntho*. In Pomponius Mela,⁹ however, we do have *Neritos* specifically listed among the islands of the Ionian sea along with *Same*, *Zacynthos*, and *Dulichium*. We might ask if the influence of Vergil is not felt here as well.

Connington suggests that "Vergil was thinking of *Il.* II, 633 where *Neritos* is mentioned separately from *Ithaca*."¹⁰ But the *καὶ* here is intensifying and, as Strabo in commenting on the passage points out,¹¹ it is the mountain on the island of *Ithaca* here indicated. The epithet *εἰνοσίφυλλον* makes this a certainty.¹²

The Strabo passage just cited is an extremely interesting one. The author is discussing various geographical ambiguities in Homer, for example when a region and a city have identical names, as *Samos* (i. e. *Samê*), the city and the island. Often the place indicated, region or city, can be distinguished by the epithet, and he quotes as example the line of Homer (*Il.*, II, 632):

οἳ ῥ' Ἰθάκην εἶχον καὶ Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον,

adding that *Ithaca* (island or city) is indistinguishable, but *Neriton*, the mountain, is clearly revealed by the epithet. It is safe to conjecture from this that some place named *Neriton* (other than the mountain) existed, but there is no reason to suppose that it was anything but a city on the slopes of the mountain, or the region of *Ithaca* in which the mountain was situated. The latter seems to be the case from what follows. He quotes another line from Homer (*Od.*, III, 81):

ἡμεῖς ἐξ Ἰθάκης ὑπὸ Νηλεῖου εἰλήλουθμεν,

commenting that it is unclear whether the poet means by *Neiūm* the same thing as *Neriton* or something different;¹³ whether it

⁹ *De Chor.*, II, 7, 110.

¹⁰ Actually 631-2:

Αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦγε Κεφαλλήνας μεγαθύμους,
οἳ ῥ' Ἰθάκην εἶχον καὶ Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον.

¹¹ *X*, 2, 10 (452-3).

¹² As Strabo notes, *X*, 2, 11 (454).

¹³ One other reference to *Neiūm* in Homer (*Od.*, I, 186) characterizes it as ἄλῃν (= εἰνοσίφυλλον; καταειμένον ὕλη?). Whether *Neiūm* is or is not the equivalent of *Neriton*, however, need not concern us here.

is a mountain or a region (ἡ ὄρος ἡ χωρίον). In any event there is no basis in Homer (or in Strabo's commentary thereupon), except by misunderstanding, for a *Neriton* (mountain, region, or city) elsewhere than on Ithaca. If Vergil made his mistake in misconstruing *Il.*, II, 632, it is strange too that in the face of εἰσοσίφυλλον he should characterize the place as *ardua saxis*.

Strabo goes on to mention a common misconception:¹⁴ the confusion of *Nerikos* with *Neriton*.¹⁵ He adds that the poet clearly distinguishes, characterizing *Neriton* as εἰσοσίφυλλον and ἐν Ἰθάκῃ whereas *Nerikos* is ἐκκείμενον πολίεθρον and ἀκτὴν ἡπείρου. Now the town *Nerikos* is mentioned by Laertes (*Od.*, XXIV, 377) as one of the territories which he had captured in his youth. Its precise location was of great significance in the Leucas-Ithaca controversy (may it rest in peace!) which need not concern us here,¹⁶ for all were agreed that *Nerikos*, wherever it was, was *not* on Homeric Ithaca . . . which is to the point here. A confusion of *Neritos* and *Nerikos* would necessarily place *Neritos* outside Ithaca. That *Nerikos* was a town associated with Leucas is clear, not only from Strabo,¹⁷ but from Thucydides¹⁸ who reports the sailing of the Athenian commander Asopius, son of Phormio, to Leucas and his landing at *Nerikos*. But more important to the matter at hand is the information from Strabo concerning the moving of Homeric *Nerikos* in historical times. He says that under Cypselus Corinthian colonists took possession of the shore as far north as the Ambracian gulf; that they dug a canal through the isthmus of the peninsula (τῆς χερρονήσου =

¹⁴ There is no reason to bracket these lines. Although they read like a gloss, they are perfectly consonant with the whole passage which cautions against ambiguities and confusions.

¹⁵ Lupercus, *apud* Steph. Byz., s. v. Νήρικος, in fact equates the two. See also note 19 below.

¹⁶ Dörpfeld's theory that Leucas is actually the Homeric Ithaca is on the whole incredible. For the extensive bibliography on this subject see his *Alt Ithaka* (München, 1927), pp. 405-15; Frank Brewster, "Ithaka, Dulichium, Same and Wooded Zacynthus," *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, XXVI (1925), pp. 43-90; Büchner, *R.-B.*, XII, s. v. "Leukas." On the location of *Nerikos* see especially A. Shewan, "Nerikos," *C. Q.*, XXIV (1930), pp. 136-45.

¹⁷ X, 2, 8 (451-2). That Νήρικον and not Νήριτον is to be read here is clear not only from the MSS but from Strabo himself, X, 2, 11 (454), mentioned above, where he cautions against confusing the two.

¹⁸ III, 7, 5.

ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο?) and made an island of Leucas; that they moved *Nerikos* to the place which was formerly the isthmus but now a strait, joined by a bridge. (He adds that the name was changed at this time to Leucas, i. e. the city.)¹⁹

Significant here is that the town *Nerikos*, formerly on a peninsula (as indeed it is described by Homer: ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο), in later time was on an island. Whether the making of an island of the Homeric *Nerikos* (= by common misconception *Neriton* = *Neritos*) is original with Vergil or is derived from the oversimplification of geographical handbooks (reflected in Mela?) is a matter of pure conjecture, though the latter seems more likely. Once an island is understood, the epithet *ardua saxis*, befitting any of those in this region, is reasonable. As Telemachus points out in describing to Menelaus the islands of the realm of Ithaca (*Od.*, IV, 607-8):

οὐ γάρ τις νήσων ἱππήλατος οὐδ' εὐλείμων,
αἶθ' ὅ' ἀλί κεκλίεται· Ἰθάκη δέ τε καὶ περὶ πασέων.

II

There is a real difficulty in the interpretation of lines 274-6. Unless we assume an elliptical break between lines 274 and 275,²⁰ which seems to beg the issue, the geography of the passage is confused. The Trojans spot mount Leucate and the temple of Apollo, wearily seek the latter and pull up at an unidentified small town. With no apparent continuation of their journey they celebrate (280) Trojan games on the Actian shore, the obvious predecessor of the games reinstituted by Augustus.²¹ Conington suggests that the temples of Apollo at Leucate and

¹⁹ Pliny in stating the same fact (*N. H.*, IV, 1, 5) makes precisely the error against which Strabo warns: *oppidum in ea Leucas, quondam Neritum* (sc. *Nericum*) *dictum*.

²⁰ So Heyne who interprets: *et* (sc. *ulterius progressis*) *aperitur Apollo*. Cf. Conington on 275 and Mackail on 268-76.

²¹ So Servius (on 274) and most modern commentaries interpret. Mackail (on 279), however, basing the assumption on the curious sacrifice to Jove, believes that the passage was written before the games were reinstituted by Augustus. It seems indeed strange, however, that Vergil should mention anything so obscure as these games prior to their Augustan rejuvenation, let alone that he should stretch the geography of the passage to do so.

at Actium have simply been confused here,²² and, following Heyne, that the *parvae urbi* is thus Actium. This interpretation has been adopted by most subsequent editors, but there are several difficulties unanswered: Why does Vergil mention Leucate at all, here accurately described as visible at a distance to the Trojans approaching from the south and appropriately characterized as *formidatus nautis*? What led Vergil to the confusion of these two sites? (The answer to which, in view of certain accuracies of description, must be something more than his general foggy conception of the geography of this region.) Can we state with certainty that the *parvae urbi* refers to Actium?

Even in the absence of specific information we might guess that Vergil was here drawing together and reconciling certain elements of the legend of Aeneas' wanderings, and that out of deference to some of the traditional accounts he has worked into his narrative at this point certain place names of which he has none too clear an impression. Fortunately Dionysius of Halicarnassus in prose form, and thus less confined by artistic considerations, gives an account of Aeneas' wanderings roughly paralleling that of Vergil, but much fuller at this particular point, so that we can see some of the materials with which Vergil was working. He tells us²³ that after leaving Zacynthos the Trojans landed at Leucas where a temple of Aphrodite Aeneias was built; from there they proceeded to Actium where a temple was built not only to Aphrodite, but to the θεῶν Μεγάλαι; then, to Ambracia where another temple to Aphrodite was erected along with a heroön to Aeneas. Perret has shown beyond reasonable doubt that this material was derived from Varro,²⁴ who seems to have based his information as to Aeneas' wanderings upon the existence of shrines to Aphrodite Aeneias and other memorials. But did Vergil, as Perret suggests,²⁵ "sacrifice" the stops at Leucas and Ambracia for Actium; or

²² There were temples to Apollo at both places: Strabo, X, 2, 9 (452) and VII, 7, 6 (325). For the remains of the temple at Leucate, the rocky southern promontory of Leucas, see Dörpfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-4.

²³ *Ant. Rom.*, I, 50, 4.

²⁴ J. Perret, *Les Origines de la Légende Troyenne de Rome* (Paris, 1942), pp. 57 ff.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-2.

has he not rather telescoped three stops of the Varronian tradition into one, incorporating certain elements from each in a manner similar to the way that he later condenses the expedition to Dodona?²⁶ And we might further ask whether this was done with pure poetic license to secure brevity at the expense of strict geographical accuracy, or was there, in fact, some historical basis for the close association of these three sites?

However confused and uncertain we may be on Vergil's sources for the Aeneas legend and his method of adaptation, there is one point upon which we may rest with some certainty: the interpretation of events of the legendary past in a manner which looks forward to Augustan practices and achievements is entirely Vergilian. Now Vergil has chosen here to pay tribute to Augustus' victory over Antony and Cleopatra and the reinstitution of the Actian games to commemorate that victory.²⁷ It is in the events of that victory at Actium, events of which Vergil certainly would have had some knowledge, that the historical basis for the association and confusion of the three locales is to be found.

Leucas (probably the city) did as a matter of fact figure rather prominently in the preliminaries of the encounter at Actium. Velleius Paterculus (II, 84, 2) records that Agrippa captured Leucas, Patrae, and Corinth before the major conflict.²⁸ Moreover, Augustus' words to his men before the battle, as quoted by Dio (L, 30, 1) mention skirmishes in the vicinity of Leucas.²⁹ It is possible that this phase of the battle, as indeed the main battle itself, was magnified by Augustus and his propagandists.³⁰ That Vergil knew of this encounter is perfectly clear

²⁶ *Aen.*, III, 291 ff. Vergil places the encounter at Buthrotum rather than at Dodona (Dionysius, I, 51, 1) and thus avoids a trip inland for Aeneas. Cf. Perret, *loc. cit.*

²⁷ Dionysius (I, 50, 3) mentions games instituted by Aeneas at Zacynthos which continue to exist to his own day. Did these inspire Vergil's reference to the Actia?

²⁸ Likewise Dio, L, 13, 5.

²⁹ See also W. W. Tarn, "The Battle of Actium," *J. R. S.*, XXI (1931), pp. 173-99, and C. W. Richardson, "Actium," *J. R. S.*, XXVII (1937), pp. 153-64.

³⁰ Florus (II, 21, 4) mentions the fact that in anticipation of the approaching battle Caesar had surrounded with a fleet the whole Actian shore; Leucas, the island and the mountain Leucate, and the entrance

from *Aen.*, VIII, 676-7 where the battle of Actium is portrayed on the shield of Aeneas and Leucate is described as teeming with troops in battle array (*instructo Marte fervere*).³¹ Thus it is clear that Vergil associated Leucas (or at least its southern promontory Leucate) and Actium very closely and assumed that they were close enough to one another geographically to be reasonably portrayed in the same scene on Aeneas' shield. If, as seems more than likely, the traditional location of Leucas is correct,³² it is by no means remote from Actium and the location of the city on a lagoon at the northern end of the island, connected in antiquity to the mainland of Acarnania by a bridge,³³ would certainly aid the notion of a closer proximity than actually existed.

But what of the third stop mentioned by Dionysius, Ambracia? Interestingly enough Servius identifies the *parvae urbi* of line 276 as Ambracia! To be sure the commentary of Servius is in its geography at this point more confused than Vergil. Leucata is identified as a mountain on a promontory of *Epirus*, i. e. north of the Ambracian gulf and adjacent to Ambracia. But is this confusion not the natural consequence of Vergil's compression? Modern commentaries have unanimously rejected the possibility that Vergil could have had Ambracia in mind and cling to the more logical Actium. But what are Servius' reasons for supposing that Ambracia is meant; and in light of Varro's three consecutive stops (Leucas, Actium, and Ambracia) is this supposition so wild? Both Servius (on line 274) and the Scholia Danielis (on line 276) point out that Vergil is here commemorating the founding of Nicopolis by Augustus after his

to the Ambracian gulf. It is possible, however, that Vergil has had some influence here.

³¹ Mackail, on 268-76, failing to note that Leucas did figure in the encounter, is puzzled by the mention of Leucate here.

³² Modern Santa Maura. The city Leucas was located about two miles SE of the capital Ἀμακίχιον. Cf. W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* (London, 1835), III, pp. 10-21; J. Partsch, "Die Insel Leukas," *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 1890, Ergänzungsband 21, p. 8; Dörpfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 ff. and 267 ff. Cf. also note 16 above.

³³ See P. Negris, "Vestiges Antiques Submergés," *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX (1904), pp. 354-60, for the remains of a bridge of Roman construction. A bridge connecting Leucas (= Nericus) to the mainland is mentioned by Strabo; see above.

victory at Actium. (This city was located in Epirus on the northern promontory which forms the mouth of the Ambracian gulf. Actium was located on the southern promontory, opposite, in Acarnania.) This sounds most reasonable, for Vergil could hardly mention in the legendary past a city which did not come into existence until his own time (i. e. Nicopolis), but he could pay indirect tribute in this way since the formation of the new community was a synoecistic one, drawing its population from several adjacent communities,³⁴ chiefmost of which was Ambracia. But what is the most convincing point is the fact that the Actian games were celebrated not at Actium, but at Nicopolis.³⁵

We can see then that Vergil here has compressed elements of three stops of the *Aeneadae* (or even four, if we wish to consider the games celebrated on the Actian shore as the counterpart of those which in the Varronian tradition were instituted at Zacynthos) into one, i. e. the general vicinity of Actium, and because of a very close historical connection of the three, he has assumed a closer geographical one.

III

The *lustramur Iovi* of line 279 has from Servius down offered difficulty to commentators on Vergil. If this passage is taken in isolation, it is perhaps curious that the Trojans behold the temple of Apollo from a distance, draw up to it, and proceed to perform a lustration to Jove; and especially so if the games which this ceremony precedes are meant to anticipate the Actian games, reinstituted by Augustus, as we know, in honor of Actian Apollo. If excuses must be sought for a ceremonial to Jupiter at any point,³⁶ those elicited by Conington seem most ample, *viz.*, the purification was required by the adventure with the Harpies in which Jupiter had figured most prominently and most inauspiciously. He had been called upon by the *Aeneadae* to share

³⁴ Strabo, VII, 7, 6 (325). It is possible that even Leucas, the city at least, was included in the Nicopolis synoecism: Strabo X, 2, 2 (450); *Anth. Pal.*, IX, 553. See also Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

³⁵ Strabo, VII, 7, 6 (325). For the remains at Nicopolis including the stadium in which these games were held see F. Schober, *R.-B.*, XVII, s. v. "Nikopolis (2)" and the Greek excavations in *Πρακτικά*, 1913 ff. and *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1913 ff.

³⁶ Cf. Wagner's Heyne on 279.

in the spoils of the slain cattle (222);³⁷ he is cited by Celaeno as the ultimate source of her dire prophecy (251); and we think of him as foremost of the *numina magna* invoked by Anchises to avert the evil (264).³⁸

In the framework of Book III, on the other hand, and of the *Aeneid* as a whole, the devotional to Jupiter here is quite natural and appropriate. The structure of Book III, to be sure, is built up around the successive revelations of their destiny to Aeneas and his company, and these for the most part are given by Apollo and his agents: the shrine at Delos (84 ff.); the *Penates* anticipating the Ortygian oracle (147 ff.); Celaeno (245 ff.), and finally Helanus (369 ff.). But Apollo and his agents here simply reveal and do not ordain, the latter being specifically the province of Jupiter throughout the *Aeneid* from the opening prophecy of Book I. Thus the *Penates* reveal (171): *Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva*; and Helanus, though a minister of Apollo, begins his prophecy (375-6): *sic fata deum rex / sortitur volvitque vices*. Celaeno expresses the relation of Jupiter and Apollo very nicely (251-2):³⁹

quae Phoebus pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo
praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.

Hence any supplication for the amelioration or the accomplishment (not merely the revelation) of fate is to Jupiter. So Anchises in the face of the dire prophecy of Celaeno invokes the *numina magna*, and the Trojans, having successfully steered their way through the hostile kingdom of Laertes, and having reached the un hoped for shore,⁴⁰ logically perform their lustral sacrifice in honor of Jupiter.⁴¹

But was such a preliminary appropriate for games which look

³⁷ Cf. Servius Danielis on 279.

³⁸ Servius' explanation that a purification was necessary because of the impropriety of the sacrifice of a bull to Jupiter (see on 21 and 279; cf. Macrobius, *Sat.*, III, 10) seems rather subtle. See also note 21 above.

³⁹ Cf. C. Bailey, *Religion in Vergil* (Oxford, 1935), p. 164.

⁴⁰ Cf. also lines 282-3.

⁴¹ This sacrifice parallels those made in Thrace (20 ff.) and in sight of Italy (525 ff.) where all gods and especially Jupiter are called upon. Likewise at the sacrifice to Apollo and Neptune at Delos (118-20) Jupiter's name is on the lips of Anchises: *modo Iuppiter adsit*. Cf. Daremberg-Saglio, s. v. *Lustratio*, p. 1428, note 10.

forward to the Augustan *Actia*? The Actian games were performed for the first time in 28 B. C.⁴² (probably on Sept. 2, the anniversary of the battle) not only at Nicopolis,⁴³ but also at Rome.⁴⁴ It was undoubtedly through the Roman counterpart, conducted in this first instance at least by Augustus (then Octavian) himself,⁴⁵ that Vergil had first-hand knowledge of the games. Now this very same year had seen the accomplishment at Rome of a censorial lustration, the first which had been performed since 69, a fact in which Augustus took a good deal of pride,⁴⁶ and we may be certain that the reinstatement of the *lustrum* was propagandized as symbolic of the end of civil strife, the situation responsible for its interruption. The piety of the *Aeneadae*, then, in performing a lustration in addition to and as a prelude to the sacred games may well be calculated to call to mind the similar piety of Augustus, the accomplishment of the *lustrum* and the performance of the games sacred to Actian Apollo in 28.⁴⁷

In conclusion we can say that the main difficulties of this passage are those concerned with the geography, which, while clear in its general outline, is confused in points of detail, owing,

⁴² Augustus' sixth consulship, with Agrippa.

⁴³ Strabo, VII, 7, 6 (325); Dio, LI, 1, 1; Suetonius, *Aug.*, 18.

⁴⁴ Dio, LIII, 1, 1 ff. These quinquennial games were copied all over the world (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 59). They were produced at Rome in 28 and though they presumably were repeated in 24, 20, and 16 (Dio, LIV, 19, 8) they probably did not survive Augustus. See Daremberg-Saglio, s. v. *Actia*; cf. Suetonius, *Cal.*, 23 and Tacitus, *Ann.*, XV, 23. Whether these were the same as the quinquennial *ludi votivi pro valitudine Caesaris* (*Mon. Anc.*, 9; Pliny, *N. H.*, VII, 48, 158) or not is a problem (see Mommsen, *Res Gest. Div. Aug.* [Berlin, 1883], pp. 41 ff.). The *Actia* proper at Nicopolis enjoyed great vogue. As a sacred *agon* they shared honors with the Olympic games and the other festivals of Greece (Strabo, *loc. cit.*) and we hear of calculating by Actiads (Josephus, *De Bell. Iud.*, I, 20, 4). The festival continued through the 2nd and 3rd centuries and was revived by Julian (*Pan. Lat.*, X, 9, 1). See also Reisch, *R.-M.*, I, s. v. "Aktia."

⁴⁵ With his colleague Agrippa (Dio, LIII, 1, 1 ff.).

⁴⁶ *Mon. Anc.*, 8 (cf. *O. I. L.*, IX, 422, 61); repeated in 8 B. C. and again in 14 A. D. That Augustus himself took the leading part in the ceremonies is clear from Suetonius, *Aug.*, 97.

⁴⁷ To the third religious accomplishment of the year, the dedication of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, Vergil pays tribute elsewhere: cf. *Aen.*, VI, 69 ff.; VIII, 720 ff.

as we have shown, partly to general misconception and partly to overcompression of the details of the Aeneas legend. No matter what position we assume that Book III occupies in the order of composition of the books of the *Aeneid*, there is likely to be agreement that, as it stands, III most obviously requires revision, and that of all the books III betrays most clearly the incomplete state of the epic. Such geographical confusions as exist in the passage at hand only serve to confirm this point, and, though not pointed out by Crump,⁴⁸ lend the strongest support to her theory⁴⁹ that the trip made by Vergil to Greece and Asia, upon which he intended to put the finishing touches on the *Aeneid*,⁵⁰ was especially calculated for a more accurate treatment of the wanderings of Aeneas described in Book III.

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⁴⁸ M. Marjorie Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid* (Oxford, 1920).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39. That a rejection and complete rewriting was entailed, however, is an overstatement.

⁵⁰ Suetonius, *Life of Vergil*, 35.

ARISTOTLE, *POETICS*, 1455 b 7-8, 1456 a 7-9.

1455 b 7-8: τὸ δὲ ὅτι ἀνείλεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τινα αἰτίαν ἔξω τοῦ καθόλου ἐλθεῖν ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐφ' ὃ τι δὲ ἔξω τοῦ μύθου.

Aristotle is here advising the playwright to formulate his plot first in its most general terms, and then expand it by particular episodes. The purpose of this procedure is obviously to allow for originality (αὐτὸν εὕρισκειν δεῖ, 1453 b 25), and self-consistency (ὅπως ἔσται οἰκεία τὰ ἐπεισόδια, 1455 b 13) in treatment of the standard stories that Aristotle regards as the best source of the tragic poet's material (1453 a 17 ff.)

Butcher, following Bekker (3rd edition) secludes ἐλθεῖν ἐκεῖ but recognizes as an alternative possibility the seclusion of ἔξω τοῦ καθόλου with Düntzer. Bywater follows Düntzer. Vahlen suggested transposing μύθου and καθόλου; Christ would read ἔξω τοῦ καθόλου τοῦ μύθου. Gudeman, dismissing other attempts at emendation as lacking all probability and simplicity, put ἔξω τοῦ καθόλου after ἐκεῖ, "that the god for some reason commanded him to go there is outside the generalisation, and his object in going is outside the plot." Rostagni, in a construction that he admits is syntactically harsh, takes ἔξω τοῦ καθόλου in an adjectival sense, "for some reason or other outside the universal," i. e. "for a particular reason."

The god's particular command, the traveller's particular purpose, are clearly not included in the καθόλου; but surely whether they are to be included in the μῦθος is for each playwright to decide. It will depend on his conception of the hero, and his treatment of the basic situation. One playwright may choose to use these ingredients; all are not obliged to. The μῦθος of a particular play is after all a particular μῦθος, displaying the inventive powers of the poet. It is not simply identical with the general outline of the action of all plays that deal with its basic situation. It appears, therefore, that there is a better case for striking out ἔξω τοῦ μύθου than ἔξω τοῦ καθόλου. The point at issue here is not the constituents of the plot, but its generalisation. Nor is it likely that both phrases should be retained; there seems no adequate justification for distinguishing

between the cause of the traveller's journey and its object by associating the one with generalisation, the other with the plot.

A clear, relevant, and consistent statement may be secured with little alteration of the text by reading, with Hermann, <καὶ> διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν, but transposing ἐλθεῖν ἐκεῖ to follow θεός, and omitting ἔξω τοῦ μύθου, to read: τὸ δὲ ὅτι ἀνείλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐλθεῖν ἐκεῖ καὶ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν, ἔξω τοῦ καθόλου· καὶ ἐφ' ὃ τι δέ, "that the god ordered him to go there, and on what account, are not included in the generalised formulation; so too of the object of his errand." It may be supposed that ἐλθεῖν ἐκεῖ καὶ, having been omitted and supplied in the margin, was copied in the wrong place, after καθόλου. The καὶ at the beginning of the next line would then be otiose, and would drop out, producing the reading of A° Parisinus 1741. τοῦ μύθου may be regarded as an explanatory gloss on ἔξω τοῦ καθόλου tacked on at the end of the sentence, and furnished with the ἔξω that its syntax seemed to demand for clarity. This reading has the further advantage of giving more point to αἰτίαν, "because of what guilt."

1456 a 7-9.

Although in the *Poetics* Aristotle, with considerable success, attempts to restrict the term μῦθος to the particular technical sense of "plot," which he had given it in 1450 a 5, τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων, he could not remain unaffected by the common usage of the word in the sense of "story." Naturally enough, this sense comes to the fore when the word is used in references to the opinions of others. For example, 1451 a 15, Μῦθος δ' ἐστὶν εἰς οὐχ ὥσπερ τινὲς οἴονται ἐὰν περὶ ἓνα ᾗ. Here μῦθος is clearly rather "story" than "plot," for Aristotle's objection is precisely that such stories lack a proper σύστασις τῶν πραγμάτων. Again, in 1451 b 23-25, he says, ὥστ' ὅν πάντως εἶναι ζητητέον τῶν παραδεδομένων μύθων περὶ οὓς αἱ τραγωδίαί εἰσιν ἀντέχεσθαι. So too, in 1453 a 18, πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἱ ποιηταὶ τοὺς τυχόντας μύθους ἀπηρίθμουν. Compare also 1453 b 22, τοὺς μὲν οὖν παρελημμένους μύθους λύειν οὐκ ἔστιν. It is perhaps a consciousness of this residual ambiguity of μῦθος rather than a desire for elegant variation that impels Aristotle to the frequent use of σύνθεσις or σύστασις to express the constructional sense of "plot."

In 1456 a 7-9, δίκαιον δὲ καὶ τραγωδίαν ἄλλην καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν λέγειν οὐδὲν ἴσως τῷ μύθῳ· τοῦτο δὲ, ὣν ἡ αὐτὴ πλοκὴ καὶ λύσις, most recent

editors have read οὐδενί, either with ἴσως as Bywater and Rostagni, with ὥς as Tyrwhitt, or with ἴσως ὥς as Bonitz and Butcher. Gudeman prefers οὐδὲν ἴσον or ἴσην. Τοῦτο is retained by most; Tiechmüller proposed ταύτῳ, Bursian τούτῳ. Margoliouth does not alter the text.

The text as commonly received makes sense, and a sense consistent with Aristotle's general position; but the question of what essentially constitutes identity or difference among plays is very abruptly introduced. The abruptness is lessened, though it does not entirely disappear, if, as Susemihl suggested and Bywater approved, the passage be transferred to 1455 b 33. Nor in either position is any other criterion suggested by which one might conceivably seek to establish difference or identity, nor indeed is it very clear why the point is raised at all. It is hard to imagine any other plausible criterion, except that of dealing with the same or a different story. Gudeman's emendation takes this possibility into account, but produces a strained and contorted expression, and appears to limit the question to tragedies that in their development have nothing in common; "in der Behandlung der μέρη μύθου nichts gemein haben."

Subject matter, e. g. "these plays are both about Orestes," or "one play is about Orestes, the other about Alcmaeon," is an obvious criterion of identity or difference for inadequately critical minds. Explicit recognition and rejection of this possible criterion may be simply and directly achieved if we read: οὐ μὲν ἴσως τῷ μύθῳ· ταὐτὸ δὲ κατλ., "Identity and difference in Tragedies does not in fact depend, we may take it, on the story; identity depends on having the same complication and dénouement." Aristotle wants to say "is determined not by the story but by the plot"; having no word for "plot" that cannot also mean "story" he resorts to the essential feature of a plot, πλοκή καὶ λύσις.

The best Attic writers use οὐ μὲν δὴ to introduce such a rejection; but Aristotle is not one of the best Attic writers, and appears to have substituted for δὴ his favorite qualificatory ἴσως "presumably." It may be noted that in the nearby passage, 1456 a 13, μῦθος is unmistakably used in the sense of "story": οἷον εἴ τις τὸν τῆς Ἰλιάδος ὅλον ποιοί μῦθον.

L. A. MACKAY.

A NOTE ON METHOD IN THE TREATMENT OF MAGICAL INSCRIPTIONS.

A few years ago a well-known Egyptologist, M. Étienne Drioton, published along with other "Notes Diverses," most of them dealing with dynastic material, an interesting amulet with a Greek inscription.¹ It belongs to the Egyptian Royal Collection. I called attention to the note in a brief addendum to my *Studies in Magical Amulets*² (p. 325), but had not then seen M. Drioton's actual publication; my addendum was based on information which I owe to the kindness of M. Henri Seyrig.

Because of a point of method concerning the inscription, and also because the short paragraph in my *Addenda* could easily be overlooked, it seems worth while to return to this amulet, even though, so far as the design is concerned, Drioton's report leaves nothing to be desired. The stone is an almost circular gray jasper. The obverse represents the young Horus standing on the heads of two facing crocodiles. He grasps in his right hand a scorpion, in his left a serpent and a gazelle. Drioton explains that this design is taken over from the "stelae (or cippi) of Horus," of which the Metternich stele is the best known and one of the largest, and he goes on to say that in the latest dynastic periods miniature copies of such stelae were made to wear on the person as protective amulets; and finally, in Roman times, the same or similar designs were engraved on stones of the shapes ordinarily employed for Greek and Roman ring-stones and pendants. Here, I may add, belongs the haematite pendant in the Walters Art Gallery (42.872), which is described in *Studies in Magical Amulets*, p. 294 (No. 251) and illustrated on Plate XII; but in some details that piece is less faithful to the original models than the one described by Drioton.

The inscription reads *ακριμακραγετα κύριε βοήθι και διαφύλαξον τὸν φοροῦντα ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐρπετοῦ*. Putting the first word aside for the moment, we note that the prayer *κύριε βοήθει* is of Jewish or Christian origin. It is true that *κύριος* is applied to pagan divinities, especially Sarapis, and that *βοηθεῖν* is sometimes used

¹ *Ann. du service des antiq. de l'Égypte*, XLV (1947), pp. 83-4.

² Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1950. The reference to Drioton's note given on p. 325 is wrong.

to invoke their aid; for example, "Ἡλιε βοήθησον Δημητρίῳ in a graffito at Abydos,³ and two examples of βοήθει on pagan amulets cited in *Studies*, p. 180. But I have not seen the combination κύριε βοήθει with the name of any pagan god, while it is very frequently addressed to the God of Israel in the Septuagint.⁴ It is safe to say that in this amulet, as in others of the imperial period, there is a definite Judaeo-Christian influence.

The last clause, διαφύλαξον τὸν φοροῦντα ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐρπετοῦ, "protect the wearer against every creeping creature," is of special interest because, as Drioton explains, it shows that even in the Roman period the purpose for which the stelae of Horus were set up in Pharaonic times—namely, to ward off snakes, scorpions, and other harmful creatures—was not forgotten by lapidaries who borrowed the main design of those monuments for minor amulets.

It is in connection with ακριμακραγετα that I must take exception to Drioton's method. Since the rest of the inscription is Greek, he assumes that this first group of syllables, however strange in appearance, must also be Greek, though disguised by illiterate errors. He would read ἀρκεῖ μακράν, κῆτα and translate "soyez repoussés au loin, monstres des eaux," a charm directed against crocodiles. The phonetic confusions that are postulated in order to obtain that reading can all be attested in the careless writing of the papyri—metathesis of ρ, ι for ει, dropping of final ν in μακράν, γ for κ, ε for η; but to find such an accumulation of orthographic faults in so short a space rouses strong suspicion. There are, however, other and more serious objections. According to Liddell-Scott-Jones, ἀρκεῖν does not occur in prose with the sense of "keep away," "ward off," nor is ἀρκεῖ the right form even if that sense were attested; and κῆτα is not possible as a plural of κῆτος. Papyri of the period to which this amulet belongs normally have the contract form in -η in the nom. and acc. plural of neuters in -ος. The open form -εα occurs very rarely, and there is no example of simple -α.⁵

³ Perdrizet and Lefebvre, *Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos* (1919), p. 42, No. 221. The Helios of this inscription is Helios-Harmakhis, Horus as the rising or the setting sun. I owe this reference to E. R. Smothers.

⁴ Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint*, s. v. βοηθεῖν, and related expressions under βοήθεια, βοηθός.

⁵ Mayser, *Gram. d. griech. Papyri*, I, 2, p. 37, c.

Certain general observations are more important than these strictures upon an unfortunate attempt at interpretation. In the first place, while there is much bad Greek in amuletic inscriptions,⁶ it is not usually found side by side with an intelligible and correctly written text such as the greater part of the present inscription (for the one itacism *βοήθη* scarcely counts at this period). Further, it is an error in principle to assume that everything inscribed in plain Greek letters has a meaning which adequate ingenuity can discover. Nothing is more certain than that many combinations of letters simulating words in some unknown tongue are absolutely meaningless, even though they may occur and recur in apparently significant association with this or that divinity or with a certain symbol or design. In fact, the power imputed to them depends upon their mysterious sound and their unintelligible character.⁷ Thus *ακριμακραγετα* is simply a magical word, not meant to be understood. It is true that it is not to be found in the magical papyri,⁸ and that circumstance might seem to encourage attempts to interpret it as Greek with a meaning, however disguised by errors. On the other hand, the fact that an apparent *vox magica* is not found in the known magical papyri is by no means decisive against it. Magical *ἀπαξ εἰρημένα* are not uncommon; I have called attention to a few in *Studies*, p. 202. A more striking example is *Οπτρευς*, the magical name of a god or demon invoked in an important inscription on a pendant from Byblos, which was published by M. Dunand.⁹ It may be a secret name for one of the great gods; but so far as I know, no instance of it has been reported from other sources..

† CAMPBELL BONNER.

⁶ For example, the garbled text published from a British Museum amulet in *Hesperia*, XX, p. 333, No. 47.

⁷ The necessity of recognizing the limits of possible knowledge in the field of magic was emphasized in *Studies in Magical Amulets*, p. 195, a passage which I am glad to see endorsed by M. P. Nilsson, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XLIV, p. 61.

⁸ As I learn through the kindness of Professor Preisendanz, whose index to his *Papyri Graecae Magicae* is unfortunately still unpublished.

⁹ See *Studies in Magical Amulets*, p. 183, and for the original publication, Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, Pl. 137, No. 1248, and II (text), p. 44.

REVIEWS.

SIR ARTHUR PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE. *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1953. Pp. xxi + 334; 207 illus. 50 s.; \$10.00.

This book was from the beginning destined to be a supplement and a companion to the *Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (1946) by the same author. When Pickard-Cambridge fell ill in December 1951 the book was almost finished and he asked an eminent colleague, T. B. L. Webster, to see it through the press. There could not have been found a better editor than Webster, the author of *Greek Art and Literature* (1939) and of many papers on later Greek comedy, south Italian vases and Attic drama, masks of Greek comedy, masks on Gnathia vases, and Pollux's lists of masks (see p. 211, n. 1); for Webster like Pickard-Cambridge combines the interest in the philological and archaeological evidence of the history of the theater and of religion, which is absolutely necessary if one wants to arrive at reliable results. The editor was able, until the death of the author on February 7, 1952, to follow indications by the author. Both keep to evidence and state this evidence fully, evading "attractive but erroneous theories and the suggestion of connections and derivations which cannot be substantiated" (see Preface, p. viii). In the same preface (p. vii) the author pays tribute to the German scholars A. Körte, Bulle, Fiechter, H. Schleif, and L. Deubner, whose research he has used and who died before him. The whole book thus is on a high ethical level, and the results are reliable and important. Hence it is, as the editor says in his *Note*, p. v, ". . . a worthy memorial of a great scholar."

The book is divided into seven chapters: I. The Lesser Festivals; II. The Great or City Dionysia; III. The Actors; IV. Costume; V. The Chorus; VI. The Audience; VII. The Artists of Dionysus. In each chapter the ancient sources are quoted in full and are discussed critically and acutely. Figures of pictorial monuments, particularly vases, are profusely given, but merely used for illustrating and confirming literary sources, not as independent evidence which they often are.

Thus in the first chapter the oldest sanctuary of Dionysus in the marshes (Limnais), in which the Anthesteria was celebrated about the end of February, is located to the west of the Acropolis near the Enneakrounos according to Thucydides, II, 15. The three parts of the festival: Pithoigia, Xoes, and Chytroi are also described according to the literary references. The choes vases (Figs. 1-5) are merely used as illustrations for the children's part of the festival. The author agrees with Dörpfeld in locating the Dionysion in Limnais in the marshy ground between the Areopagus, Pnyx, and western slopes of the Acropolis, later replaced by the Iobacchion (Fig. 9). He rightly denies that dramatic performances took place at this festival and that the "Thespiis car" was used; yet he illus-

trates this chapter with the black-figured vases of this procession which certainly belongs to the great Dionysia (Figs. 6-8).

The Lenaia, celebrated in Gamelion, the wedding month, in January, is rightly explained as the festival of the Lenai, the Maenads or bacchanals, women worshipers of Dionysus. For illustrations (Figs. 10-16) he uses mostly the vases collected by Frickenhaus, whom he quotes imperfectly (p. 27, note 2. It is *Winckelmanns-Program* No. 72 [Berlin, 1914]). He adds one interesting vase by the Eretria painter (Fig. 17), showing the preparation of the mask of Dionysus. He does not mention the fact that the women were initiated in the mysteries of Dionysus pending their marriage, *gamos*, following the night between the two months of Gamelion and Anthesterion) at the time of the dark of the moon (Bieber, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, in Honor of Leslie Shear [1949], pp. 31-8). There were dramatic, particularly comic, contests at the Lenaion festivals. The Lenaion was a precinct with a temple of the Lenaian Dionysus. Hesychius and Photius place it in the Agora, where the spectators are said to have watched the Dionysiac contests before the theater of Dionysus Eleuthereus was built. I believe, however, that Dörpfeld and Anti are right when they place it according to the actual remains on the slope of the Pnyx, opposite the Dionysion in Limnais on the other side of the road leading from the Agora to the Acropolis (Fig. 9).

The Rural Dionysia, taking place in Poseideon, our December, had as a central figure the komos, a fertility rite, and beside other entertainments jumping or standing on a wineskin. Dramatic performances came later when, particularly in the fourth century, the demand for repetition of successful plays rose, and troupes of actors traveled to the different demes. The main sources for this festival are inscriptions from Ikaria (from where Thespis is said to have brought the drama to Athens), Acharnae, and the Piraeus. An interesting monument comes from Aixone (Fig. 18). It is in honor of two choregoi and shows a satyr standing before Dionysus, five masks, the honorary decree, and the two crowns awarded. Theaters were erected in several demes, thus in Munichia of the Piraeus, in Thorikos, Rhamnous, and Ikaria (Figs. 19-22).

The longest chapter (pp. 55-126) is dedicated to the most important dramatic festival of Athens, the Great or City Dionysia, celebrated in the sanctuary at the south slope of the Acropolis for Dionysus Eleuthereus in the month Elaphebolion, end of March and beginning of April. The many literary sources are mostly quoted in the footnotes, while the inscriptions are gathered with introductions and notes in the important Appendix (pp. 103-26). On the basis of these sources the festival is given a reliable and complete description. Under the control of the archon eponymos the whole Hellenic world gathered for a one-week's celebration. First the original advent of Dionysus from Eleutherae was re-enacted on the previous day. The statue which stood in the old temple was taken to a shrine on the road to Eleutherae, sacrifices were offered, hymns sung, and then the epheboi brought it back in a procession to the sacred precinct, where it was present at the following performances. On the first day a proagon assembled choregoi, poets, actors in the

Odeum. On the second day a *pompe*, shown on the vases (Figs. 6-8), which thus belong in this chapter, brought a bull for sacrifice and vessels with offerings to Dionysus. There followed political actions, like parading of the sons of those fallen in battle for Athens, proclamation of honors conferred upon citizens and strangers, reception of ambassadors, and similar business. On the same day the ten dithyrambs were sung by the ten tribes, followed by a gay *komos*. On the third to fifth days three tragedies and one satyr play each by one of three poets were acted, during the Peloponnesian war followed by one comedy each day, while before and after this period five comedies were performed on one full day by five poets. The last day was given to an assembly in the theater.

The study of the theatrical records (pp. 69 ff.) has led the author to important conclusions which he sums up on p. 73 and more extensively on pp. 125 f. The main facts which result are in chronological order for the City Dionysia: In 534 B. C. contest of tragic poets began with Thespis; 486 contest of comic poets began with Chionides; 449 contest of tragic actors began; 329 contest of comic actors began; 386 first performance of old tragedy; 339 first performance of old comedy; 341 single satyr play at the beginning of the performance; 254 contests of old comedies, tragedies, and satyr plays, with a prize for the successful actor in each kind. For the Lenaia the main result is that in 442 the contest of comic poets and actors began, and in 432 the contest for tragic poets and actors.

Pickard-Cambridge discusses the duties of the choregoi and chorus-trainers (pp. 87-93); the choice of actors (pp. 93-6); the form of the contest, the method of selecting the judges, and how they performed their duty (pp. 96-100), and the performances of old tragedies and comedies (pp. 100-3). This part is for a large portion based on the Attic orators, such as Isocrates, Lysias, and Demosthenes. There are no illustrations except the monument of the choregos Lysicrates (Fig. 23), rightly so, as those of the theater are profusely given in the companion book *The Theatre of Dionysus*.

The chapter on Actors (pp. 127-74) deals first with the terminology of *hypokrites*, *tragodos*, *komodos*, *protagonistes*, *deuteronistes*, and *tritagonistes*. Then the much discussed problem about the number of actors and the distribution of parts is brought to a final solution by adhering to the evidence given in Aristotle's *Poetics* and by an excellent survey of the existing plays (pp. 139 ff.). It results indeed that in the earlier dramas of Aeschylus two, in his later ones and in Sophocles three actors are sufficient to play all parts. The use of the masks, the sleeved robe and the high boots covering the whole figure of the actor made it possible to assign two or more parts in succession to the same actor, and to divide one role between two or more actors. The reviewer may add that reading the plays with small groups of students in class has led to the same result. Euripides' needs are somewhat greater for supernumerary mute and speaking persons (pp. 144 ff.). Aristophanes has up to five speaking persons in the *Acharnians*, and four in the *Wasps*, *Lysistrata*, and *Frogs*. The *Birds* in my opinion also needs four to five actors. Menander needs four speaking actors in the arbitration scene of the *Epitrepontes*. The actors' guilds had

later only three tragic or comic actors, but the *didaskalos* might have filled in as the protagonist.

For the delivery of the plays the author distinguishes between speech, recitative, and song (pp. 153 ff.). His sources for this part are later than the classical drama: Aristotle, Xenophon, Lucian, Athenaeus, Plutarch, but he also studies the plays for instances of the three methods of delivery: spoken, recited, or sung. He assumes that it was the flute which accompanied singing and recitative, while the lyre was reserved for special odes, melodies, or solos, as when Sophocles sang his *Thamyras*. I believe, however, that the lyre was also often used, as testified by the literary contest between Aeschylus and Euripides in the *Frogs* or the satyr-play vase and the wall painting from Cyrene (Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Figs. 20 and 531). Among other instruments used the tympana in Euripides' *Bacchae* might have been mentioned.

For voices and enunciation (pp. 165 ff.) the author rightly deduces from his sources that beauty of tone, clearness and correctness of enunciation, and adaptability to the personality and mood of the different characters represented was more important than a strong voice. Everyone who has visited one of the well-preserved ancient theaters with their splendid acoustics knows that the spoken word as well as song need not be loud to reach the uppermost rows.

The gesture, often described as statuesque for the Greek theater, is rightly described as lively by the author (pp. 169 ff.). He knows that rapid movement, kneeling, prostration, and a free play of gestures was necessary, and it is a fine observation that, in accordance with Aristotle, Euripides often indicates the necessary gestures in his text.

For this chapter contemporary vase paintings might have been used. The author, however, refers unfortunately only to one Pompeian painting, illustrated in Fig. 24, mentioned on p. 170. Furthermore, we have here an example of an independent pictorial tradition, not an illustration, of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*, which does not contain the scene depicted. The use of pictorial monuments is not up to the use which the author makes of the literary sources.

This is particularly true of Chapter IV on the Costume. Indications for costumes being scarce in the plays and references to them mostly in late sources like Lucian, Pollux, and the *Life of Aeschylus*, the author makes ample use of archaeological material (Figs. 25-208); indeed the greatest number of his illustrations are contained in this chapter. He uses this pictorial material with great caution. He rightly asserts that terracotta and marble masks differed considerably from original masks in linen, cork, or wood, and that vase paintings based on tragedy rarely reproduce the scenes as acted, particularly not on the south Italian vases so often used to illustrate Attic tragedy.

Nevertheless Pickard-Cambridge uses in his long discussion of the masks (pp. 177-212) more illustrations than anywhere else (Figs. 25-161). He begins this part with a discussion of masks of tragedy of the classical period, including the earliest history and the evidence for the Aeschylean period, followed by monuments and masks

for actors and chorus in satyr dramas and evidence of classical texts. For the tragic masks of the later periods he takes his archaeological evidence particularly from Pompeian wallpaintings. He then discusses masks in satyric plays from the same source and the catalogue of Pollux (pp. 184-212). Masks in comedy are discussed for Old, Middle, and New Comedy, again followed by the catalogue of Pollux with assignments of characters in comedy to particular types. The second part of this chapter, Dress and Footwear, is organized as dress in tragedy (pp. 212-28), footwear in tragedy (pp. 228-34), and dress in comedy, with short remarks on *phlyakes* and mimes (pp. 234-8).

There are many excellent remarks in this chapter. Thus the vases in Boston (Fig. 39), which the reviewer had used to illustrate change of dress between the sexes in comedy, are rightly explained as *choreutai* in tragedy dressing for the part of women (p. 182). The author emphasizes the fact that masks in the classical period were far more individualized than they were in later times, when the tendency to standardize typical masks had started (p. 184). He similarly stresses the fact that there were no stereotyped conventions in Old Comedy (pp. 194 ff.). The masks were made to suit their characters. Caricatured portraits of the great tragic poets, Socrates, and many politicians and generals were frequently used in Old Comedy, while such resemblances were avoided in Middle and New Comedy (pp. 196-8). The south Italian vases are rightly judged as having more often non-dramatic subjects, for which, however, they adopted the highly decorated costumes of tragedy as the dress for gods, kings, queens, princes, princesses, priests, and others attached to the cult, as for example the flute players (pp. 218 f.). Scenes not presented in the theater, although reminiscent of the drama, might have been chosen for the vase decorations (pp. 221 ff.). He insists that we are "without any satisfactory evidence of the appearance of the characters in the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, in the fifth century, except in so far as the texts themselves give us information" (pp. 223-5). Thus he studies the texts of the dramas and draws good conclusions particularly for the dress of the chorus, which was in accordance with the characters which they represented and which often was oriental, following in design the dress of the Persians. There certainly was greater variety in the classical period than later. The author makes a clear distinction for the form of the *kothornos*, which was in the classical period a soft, simple boot reaching some way up the leg, sometimes richly ornamented, in common use especially by women, but also associated with Dionysus (*Frogs*, I, 47; Pausanias, VIII, 31, 4). The thick soles do not occur until the late Hellenistic age (pp. 228 ff.). Thus the celebrated ivory statuette in Paris (Fig. 66) is now dated in the second century of our era, and it is to be hoped that it will disappear from handbooks and text editions which use it to illustrate a Greek actor. The Pompeian wallpaintings also are regarded rightly by the author as of the Augustan and the succeeding periods; thus they can only be used to illustrate productions of these periods; Robert's theory that they can be derived from Athenian originals of the fifth century is refuted (p. 188). They dis-

play later developments of peculiarities which began to show themselves in the second and first centuries B. C. The reviewer believes that they reflect the spirit of the dramas by Pacuvius, Accius, and Seneca which are indeed later developments of the Greek dramas, transposed into the Roman rhetorical-declamatory, baroque style.

Pickard-Cambridge makes the following good remarks about Pollux (p. 193): Pollux "cannot give much information about the earlier periods, in which there may have been less exaggeration and more freedom"; and "The attempt to assign the right masks out of Pollux' lists to each character in the scanty remains of the New Comedy, or in Plautus and Terence is a pleasant game and may now and then yield results which command some confidence, but it requires much guess-work, as well as not infrequently, the assumption that the several types admit of considerable deviations from the description of them in Pollux" (pp. 210 f.). This remark is directed against the attempts of Robert, *Masken der neueren attischen Komödie* (1911), of the reviewer, article "Masken" in *R.-E.* (1930), and of the editor (his papers listed p. 211, n. 1; see also bibliography, p. 322). Yet the author merrily joins in the game (pp. 190-3, 202-12), trying to list only the more probable of these identifications. He, indeed, trusts texts much more than monuments. He says of the illustrations to comedy (p. 203): they give "a true general idea of the range and character of comic actor's masks and illustrate roughly the catalogue given by Pollux." The reviewer in the meantime has realized that Pollux cannot explain many earlier works, and for the Menander relief (Fig. 93) in her paper for the *Festschrift Andreas Rumpf* (1952, pp. 14 ff., Pl. V) she has tried to explain the masks not from Pollux but from the *Samia* of Menander. The author, on the other hand, even uses the description of the facial appearance of characters in the text of Plautus and Terence as being translated from Greek New Comedy plays (p. 199).

Pickard-Cambridge is a master in the interpretation of literary and epigraphical texts. He is, however, not familiar enough with the archaeological material which he uses so profusely in this chapter. I suspect that he has studied few of the originals which he uses for illustrations, and he does not consider them as independent sources. He uses the pictures from other books and many photographs given to him by the British Museum, by Beazley, and the editor. Many datings, interpretations, and quotations are wrong or deficient. I add a list of some of these which might be corrected or improved in a new edition.

1. Dating: Figs. 34-35. Actor on a Gnathia Krater. Rumpf's date in the late fourth century is correct against the dating by Bulle of the early fourth, accepted by the author.

Figs. 49-51, p. 185. All three terracotta statuettes are Hellenistic, not only the first one.

Fig. 64. Melpomene. The original of the statue including the mask is early Hellenistic, not Roman.

Fig. 67. Marble mask, Athens, is much later than Fig. 58 with which it is compared (p. 187).

There are many statuettes of Old Comedy used for illustrating

Middle and New Comedy, thus Figs. 83, 102-3, 108-11, 121-3, 130-3, 139, 143. It is evident that these figures put into series to which they do not belong cannot, despite being so numerous, give a clear picture of the Attic drama. The miscellaneous group, p. 210, Figs. 158-61, makes no sense. The bronze Fig. 161 from the Agora ought to go with the comic actors, not with groups of masks. It may even be a messenger in tragedy on account of the high boots (*kothornoi*).

2. Interpretation: Fig. 24. The wallpainting with the sacrifice of Iphigenia is not based on Euripides but on a pictorial tradition. It is not in agreement with Euripides, and it is not an exact copy of a classical or Hellenistic painting, but a Roman pasticcio. It therefore cannot contribute to our knowledge of a presentation of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis* (p. 170).

Fig. 28. The Pronomos vase has been interpreted by Buschor as Laomedon, Heracles, Hesione as heroes, not tragic actors, and a satyr chorus surrounding Dionysus, and this is accepted by Pickard-Cambridge (p. 180, n. 1). The reviewer thinks that real actors holding masks are represented. It seems to her impossible to have a satyr chorus surrounding actors of tragedy.

Figs. 30-1. The two Attic vases with satyrs in an artificial loin cloth are certainly scenes from a satyr-play, for the satyrs would otherwise be nude.

Fig. 57. Monument of Numitorius. Odysseus does not lead away the young Astyanax from his mother (p. 186), but stretches out his hand in vain, as Andromache pushes the child to the other side. The two smaller figures represent the retinue of the wife of Hector.

Fig. 83. This terracotta seems to represent a slave who has been boxed on the ear.

Fig. 97. Painting of Comedy, Naples. The group consists not of two women but of a pair of lovers. See Simon, *Comicae Tabellae*, pp. 2 ff., quoted on p. 202, n. 5.

Fig. 110 is certainly the statuette of a soldier as testified by the large scabbard and the small shield, not just a traveler (p. 204).

Fig. 114. The youth probably played a cithara, not a tympanon.

Fig. 126 is not a slave but a father, wrapped in a large himation.

Fig. 129 is not advancing, but running.

Fig. 149. The young woman could not be the *lektike*, that is the chatterbox described as with scattered gray hair. The peplos is not worn in the Hellenistic period, to which the statuette belongs, except by very young girls. Thus it is a young courtesan.

Fig. 158. Mosaic, in Rome, has the same masks as the wall-paintings: Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Fig. 288, and should be interpreted the same way.

Fig. 157 cannot be the *lampadion*, as her hair does not stand up like the flame of a torch. A good example of this type is in Bieber, *History*, Fig. 287.

Misinterpreted also is the costume on Italian vases. In none of the vases related to the theater is there a shorter garment over the long robe (*syrma*) falling just above the knee (p. 212), except in such vases as Figs. 166-74, which have nothing whatsoever to do with drama and ought to have been left out. The discussion does not even include the Medea on the Talos vase in Fig. 172, the only figure which may be related to the theater.

Figs. 178-80, 182-92 are also useless for a study of dramatic festivals.

Thus these wrong interpretations and unrelated pictures add to the unclearness of the story of the development which the author tries to base on the archaeological monuments.

3. Quotations of more recent books are sometimes lacking, and their study might have prevented some of the misinterpretations. Complete information on sources sometimes is also lacking, which might indicate that the author knew about some book or paper quoted but had not used it. I suspect this for my own *History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (1939), while my German *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen* (1920)—I am honored to say—is used very much. My paper "Wiederholungen einer Satyrspielvase in Athen und Rom" in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI (1911), pp. 269-77, Pl. 13, is quoted for Figs. 30-1 as if written by Brommer (p. 180, n. 3). The reviewer's article "Stole," in *R.-E.*, might have been quoted for p. 214, n. 3. Lippold, *Vatican Katalog*, III, pp. 21 ff., Sala delle Muse No. 499, Pl. 4, would have cleared up the date of the Melpomene Fig. 64. Ludwig Curtius, *Die Wandgemälde Pompejis*, pp. 290 ff., Pl. V, offers the interpretation and lowered evaluation of the painting with the sacrifice of Iphigenia (Fig. 24). Fig. 162 is in Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum. The comedy relief in Naples (Fig. 94) is in my *Denkmäler*, p. 157 (not 137), No. 130, Pl. LXXXIX. The bronze from Dodona, Fig. 102, could be illustrated better from a photograph (Bieber, *History*, Fig. 109). The list of illustrations, pp. XV-XXI, does not indicate the sources.

Another correction which seems necessary to me is the translation of Suidas, s. v. Aeschylus (p. 177). The masks are not described as "coloured and terrifying," but as powerful and painted, *δευὰ καὶ χρώμασι κεχρισμένα*. . . . The masks of Phrynichus were simply colored, white for women, dark for men, as in contemporary vases, while those of Aeschylus were more realistically painted, similar to the blond hero of the fragment in Würzburg (Fig. 34) and the masks on the Pronomos vase (Fig. 28). The *kothornos* is called thick instead of high on p. 180.

The chapter closes with some pithy remarks on *phlyakes* and mimes. The *phlyakes* are described as more hideous than the Attic comic actors, and performing on a low temporary stage (pp. 235 f.). For the mimes such pictures on vases as Perseus and dwarfs performing grotesque dances on a low platform are rightly quoted (pp. 237 f.; Beazley, *J. H. S.*, IX [1939], pp. 10 f., Fig. 30; pp. 23 f., Fig. 60; LXV [1945], Pl. V). The reviewer suspects that these mime dancers did not wear the masks in the form of full heads, but small masks covering only the face. Some of the vases published as *phlyakes* may represent mimes, such as Bieber, *History*, Fig. 394; cf. also Dorothy Burr Thompson, *A. J. A.*, LIV (1950), pp. 283 f.

Chapter V, The Chorus, is divided into: A. Character, Function and Movement of the Chorus; B. Dancing in Drama; and C. Music in Drama. Each part is fully documented from the plays and from later sources for tragedy, comedy, and satyr play. The dithyramb is left out, as the author has dealt with it fully in his *Dithyramb*,

Tragedy and Comedy (1927). A good picture is given of the different entrances of the chorus in 3 files and 5 ranks in tragedy and in 4 files and 6 ranks in comedy, and the many variations displayed by the modes of entries and movements. In comedy there is still more variety and freedom, great liveliness during the play, and vigorous dancing in the exit. The author warns (p. 251) "the modern literature on the subject of the methods of delivery in Greek drama is as immense as the evidence is slight and inconclusive." The dancing of the Greeks he characterizes (pp. 251 f.) as "mimetic or expressive, especially in its employment of rhythmical gestures and motions," and (p. 257) members of the chorus "went through suitable motions and gestures, not only while themselves singing the choral odes, but also as they followed the action of the play and reacted to the speech and behaviour of the actors." These are important observations to be remembered when one wants to visualize a Greek production. For the music Pickard-Cambridge follows the summary of the subject by J. F. Mountford, "Greek Music in the Papyri and Inscriptions," in *New Chapters in Greek Literature*, II (1929), pp. 146-83, and the same author's article, "Music," in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

Chapter VI, The Audience, gives a vivid picture of the spectators who filled the approximately 14,000 seats of the theater. In front were the priests, with the priest of Dionysus Eleuthereus in the central seat; also the archons, generals, orphaned sons of those who had fallen in battle; public benefactors, and ambassadors of foreign states. Other reserved seats were for the city council, epheboi, and women, the latter probably in the uppermost seats. These may have been seated in the central wedge-shaped block, while the ten tribes had the five blocks each to the left and right of the center assigned to them. The outermost blocks may have been reserved for foreigners and late comers. Not the single seats, but the sections were assigned by tickets or tokens (symbols) of bronze (Fig. 205) or lead, while ivory or bone (Fig. 206) was used probably only in the Roman period and for the guests on the *proedrie*. The bronze tokens have on one side letters of the alphabet indicating a particular block, and on the other the head of Athena or of a lion. These may also have been used for political assemblies. The lead tokens have often tragic or comic masks, but also satyr masks, the inscription NIKE, and one (Fig. 206, No. 7) has the name of the tribe Erechtheid, indicating that it was given out to the members of this tribe. Plays given or their authors are named on some tickets, thus "*The Theophroroumene* of Menander" (Fig. 206, No. 4) and "Aeschylus" (Fig. 206, No. 10). The latter was found in the odeum of Pericles and gives the section number XII-IB, proving a performance of Aeschylus for a bilingual public in the Roman period. The intricate design of an entrance on this ticket still awaits explanation. The audience followed the plays with intense interest, according to the literary sources. They showed their approval with noisy applause, their disapproval with excited hissing. They possessed a good knowledge of the legends, the traditional subjects of tragedy. They were absorbed seriously and intelligently in the noblest tragedies, and yet enjoyed the witty, humorous, and often gross comedies as well.

Chapter VII, The Artists of Dionysus. The author says in the Preface: "My excuse for the last chapter is the want of any brief and satisfactory treatment known to me in English writings of a very interesting subject." Indeed, he has in his note 1 on p. 286 only references to German, Latin, and French books and papers. He might have quoted my short, although unsatisfactory discussion in Chapter VII of the *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, "The Evolution of the Art of Acting," pp. 155-66. At the end of the note the author repeats: "The small attention given to this subject by English scholars is the excuse for the present chapter." This chapter might have followed Chapter III on the actors, being relevant to the history of the actors during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Pickard-Cambridge gives an excellent and concise survey of the history of the guilds of the Dionysiac artists from the third century B. C. to the third century of this era, beginning with such sources as Demosthenes and Aristotle, but mostly based on inscriptions. The important ones from Teos are reproduced in the Appendix (pp. 315-19); others are quoted in the text, such as the Ptolemaic decree in honor of Lysimachus (p. 290), with a long list of the members of the guild, including two comic poets from the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus (283-247 B. C.).

The only illustration for this chapter is the theater of Pergamon (Fig. 207), to which, however, no reference is made in the text. Pictures and statuettes of Hellenistic actors like Figs. 34, 43-4, 46, 49-52 might have been inserted in this chapter or at least have been referred to.

The Bibliography, pp. 320-6, is divided into twenty sections by double spacing, but the sections are not given any titles. Some are clear, like references to painting (p. 321); masks (p. 322); metrical forms (p. 323); actors (p. 324); dance and music (*ibid.*); epigraphy (pp. 325 f.). Others are puzzling to the reviewer. Why is her *History of the Greek and Roman Theater* listed in the second section with Wieseler, *Theatergebäude und Denkmäler des Bühnenwesens* and with such specialized works as Bulle, *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern*, while her German *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* is listed with Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, and Robert's *Archäologische Hermeneutik* (section 8)? It belongs with Wieseler, whose out-of-date work it was to replace. The arrangement inside the sections is neither alphabetical nor chronological. For example, in section 7 Reich, *Der Mimus* (1903, misprinted 1923) follows Wüst's article, "phlyakes" in *R.-E.*, 1941. Here, as in other cases, one has the impression that the editor out of reverence for the venerable author did not dare to change the manuscript, even if he found it not quite finished. See his remark in his Note, p. v: "I have not availed myself of his generous suggestion that I should introduce notes or an appendix where I differed from him. . . ."

The scholarly and informative book is, despite some objections on the archaeological side, a great contribution to the history of ancient drama and civilization.

MARGARETE BIEBER.

P. J. ENK. *Plauti Truculentus cum prolegomenis, notis criticis, commentario exegetico*. Leyden, A. W. Sijthoff, 1953. Two vols., pp. 116 + 230. 34 Dutch fl. (about \$9.00).

The *Truculentus*, which (along with the *Pseudolus*) delighted Plautus in his old age, is unique among the playwright's comedies. The usual motives of trickery and recognition are present but are clearly secondary to the dramatist's main purpose—the satiric delineation of unattractive and unsympathetic characters. The play portrays the life of a courtesan and her treatment of three foolish rivals for her favor. Condemned by many modern writers as sordid and immoral, the comedy has been praised highly by others; e.g., Harsh considers it “one of the most remarkable pieces of stark realism in classical drama.”¹

All Plautine scholars will be most grateful to Professor P. J. Enk for his excellent new edition of this interesting comedy, based upon a new collation of MSS *BCD* and a thorough examination of all earlier work on the play. The edition appears in two beautifully printed volumes and is written in fluent Latin. The dedication is to the memory of Wallace Martin Lindsay who in 1932 wrote to Enk: “No; I won't edit *Truculentus*. Too old (75, almost). But I hope you will edit it yourself. It is one of Plautus' cleverest plays” (Pars Prior, p. 6). The work under review thus marks the fulfilment of a long ambition and is doubly welcome, both because the text is in so corrupt a state and because there has been no commentary of this comedy since that by Ussing (1886), now sadly antiquated.

In spite of the enormous quantity of scholarly work published on Plautus during the past half-century, there have been few large editions of individual plays with critical apparatus and commentary. Enk's *Truculentus* is the fifth such edition, the others, being, in order of publication, Lindsay's *Captivi* (1900), Marx's *Rudens* (1928), Enk's *Mercator* (1932), and Duckworth's *Epidicus* (1940). Enk's edition of the *Truculentus* inevitably invites comparison with his two-volume *Mercator*, published twenty-one years earlier and also written in Latin. In each edition, Pars Prior contains Praefatio, Prolegomena, Text, and Critical Apparatus; Pars Altera, Commentary and Index. New features in the *Truculentus* include three pages of facsimiles (*Truc.* 501 ff.) at the end of Pars Prior and a seven-page Bibliography in Pars Altera between the Commentary and the Index. The Schema Metrorum which appeared at the end of *Mercator* Pars Prior has been omitted; perhaps it is hardly necessary, since the meters of the *Truculentus* are listed and discussed in the Commentary, but it would still be a convenience to have them assembled in one place. The topics discussed in the Prolegomena of each edition are similar: the Greek original, analysis of the plot, act divisions, number of actors, an estimate of the comedy, and the problem of date. A lengthy section in the *Mercator* (pp. 7-21) on the dream of Demipho has been replaced by three

¹ P. W. Harsh, *A Handbook of Classical Drama* (Stanford, 1944), p. 373.

new sections: "Num Truculentus fabula mutila ad nos pervenerit, quaeritur" (pp. 17-19), "De Truculenti textu constituendo" (pp. 30-9), and "De Plauto sui imitatore" (pp. 39-41).

The corrupt state of the text poses difficult problems for the editor of the *Truculentus*. Ernout says: "Après la Vidularia, dont nous ne possédons que de maigres fragments, le Truculentus est de toutes les comédies de Plaute celle qui nous est parvenue dans le plus mauvais état."² The procedure of past editors has varied greatly. Goetz and Schoell in their Teubner text of 1896 made no attempt to heal the text, but marked as corrupt more than 160 verses, about one-sixth of the entire play. The other extreme was reached by Schoell in his critical edition of 1881; he indicated a few lacunae but emended the text so thoroughly that only one verse (181) was marked corrupt. Other editors have taken a midway position: Leo lists 32 verses as corrupt, Lindsay 36, but Ernout in his recent edition (1940) is more conservative, marking more than 80 verses corrupt. Enk has reverted to the method of Schoell in an effort to produce a far more readable text; cf. his words in *Pars Prior*, p. 33: "Ego in mea editione litteras traditas quam maxime secutus sive eorum auxilio qui ante me Plauto operam dederunt sive meis coniecturis vulnera multa et gravia sanare sum conatus." No text of the *Truculentus*, with the exception of Schoell's, indicates so few corrupt verses. I have noted only three (20, 21, and 181a). Enk's use of italics and brackets in the text is a constant reminder to the reader that the faulty MSS readings have been emended, and the apparatus gives the many conjectures adopted from earlier scholars (Buecheler, Spengel, Brix, Kiessling, Leo, Lindsay, and others) as well as the many proposals made by Enk himself.

Enk's own conjectures in the *Truculentus* are far more numerous than in his earlier *Mercator*.³ They include *fateor quid de urbe* (5), *traueho* (10), *pollicitandum* (30), deletion of *tibi* (266), *aedis hasce* (406), *quaestum aequom est esse quemque callidum* (416), deletion of *tu mihi* (535), <*sic*> *partem Herculanecam* (562), insertion of *uobis* before *iam* (584), *abero* (629), *fortass' te* (680), *mi huc omnia* (710), *As. aperiam rem. Di. quid iam* (743), *tonstricem illius* (772), deletion of *uis* (927), *dic tu.* <*Strab. ne id quidem si quid*> *supererit* (941), *captas dictis* (942), *Pilippeumst* (952), *si quis quid ob amorem* (966). Occasionally suggestions appear in the apparatus but are not read in the text, e. g., *amemur* (324) and *procacia* (757).

The five verses beginning with 939 illustrate well Enk's success in making a most corrupt passage readable. All five verses are marked corrupt in both Goetz-Schoell and Ernout, all but 943 in Lindsay, and all but 939 and 941 in Leo. Schoell in 1881 had emended to read the following:

² A. Ernout, *Plautus*, Tome VII (Paris, 1940), p. 92.

³ In his review of the *Mercator* (*C. J.*, XXIX [1933-34], pp. 705 ff.), H. V. Canter wrongly implied that Enk himself had proposed new readings in only two verses (17, 927); cf. also *Merc.* 129, 319-20.

STRATOPHANES

Pár pari respóndet.—uerum núnc saltem, hunc saltúm si amas,
Dá tu mihi de tuís deliciis meúm quicquíd pausíllulum. 940

PHRONESIUM

Quíd id amabost quód dem, die?

STRABAX

Tu, sí superfit, ós—feri!

STRATOPHANES

Cámpans icit língua: caue ui cónsulam istie, níhili homo.

STRABAX

Cáue faxis: uolnús tibi icam, quói sunt dentis férrei.

Enk's text, which seems definitely preferable, is as follows:

STRAT. par pari respondet, uerum nunc saltem, <et> si <istunc>
amas,
dan tu mihi de tuis deliciis [sum] quicquid <est> pauxillulum? 940
PR. quid id, amabo, est quod dem, die tu. <STRAB. ne id
quidem, si quid> supererit.
STRAT. cap<t>as die<t>is, <at ego> amori ui consultem istie,
mí homo.
STRAB. caue faxit uolnus tibi <hie> iam quoi sunt dentes
ferrei.⁴

In the case of most emendations Enk in his commentary discusses alternate suggestions and justifies his readings. In some instances he quotes conjectures which have been made to him in personal letters, e. g., O. Skutsch on 743 (*stultu's cui res iam periere*) and 757 (*verba[atque audacia]*), W. B. Sedgwick on 940 f.: STRAT. *dan tu mihi de tuis deliciis <relicui> pauxillulum?* / PH. *quid id, amabo, est, quod dem?* STRAT. *sum<o> quicquid huic tum supererit.*

In general, Enk's conjectures follow the readings of the MSS more closely than did those of Schoell and perhaps have healed the text as much as is humanly possible. In 966 his reading *si <quis> quid ob amorem* makes excellent sense but as a correction of the corrupt *Romabo si quid* in BCD seems inferior to the suggestions of Buecheler (*rem bonam si quis*) and Ernout (*rem, amabo, siquis*). Enk himself implies in his note on the verse that he has little faith in this particular proposal.

The commentary on the *Truculentus* is somewhat fuller than was that on the *Mercator*.⁵ This is not surprising in view of the numer-

⁴ Leo, Goetz-Schoell, Lindsay, and Ernout agree in assigning 939-40 to Stratophanes, 941-3 to Phronesium. [Ussing gives the first half of 929 (= 939) to Phronesium, the second half of 931 (= 941) to Strabax along with the next two verses.] Enk says in his Apparatus to 941: "Personas in v. 941, 942, 943 distr. Enk." This must be an oversight, for, as may be seen above, the distribution of the speakers is the same as in Schoell's edition.

⁵ 216 pages on the 968 verses of the *Truculentus*, as compared with 212 pages on the 1026 verses of the *Mercator*.

ous discussions of textual problems. Many notes deal with syntax, orthography,⁶ and meter. Enk disagrees with Lindsay and Ernout⁷ on the scansion of many passages; cf. especially his analysis of the meters of 95-101, 224-7, 597-8, 620-1. The commentary gives many passages from Greek literature (Euripides, Greek comedy, Alciphron, Lucian, the Palatine Anthology) and is particularly rich in parallels from other plays of Plautus and from later Latin poets; e.g., see on *faxo* (118), *quid* (257), *tango* (276), *itane* (292), *quid vis?* (675), *numquid vis?* (883). Quotations from the writings of Plautine scholars are numerous. One important item missing from the notes on 262-6, 680, and 686 (and from the Bibliography) is the article by E. W. Fay entitled "The Stratulax Scenes in Plautus' *Truculentus*,"⁸ and the note on *nenia* (213) might have included a reference to Heller's article in *T. A. P. A.*, LXXIV (1943), pp. 215-68 (cf. pp. 228, 258 f.).

Enk has numerous notes on colloquial Latin and gives many delightful translations (in English) of typical Plautine phrases. There are, however, surprisingly few comments on matters of staging and dramatic technique. Although Enk quotes Prescott (on 209 ff., 758 ff.), Kurrelmeyer (on 514), and Harsh (on 308), much more might have been added on these topics. But it is ungracious to criticize the editor for what he did not wish to do. Professor Enk has produced a very valuable and much needed edition of an extremely difficult comedy, and for this he deserves the thanks of all classical scholars.

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E. M. BLAICKLOCK. *The Male Characters of Euripides. A Study in Realism.* Wellington, New Zealand University Press, 1952. Pp. xvi + 267. 35 s.

A well-known ancient tradition considered Euripides a confirmed misogynist, and comic gossip, beginning with Aristophanes, was not slow to find, or invent reasons to account for this alleged fact. Modern criticism, however, depending solely on the material in the extant tragedies, has tended to reverse this judgment; fifty years ago Gilbert Murray observed that "the significant fact is that Euri-

⁶ Enk spells Pronesium, Astapium, Diniarcus, etc. throughout the text, but retains the more usual spelling in Prolegomena and Commentary; cf. Pars Prior, p. 35.

⁷ Ernout in his *Conspectus Metrorum* lists many verses as *incerti*; this is the natural result of the many passages which he considers corrupt.

⁸ This appeared in *A Memorial Volume to Shakespeare and Harvey*, ed. by A. C. Judson, J. T. Patterson, J. F. Royster (*University of Texas Bulletin* [Austin, Texas, 1917]), pp. 155-78. I wrote in *C. P.*, XXXIII (1938), p. 274, n. 32: "This article is likely to escape the notice of many classical scholars, as it is listed neither in the *Bibliotheca philologica classica*, Marouzeau's *Dix années de bibliographie classique*, nor Bursian's *Jahresbericht über Plautus 1912-1920* (192, 1922, 1 ff.)."

pides refuses to idealize any man and does idealize woman." Professor Blaiklock, Professor of Classics in the Auckland University College of New Zealand, has developed this thesis with considerable penetration and thoroughness in the book under review here, with the result that we no longer have Euripides "the misogynist" but Euripides "the misandrist"!

The subtitle of the work gives the author's basic premise and starting point: in an introductory chapter he argues that Euripides was an uncompromising realist, realism being here defined (p. x) as "that element in art which aims at conveying a truthful expression of actuality as it appears to the normal observer." Rejecting both Archaism (Aristophanes' return to the traditions of Marathon) and Futurism (Plato's withdrawal to an ideal society of the future), the realist Euripides "stood firm and faced facts." Since these "facts" included the social and political situation around him, his art became subject to a political interpretation and readily passes into something close to satire. Dr. Blaiklock also argues that our contemporary world is strangely akin to the end of the fifth century B. C.; Euripides is thus more fascinating and significant—as well as more widely appreciated—than ever before. The author's final assumption in this chapter is that Euripides' main interest was in character, and not in plot; to this generalization only the *Iphigenia in Tauris* is admitted as an exception.

Since the author believes that Euripides' realism appears at its sharpest in his treatment of his male characters, the eleven chapters that follow undertake to discuss all the major male characters in every tragedy (the *Rhesus* being excluded as dubious); the work therefore merits consideration as a full-scale study of Euripides as a dramatist. It must suffice to indicate here some of the author's chief points, with a few mild dissents on the part of the present reviewer.

A leading principle in Blaiklock's treatment of the tragedies is the thesis that in any typical play of Euripides the surest method of criticism is to seek the facts of his environment. Accordingly, Admetus is to be interpreted as the typical Athenian husband, self-centered and blinded by the conventions of the Periclean male society: "... it is easy for us to imagine him as stepping straight from life in Periclean Athens, the only son, we might imagine, in a family of Athenian sisters, and presented early with a hand-picked specimen of the adoring and docile Athenian wife." Jason, as well as Theseus in the *Hippolytus*, belongs to the same type, and Blaiklock suggests that there must be some significance in the fact that the three earliest extant plays of Euripides touch on the problems of married life. While the suggestion is interesting, surely the author goes too far in his assertion that the *Medea* was in part inspired by a reaction against the Periclean law restricting citizenship: "There must have been many a household (in Athens) where some war-bride from Thrace or Egypt remembered in Attica distant snows or sands." Here are contemporary analogies to fifth-century Athens with a vengeance! At any rate, no evidence is offered to support the statement, and it seems most unlikely that any Athenians who got back from Egypt bothered to bring any war-brides with them. Hippolytus and Ion are also treated as recognizable Athenian types:

Hippolytus as a sexually maladjusted athlete ("athletes, the psychologists assert, are poor lovers") with a strong leaning toward asceticism and mysticism; Euripides shows what the cruel world can do to such a character. Ion may reflect a typical, high-minded Athenian youth, religious and at first happily devoted to Apollo, who in the end loses his faith in the god of Delphi and is spiritually cut adrift. Menelaus and Agamemnon, great heroes of the saga, exhibit Euripides' judgment on the great captains of the day. Not only is Menelaus damned as a Spartan, but in all five plays in which he appears he is consistently presented as uxorious and weak, being completely dominated by his wife. Agamemnon is "contemptible and weak"; incapable of the true strength of self-sacrifice, he is consumed by personal ambition and afraid of the army he professes to lead. "Euripides had seen such men lead armies." (The reference is presumably to Nicias, among others.) One more chapter of considerable interest may be mentioned: Heracles, in the *Hercules Furens*, is treated as an epileptic, with many carefully chosen parallels drawn from modern medical descriptions of epilepsy and its effects on its victims, to suggest that Euripides is giving a report of careful observation of actual epileptic cases which he might have seen. Blaiklock points out that mental illness tends to increase in times of stress, and he feels certain that it was an increasing problem, and hence of interest to Euripides, in Athens at the end of the fifth century. Incidentally, in this chapter, as in many others, Blaiklock has been strongly influenced by Verrall, whose hints and suggestions he develops, but with more moderation and commonsense.

This brief sampling (and it is, I believe, fairly representative) will give a sufficient idea of Blaiklock's methods and conclusions. A few minor matters of detail may be questioned. Blaiklock's chapter on Admetus, and especially his unqualified admiration for Alcestis' nobility, might have been somewhat altered if he had read the excellent and witty analysis of Alcestis by D. F. V. Van Lennep in his recent edition (Leiden, 1949). In his treatment of the *Hippolytus* (in general, one of his best chapters), Blaiklock becomes involved in the question why Theseus, after invoking Poseidon's curse on his son, tamely ends with a sentence of banishment. Blaiklock suggests that Theseus, on recovering from his initial passion, has now taken vengeance into his own hands; "It is clear (writes the author) that Theseus did not expect Poseidon to fulfill his promise." But a careful reading of the text fails to make this clear and it seems better to see in this passage a typically Euripidean treatment of his mythical material. The terrible punishment which falls on Hippolytus only apparently depends on our accepting the magic wishes and indulgent deities of the legend; in case we reject these mythical conveniences, Euripides will remind us that Hippolytus is ruined nonetheless: there awaits him the living death, the slow dry-rot of exile. Such a rationalistic, paradoxical attitude toward his mythological material is quite characteristic of Euripides.

In his treatment of Menelaus, Blaiklock deals at length with the *Helena*. Loath to believe in the theory that the play is merely a drama of escape, a romantic adventure like the *Iphigenia in Tauris*,

he inclines to the view that it is an attack on war, with the additional aim of damaging in Menelaus' vulnerable person the captains of great hosts. In support of this interpretation, the author finds evidence that Menelaus is portrayed as "insincere, as well as weak," pitifully preoccupied with his tragic change of fortune, filled with self-pity, selfish, and (as always) uxorious; in short, "the character of Menelaus is deliberately debased, or playfully burlesqued." With this opinion, compare the views of A. Y. Campbell, in his recent edition of the same play (Liverpool, 1950): "... The famous Menelaus himself . . . a man battered, embittered, bold, blunt, Byronic; decisive and caustic. We feel his character from the first, and he never loses it. Like a Byronic hero, he can shed a tear; he has sensibility. He is well, if simply drawn, and he was, I cannot doubt, intended to excite admiration" (p. 158). If two such acute critics as Blaiklock and Campbell can reach such diametrically opposed conclusions on the same character, this reviewer can only feel confirmed in his own opinion (which is shared by many) that the *Helena* is a simple play of romantic adventure with hardly a trace of concern for character-drawing: Menelaus says and does what the plot requires of him; his dramatic emphasis on his plan to kill himself and Helen too, rather than allow the barbarian to marry her (a point on which Blaiklock lays heavy stress), has nothing to do with character; the scene merely heightens the feeling of imminent peril and desperate straits.

The treatment of Pentheus ("The Natural Man") in the *Bacchae* is somewhat puzzling, and perhaps inconsistent. Feeling that both Grube and Kitto are a trifle hard on Pentheus, Blaiklock asserts that he is intended for sympathy, "so obvious was his blindness." His *apologia* for Pentheus leads Blaiklock to compare the action of the Roman Senate ("a body noted for its judicial attitude") concerning the Bacchanals, and he concludes that Euripides "is presenting us with a portrait of a man who saw the dangers which he himself saw in the Bacchic cult, and which a Roman Senate confirmed two centuries after his death" (p. 217). It is, perhaps, only a slight inconsistency to assert on the next page (218) that Euripides "is writing no propaganda piece for or against the cult"; and it might be idle to object that intelligent Greeks would not be so impressed as is Blaiklock with the judicial attitude and impartiality of the Roman Senate of the second century B. C. The real objection to this treatment of Pentheus is the fact that Euripides has clearly chosen to characterize Pentheus as a typical stage-tyrant; he is hasty, eager to believe the worst on the most flimsy evidence, harsh and even brutal toward the weak and helpless, and always prone to resort to physical force to settle the most delicate problems. These points are convincingly brought out in E. R. Dodds' edition of the play (Oxford, 1944), which curiously enough Blaiklock does not seem to know; nor does he cite in either his bibliography or discussion Winnington-Ingram's recent thorough analysis of the play.

In conclusion, it hardly need be added that Blaiklock is an enthusiastic and almost uncritical admirer of Euripides, a fact which leads him to such sweeping judgments as these: the *Medea* "has its place among the best of all extant Greek tragedies"; the *Hercules Furens*

is "one of Euripides' greatest plays"; the *Orestes* (one of the purest melodramas extant) is a play "which has some of the tragic power of *Macbeth*." Further, where critics have found flaws in Euripides' technique and dramatic structure, Blaiklock will have none of these aspersions: "It is more profitable to seek the author's meaning." No doubt; but this does not mean that we should allow ourselves, or students, to lull our critical faculties to sleep and fail to distinguish a well-constructed drama from (say) a patch-work of pageantry like the *Phoenissae*. Yet the attentive reader of this book will gain the impression that Euripides wrote nothing but supreme masterpieces of dramatic art.

But these are minor flaws and debatable points in an otherwise excellent study, written in a lively, readable style. The present reviewer recommends the work highly to students of Euripides; if this is a fair sample of classical scholarship and dramatic criticism in New Zealand, we can only beg to hear more from our colleagues Down Under.

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E. A. LOWE. *Codices Latini Antiquiores*. A palaeographical guide to Latin manuscripts prior to the ninth century. Part V. France: Paris. Pp. viii + 63; 52 pls. Part VI. France: Abbeville-Valenciennes. Pp. xxx + 48; 40 pls. Oxford, Clarendon Press (Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1950, 1953. £5 each.

Our standard work on early Latin manuscripts has reached the half-way mark. The present two volumes, with a total of over 300 items, cover the early manuscripts in the libraries of France. Many of these books originated in or near the places where they are found at present; others had been there since the early Middle Ages. Volume V is devoted to the libraries of Paris, Volume VI to those of the provinces. Paris, with 187 items, of which 176 fall on the Bibliothèque Nationale, is ahead of all other cities so far presented.

It is perhaps disappointing to the classical scholar that in this wealth of ancient manuscripts there are so few texts of the classics. Only three classical MSS are outstanding: the Puteanus of Livy, the Orléans fragments of Sallust's *Histoires*, and the Salmasianus of the Latin Anthology. Besides, there are fragments of Virgil (Strasbourg, Pap. lat. 2, in rustic capitals, saec. IV), of Symphosius (in b-type), of Pliny the Elder, of Asper's *Quaestiones Vergilianae*, a palimpsest fragment of a panegyricus, and some technical works. Most of these MSS were probably imported from Italy. It is only in the France of Charlemagne that the classics were grafted onto the Christian stock.

Among the finest and most important books are some biblical MSS: the Lyons Old Latin Heptateuch; the bilingual Psalter, Coislinianus 186; Codex Claromontanus of St. Paul; the Ashburnham Pentateuch; Codex Epternacensis; a bible written for Theodulf of Orléans (Par. lat. 9380); the five volumes of the Mauramnus

Bible at Amiens; finally, three famous early Carolingian gospel books: the Godescalc Gospels, Abbeville 4, and Arsenal 599. The Liturgica include the Lectionary of Luxeuil, the Sacramentary of Gellone, the Bobbio Missal, and the Calendar and Martyrology of St. Willibrord. In the Patristic section we find some early uncial MSS of saec. V and VI, and the Prudentius in rustic capitals, *ca.* 527 (a Mavortius codex); but only few of these MSS (Par. lat. 152, Hilarius in Psalmos, saec. V/2, Par. lat. 10592, Cyprian, saec. V-VI, some early Lugdunenses) seem to be of (South) French origin; the home of the others is Italy.

These are just some items picked at random. The rest (including a number of Latin papyri in Paris and Strasbourg) is equally interesting, at least from the palaeographer's point of view. These two volumes give a representative cross-section of Merovingian and earliest Carolingian writing in all its variety: cursive and cursive minuscule (*inter alia*, the Avitus papyrus), the types known as Luxeuil, *az*, *b*, Corbie *ab*, *eN*, N-uncial, Maurdrannus minuscule, and various types of pre-Caroline and early Caroline minuscule (including early Turonensis); also interesting is the great number of uncial MSS written in France during the seventh and eighth centuries. Of individual scriptoria we meet, in particular, Lyons, Autun, Luxeuil, Fleury, Corbie, Saint-Amand, Saint-Denis, Tours.

Dated MSS are rare, but we find such important landmarks as the Prudentius (Par. lat. 8084) of *ca.* 527; the uncial Canons, Toulouse 364, of 666/7; Pseudo-Fredeggar (Par. lat. 10910) of a. 715; the Calendarium Willibrordi (*ante* 728); the Epinal Jerome of 744/5; the Gundohinus Gospels (Autun 3), a. 754; a collection of Grammatica written at Montecassino between 779 and 797—one of the earliest specimens of Beneventana (Par. lat. 7530); the Maurdrannus Bible, *ante* 781; and the Godescalc Gospels of 781-3 (Par. Nouv. Acq. lat. 1203).

This vast and fascinating material comes to life in the excellent plates, but also, and perhaps even more strikingly, in Professor Lowe's concise and lucid descriptions. Every page bears the mark of consummate mastership, in the acute observation and ingenious combination of details, and especially in the cautious weighing of arguments for dating and localising.

Fundamental is the introduction of Volume VI—a comprehensive critical survey of Merovingian scripts and writing centres. It will long remain the classical treatise on this perplexing chapter of Latin palaeography. As the mature fruit of a lifelong study, we are given here a vivid picture of the crucial phase in the history of the Latin script which preludes the creation of Caroline minuscule—the hand in which so many Latin authors were to be transmitted, the script (to use Professor Lowe's own words) we print and read and write today.

In the great centres of Roman civilisation, at Autun and above all at Lyons, the Roman tradition lingers on; there we find, beside ancient Italian MSS, creditable local productions. In the North and East, a number of scriptoria experiment, each in its way, with the evolution of a workable minuscule out of cursive. Foreign influences play their part: Visigothic in the South, Irish at Luxeuil,

Anglo-Saxon at Corbie. Tours does not come to the foreground before 800, but soon afterwards takes the lead.

One detail of this picture stands out from the rest as new: Lowe's vindication of the so-called Luxeuil minuscule for Luxeuil. So far, the only authentic Luxeuil MS had been the uncial Augustine of 669, Pierpont Morgan MS 334. It remained for Lowe to discover that the characteristic display script of this codex recurs in the whole series of MSS written in "Luxeuil" script or assignable to Luxeuil on other, e.g., artistic, grounds.¹ A whole group of minuscule, uncial, and half-uncial MSS can now be attributed to Luxeuil, which is thus established as the earliest medieval French writing centre of distinct individuality. A new milestone has been set up in palaeographical studies.

Important is the demonstration (accompanied by an instructive extra plate) that our earliest specimen of Caroline minuscule, the script of the Maurdrannus Bible, was developed out of Corbie half-uncial under Maurdrannus' predecessor Leutchar. The proof is contained in MS Berlin Theol. Lat. Fol. 354; one of its scribes, when pressed for space, so "lightens" his half-uncial as to produce a hand that is only one step removed from the "Maurdrannus" type. This observation sheds new light on the early history of Caroline minuscule—a movement which we understand more and more clearly as a number of parallel and eventually convergent efforts made independently in various centres of the Frankish Empire.

Very useful are the complete up-to-date lists of MSS in the several "types"; Luxeuil minuscule and Corbie *ab*-script are leading with 30 and 35 items respectively.

As in previous volumes, special attention is given to small groups of stylistically related MSS. There are, e.g., six MSS, two uncial, four half-uncial, of saec. VII-VIII in., written probably in some centre of Eastern France (*C.L.A.* 522, 541, 547, 634, 670, and a codex Gothanus). The identity of style in the two different scripts is indeed striking; the recurrence of a peculiarly shaped *x*, with the cross-stroke bending inward, is corroborative evidence. A foreign "cell" in the Frankish area was Echternach. The Bibliothèque Nationale contains at least eight MSS for which Echternach origin is more or less certain; only the Codex Epternacensis was probably imported from Northumbria. Another interesting group is constituted by seven MSS (see V, 682), best represented by the Paris Eugippius and the Epinal Jerome, which show Merovingian script, as it were, in the melting pot. Turonian origin is certain for some of the MSS, and probable for others.

The bibliography, though not pretending to be exhaustive, is very full, and will prove a boon to the student.

Incidentally, the reader of these volumes is taught a lesson on the subject "Books and their fates"—from the palimpsesting of Sallust at Fleury and the ninth century annotations of Florus to the thefts and forgeries of Libri and the destruction of the libraries of

¹ For a full statement of the case, see Lowe's paper, "The Script of Luxeuil: a Title Vindicated" in *Revue Bénédictine*, 1953, nos. 1-2—a model of palaeographical demonstration.

Strasbourg in 1870 and of Chartres and Metz during the recent war. It is then a relief to turn back to the Preface of Volume V, where Lowe recalls the origins of his enterprise, and to read his charming tribute to Paris, this "city friendly to ideas," where his idea of *Codices Latini Antiquiores* first took shape.

Second only to Professor Lowe, our thanks are due to the Clarendon Press. The high standard of printing that has been consistently maintained in these volumes, which make such heavy demands on the printer's skill, is a delight, all too rare nowadays, to the reader's eye. *Vivant sequentes!*

LUDWIG BIELER.

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CLYDE PHARR. *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions. A Translation with Commentary, Glossary, and Bibliography.* Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1952. Pp. xxvi + 643. \$20.00. (*The Corpus of Roman Law [Corpus Juris Romani]*, I.)

On March 26, 429, Theodosius II addressed to the Senate of Constantinople a decree ordering that a collection be made of all constitutions (enactments of the emperors) from Constantine on, patterned after the codes of Gregorius and Hermogenianus; that is, the original laws should be preserved in all their essentials, even including inconsistencies and contradictions. It was planned that, on the completion of this work, another code should be drawn up, using the earlier ones and also all the other available legal literature to produce a single document which should present the whole body of law free from error and ambiguity. This vision of a compilation which should include everything, which has more than once deluded the hopes of men, was never undertaken by Theodosius. The first part of the plan, however, was accomplished.

On December 25, 438 at a meeting of the Senate of Rome the first copy of the Theodosian Code was presented, and arrangements made for its dissemination. However much the courts of the time may have regretted that they had only the collection in which inconsistencies were preserved, the historian of law has reason to be immensely grateful (though somewhat surprised) that the emperor showed what would now be considered so sound a scholarly instinct as to leave us the original documents substantially in their original form. (A fertile field for controversy, to be sure, was left in the provision that superfluous words might be omitted. It is always possible to imagine that what would have seemed important to the modern scholar appeared as mere superfluity to Theodosius' editors. Uncertain light on the practice of those editors is shed by the so-called Sirmondian Constitutions, ten of which preserve a longer form of material also found in the Code.)

The importance of laws emanating from the emperors themselves is obvious for the understanding of late Roman history, but the reader is likely to be taken aback at first to find how large a propor-

tion of the book is taken up with matter of very limited importance and how seldom he comes across the statement of a fundamental legal principle. The Roman law, like the Common law, is built up of individual cases, not determined by philosophical foresight. General principles emerge, therefore, by the comparison of cases but there is no short cut—no simple announcement of "what the law is." To compensate for this inconvenience there is not only the great flexibility of the law itself but the great advantage for the student of being able to observe its changes in response to changing conditions. To be sure, the evidence is disjointed and sporadic and there are many topics about which we should be glad to know a great deal and about which the laws are silent. Yet there are many cases where the Code gives us a large view of what would otherwise be obscure or in total darkness. Most of all a thoughtful reading gives one an understanding of the basic, continuing, and insoluble problems: how to pay for the cost of empire without ruining the citizen and how to keep the empire safe without extinguishing the citizen's liberty. One comes to realize that the allies are the emperor and his subjects; the enemy is officialdom, an enemy indispensable to the allies and less terrible a foe than chaos but a foe terrible enough in all conscience. The long list of denunciations of untrustworthy officials does not, of course, show that all officials or a majority of them were untrustworthy, but it does show how easy it was for ministers high and low to thwart justice, and how little able the sovereign was to maintain contact with his subjects through the administrative screen by which he was necessarily surrounded. Though the material is a series of details, they combine to form a picture whose large elements of tragedy make one of the most arresting characteristics of the late Roman empire as an episode in human history.

With the admirable purpose of putting this large and difficult work at the disposal of a group of scholars wider than its present readers, Professor Pharr has undertaken and completed the Herculean task of translating into English the Code, the Sirmondian Constitutions, and the "Novels" from Theodosius to Anthemius—that is the laws issued after the publication of the Code. The most common objection to translation has no pertinence here. In spite of the inclusion of a fair amount of pious rhetoric it may be said that the law of this period has no literary virtues and an English version, therefore, cannot do violence to anything of value. On the other hand, readers of classical Latin are likely to find the language extremely difficult and it must be a very accomplished Latinist who would not welcome the help that Professor Pharr offers him. As for those who never were Latinists or are so no longer, this book gives them their first chance to find out what late Roman law is like. It would, therefore, be gratifying to be able to feel that the Code is now accessible to all who are interested. Unfortunately that must be seriously qualified.

In such a work it is inevitable that there should be difference of opinion about the meaning of certain passages and to search for them would be merely captious. But though the translator has no stylistic perils to fear, he has the special problems of a technical

vocabulary which often has no English equivalents. The difficulties produced are of different degrees and different solutions are employed including notes and a valuable glossary. These are likely to be satisfactory in proportion to one's familiarity with law and Roman history but they cannot be said to make all the rough places plain and I keep coming across passages where I can understand the translation only by reference to the text. This is a work that would be ideally suited to the system of Latin and English on opposite pages. (And if one is contemplating ideals, how much easier it would be to use the book if it were octavo instead of folio!) Helpful the translation certainly is and not least to those who are pursuing particular interests and who, like most of us, read English faster than they do Latin. But the text must be there to refer to on critical points, and then what of the student who cannot read the text at all?

The only way to make the translation independent would have been to provide it with a commentary that should discuss and settle the moot questions. What such a commentary would have looked like may be seen in the six tomes of Gothofredus, not every word of which is indispensable, to be sure, but most of which is still of great value. Such an enlargement of his task was, of course, out of the question for Pharr, but the reader might as well be warned that there will be a regrettable number of cases where, having diligently compared the translation with the original, he still will not know what the passage means. Someone looking for a life work that will cause a small but ardent posterity to bless him could do worse than translate Gothofredus' commentary.

Doubtless for sound reasons of economy there has been no attempt to reproduce the tables in the prolegomena of Mommsen's edition: the emperors who issued constitutions, the persons to whom they were addressed, their chronological order, and their place of origin. A glance at them will show how invaluable they are to those interested in history or governmental structure. If the reader of the translation wants to know about Valentinian I, for instance, he must go through and make out his own list of pertinent constitutions. Perhaps that will do him good, but it takes time. The introduction by Mr. C. Dickerman Williams and the translator's outline of Roman history form an interesting approach to the subject for the non-specialist, while the glossary, the bibliography, and the index are no mere parades of learning but carefully calculated aids to the reader's enlightenment. If all these do not suffice to make the subject easy or its treatment complete that is the result of its nature and due to no lack of industry of Professor Pharr.

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JOËL LE GALL. *Le Tibre fleuve de Rome dans l'antiquité*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953. Pp. vii + 387; 10 figs.; 34 pls. (*Publications de l'Institut d'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université de Paris, I.*)

JOËL LE GALL. *Recherches sur le culte du Tibre*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953. Pp. 124; 15 pls. (*Publications de l'Institut d'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université de Paris, II.*)

Ancient writers were interested in the Tiber only as a casually prominent feature of the Roman landscape. They took the river and all its works much for granted. Modern students have by and large accepted their point of view. Their attention has turned Tiberward only as the river has been required to explain some point in the history, topography, or religion of the city. Yet alone of the great cities of the ancient Mediterranean Rome in its maturity was truly a river town. The Tiber was its *differentia*, its dominant physical and spiritual feature. It was the vital artery of supply and communications, the indispensable interior waterway, source of nourishment and purification, cause of delight and disaster. Rome in its youth, as it grew to overshadow its rivals in Latium, in Italy, and in the Mediterranean basin, grew in partnership with its river.

In the two volumes under review J. Le Gall has courageously attempted to study the nature and history of this intimate relationship between Rome and its river from the standpoint of the river. "Thèse principale" and "Thèse supplémentaire" examine two aspects of the central problem: the Tiber considered as a material factor in the history of Rome and envisaged as an immaterial force in the minds and emotions of the Roman people. The first is a study in historical geography, the second in the history of religion.

Le Gall has had the advice and encouragement of his master, Jérôme Carcopino, and the advantage of two sojourns in Rome. He has re-examined with a critical eye and, where possible, at first hand the chief primary sources of information on his subject—the passing references of ancient authors, the material remains of bridges, quays, and embankments, the objects dredged from the Tiber bed, the epigraphical and archaeological record of officials, collegia and individuals directly concerned with the river and its traffic—and has drawn into his net many others of less obvious cogency. These sources are scant at best and rarely unambiguous. Most of them are well rubbed and not likely to generate new light by further friction. Le Gall has not spared his efforts to tap others. He has put to use for the first time the "Verbali di consegna" of the Museo delle Terme, sole and barren record of the thousands of objects found in the construction of the Tiber embankments during the last quarter of the last century. He has made a searching revision of the inscriptions of the *Curatores Riparum et Alvei Tiberis*, which brings their roster up to date and gives us a lucid account of the history and functions of that institution. He has essayed to bring the terminology and the representation of river craft together in a reasonable and consistent manner, assigning likenesses to the *límtes*, *scaphae*, *tenunculí*, and *naves caudicarií* of the written record

and names to the nondescript vessels of the pictured. He has called upon the modern disciplines of hydrography and urban geography to provide terms of comparison and classification for the ancient river and the ancient town.

On this basis he sketches in a bold design. The Tiber figures as the least Mediterranean of Mediterranean streams, rolling an unfailingly abundant and navigable flood from the Nar to the sea, Rome as bridgehead citadel at an important crossroads, lowest bridgehead on the river, head of navigation, point of break-of-bulk. Their analogues are the great Atlantic rivers of northern Europe with their bridgehead and head-of-navigation cities—Bordeaux, London, Antwerp, Hamburg. Like them, as its needs expanded and its shipping grew more diversified, Rome spawned its river-mouth port, its lighter and barge services, its naval arsenals, its docks and ferries. The whole intricate mechanism of cooperation between river and metropolis in its maritime, regional, and local aspects came to be adjusted to Rome's imperial position and requirements. It could not survive the loss of empire. Causes independent of the Tiber left it unchanged, abandoned by the complex growth it had fostered. Meanwhile the men whose lives were so long and so closely bound up with the river revered its inexpressible power. This deep-rooted reverence resisted anthropomorphism and dramatization. Father Tiber remained a faceless, mythless *numen*, potent to heal and to purge by the direct action of his waters, receiving offerings directly into himself. His iconography is late and perfunctory. His cult was always one of primitive dynamism.

In the detail of this design Le Gall's work with the scattered finds from the engineering operations of the last century and the boundary stones of the *Curatores* sometimes brings its reward. It serves to dispel the mirage of Lanciani's Augustan canalization of the Roman reaches of the Tiber and to demonstrate the gradual and partial process of the embanking during the late Republic and Empire. It shows, with interesting results for the history of the Pomerium, how Rome's waterway, like the highways radiating from its gates, was for considerable stretches lined with cemeteries. Analysis of the ex-votos collected from the bed of the river seems to prove the connection of at least some of them with the cult of the Tiber and possibly to localize some of its centers.

More often the design accommodates the old perplexities unresolved. Their ventilation fails either to produce persuasive new solutions or to lend new conviction to old. This is due in some measure to the knottiness of the problems themselves, insoluble in the absence of fresh evidence or fresh insight, in greater measure to defect of knowledge or imagination.

The author's working bibliography, far from exhaustive in itself, is essentially that of 1938/1939, when he was beginning his studies in Rome. It is very summarily adjourned up only to 1950. He appears not to be conversant with much of the recent work which touches his subject. Thus, e.g., his terms of classification in urban geography seem to be those of Auroisseau. The basic French work of P. Lavedan, published in 1936, goes unacknowledged. He is unable to avail himself of Cozzo's *Luogo primitivo di Roma* (1935)

for his investigations of the conditions of primitive river traffic. His efforts to classify and date construction are often embarrassed by his failure to use Marion Blake rather than Tenney Frank. His observations about the later phases of Ostia are made in ignorance of Becatti's fundamental work. This weakness is particularly glaring in his extremely schematic treatment of the prehistory of the Tiber, the site of Rome and the Sublician bridge. Little of the abundant recent writing on this subject is utilized. Even the provocative syntheses of Altheim and Pareti receive no consideration, while the crucial study of Louise Adams Holland (*T. A. P. A.*, LXXX [1949]) is passed over in silence.

On the other hand, we find, for example, the old and capital enigma of the location of the Navalía approached with reassuring empiricism. Their function is trenchantly defined. An attempt is made to estimate their minimum extent on the analogy of the Athenian ship-sheds. A promising beginning, yet Le Gall concludes lamely by situating the Navalía, solely on an extremely dubious interpretation of the vague literary evidence, precisely where they cannot possibly have been, between Ponte Sisto and the Tiber Island, having chosen to disregard both the long southwestern side of the Campus Martius and the jetty of Tor di Nona, whose claims have been recently and cogently reasserted by Cressedi (*Rend. Pont.*, XXV-XXVI [1949-1951]). We are similarly deceived, after a good deal of pointed comment on the actual process of towing, in the treatment of the venerable puzzle of the Tiber tow-paths. The author's deployment is merely a feint. In the same way, the association with the cult of the Tiber of all the votive objects found in its bed gains only grudging assent, largely because the weighing of the other obvious possibilities has been scamped.

These are perhaps the blemishes incidental to the all-embracing "thèse." "Nous avions pris un grand bateau," remarked Stendhal, "parce que le cours du Tibre dans Rome passe pour être d'une navigation dangereuse." If Le Gall's boat occasionally goes aground, his navigation has explored new channels, improved some old ones, and opened some unsuspected perspectives.

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FRIEDRICH KARL DÖRNER. Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynien. Wien, R. M. Rohrer, 1952. Pp. 75. (*Oest. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften*, 75, 1 Abh.)

This publication contains a full account of the results of Dr. Dörner's visit to the Bithynian cities of Prusias ad Hypium (Üskübü) and Bithynium-Claudiopolis (Bolu) during a journey in northern Turkey in 1948, a *Vorbericht* of which appeared in the *Anzeiger* of the Vienna Academy in 1949. The author had previously published an account of a visit to western Bithynia (in 1939) in his *Inschriften und Denkmäler aus Bithynien = Istanbulischer Forschungen*, XIV (1941).

The text of the inscriptions from Prusias is preceded by *Einlei-*

tende Bemerkungen containing an interesting but brief account of the site and ruins of the city near the northern end of the plain of Düzce, as well as descriptions of various places in the neighbourhood. For all details the reader is referred to the author's article on Prusias ad Hypium (as yet unpublished) in the *Realencyclopädie d. Class. Altertumswissenschaft*.

In connection with the site of Prusias Dörner refers also to his article in *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson* (I, pp. 374 f.), in which, following a suggestion of A. D. Mordtmann in *Ath. Mitt.*, XII (1887), p. 181, he shows that the station on the great road leading from Nicomedeia through Bithynia to Paphlagonia and the East, which appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as *Dusepro Solypum* and has usually been emended to *Dusae pros Olypium* (and placed at Bey Köy), should, on the basis of the form *Druso Prosipeo* in the *Cosmographia* of the Anonymus Ravennas, be changed to Prusias pros Hypium. The road, accordingly, led across the northern end of the plain of Düzce.

A somewhat similar introduction precedes the inscriptions from Bithynium-Claudiopolis. In his discussion of the site of the city Dörner points out that the location of the acropolis in the fertile plain of Salona indicates that the place must have been settled long before the time of the Bithynian kings, one of whom (Ziaëlas, according to Eduard Meyer; Nicomedes I, according to A. H. M. Jones) has been supposed to have founded it as a military colony. This introduction also contains an interesting account of the ancient remains in the villages in the neighbourhood of Bolu, which the author examined during his visit to the city. In one of these he found what seemed to be the ruins of a sanctuary of the Great Mother.

Of the 43 inscriptions (including one Latin and ten Christian) from Prusias, all, except a very few (chiefly fragments) whose date is undeterminable, can be definitely assigned to the Roman period. In one of them (no. 10) the statement that L. Aurelius Diogenianus Kallikles, agonothete of the *Augusteia Seouereia pentaeteric* contests, "often escorted the most great and divine emperors and their sacred armies" refers, like *I. G. R. E.*, III, 60, 62, and 1421, to the passage of Severus and Caracalla on their return-journey after the defeat of Pescennius Niger at Issus and again during their expeditions against the Parthians.

The series of inscriptions in which prominent citizens of Prusias were honoured by the phylarchs of the twelve city-tribes (mostly republished in *I. G. R. E.*, III but, unfortunately, without the names of the tribes or the phylarchs) has been increased by the addition of no. 4, in honour of M. Domitius Candidus. The names of the tribes appear as in the other inscriptions of this kind and in the regular order except that the place for the fifth tribe (*Phaustiniane*) and one of its phylarchs has been left vacant.

Also of especial interest are nos. 5 (*Vorbericht*, pp. 233 f.), 18 and 19 (*Vorbericht*, pp. 234 f.). The first of these records honours conferred by two city-tribes on a man who had held important local offices and bore the titles of *tropheus* (because of his gifts of grain, wine, oil, and money to the citizens) and *basileus*. It was pointed out by L. Robert (*Hellenica*, VIII [1950], pp. 76 f.) that Cierus

(the earlier city on the site of Prusias) belonged for a time to Heracleia Pontica, a colony of Megara, where the *basileus* was an important official.

In no. 18 the father of the woman who erected the monument appears as Bithyniarch and Pontarch and *neokoros* of Demeter, and his wife as *archiereia* and also *neokoros* of the goddess. If the wife was *archiereia* of the province and not of a local cult, parallels may be found in a few cases in the province of Asia, where the title of *archiereia* was borne by the wife of an Asiarch (e.g. *I. G. R. R.*, IV, 1233 and *J. O. A. I.*, VII, *Bbl.* 42). The combination in the present inscription raises the question whether the Bithyniarch was the *archiereus* of the province. It may be, however, that the man in question was, in fact, *archiereus* but that the honorary title of Bithyniarch was used as giving greater distinction.

In no. 19 the editor found a parallel for the expression ἐξ ἰκονισσιῶνος, used in connection with the grant of the *equus publicus*, in *eq(ues) R(omanus) ex inquisitione allectus* in Gsell, *Inscr. Lat. de l'Algérie*, I, 2145. It may perhaps be regarded as referring to the investigation to which an applicant for the *equus publicus* was subjected (see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, III, p. 491).

The 96 inscriptions (including eight Christian and one Jewish from Bithynium and the vicinity are all, as far as they can be dated, from Roman times. A few very ornamental letters on a fragment of an architrave (no. 73 = *Vorbericht*, p. 227) have been restored as the name and filiation of Hadrian. If the restoration is correct, the building was presumably dedicated to or by Hadrian during one of his journeys in Asia Minor. The general belief, moreover, that Bithynium was the native city of Antinous, Hadrian's favourite, is strengthened by the discovery of a votive-offering to the "New God Antinous" (no. 78 = *Vorbericht*, p. 227).

Other inscriptions mention local gods hitherto unknown—Zeus Kaouatrenos, to whom dedications were made by several agonothetes (no. 74), and Zeus Eienkimos and Apollo, to whom a votive altar was erected by the villagers of Balia . . . (no. 75).

The inscriptions from the vicinity of Bolu include two milestones erected, respectively, under Decius (no. 85 = *Vorbericht*, p. 229) and Diocletian (no. 86). The former is inscribed a *Bithynio Hadriana ad Fines* ζ'; it is evidently from the road, already mentioned, which led from the coast of Bithynia to Paphlagonia and the East. In capitalizing *Fines* the editor assumed that this was the name of a frontier-station as in *Itin. Burdigalense*, 574, 4 (Cuntz, 92). But it is perhaps more probable that merely the eastern boundary of Bithynia was meant, as the same expression on a milestone found at Gebze at the entrance to the Gulf of İzmit (Dörner, *Inscr. u. Denkmäler*, pp. 43 f. and no. 50) seems to refer to the boundary of the territory of Nicomedeia.

The inscriptions from each of the two cities are followed by a section giving an account of the *denkmäler* (29 from Prusias, 34 from Bithynium) found in the place. The account of those monuments found at Bolu is followed in turn by the text and translation by J. Kraemer of two Arabic inscriptions from a mosque near the city, and this by an excellent epigraphical index. Appended is a

series of 30 plates, the first four of which are views of Prusias; the rest are photographs of the inscribed stones and other objects, followed by a plan showing the environs of Bolu. The reproductions of the inscriptions are, for the most part, good and easy to read, but consultation would be easier had they been numbered to correspond to the texts, and a similar plan of the environs of Prusias would be welcome.

While none of the inscriptions can be regarded as of outstanding importance, the collection as a whole is a valuable addition to the epigraphy of the two cities, and Dörner is to be congratulated on the success which rewarded his careful examination of the sites, as well as on his excellent treatment of the inscriptions. His descriptions of the present locations of the stones are detailed and accurate; the texts, when necessary, are cautiously and convincingly restored; and the commentaries contain all that is needed for their elucidation. It is to be hoped that he will soon publish the remaining results of his expedition, especially the account of the inscriptions and monuments in the collection of antiquities in Kastamonu, which he visited in the course of his journey.

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W. VOLLGRAFF. *L'Oraison Funèbre de Gorgias*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1952. Pp. 175. 23 guilders. (*Philosophia Antiqua*, IV.)

By means of a very full running commentary on the famous fragment of Gorgias' funeral speech, this study tries to extract from it the educational principles and aims of the great Sophist. Vollgraff assumes that Gorgias merely used the epitaphios-form in order to propagate "les principes qui le passionaient en matière de politique et d'éducation nationale." Some of the author's reinterpretations of difficult phrases are convincing, his citations from other writers are often enlightening, but it is a very heavy burden to place on a short fragment of only two hundred and sixteen words, some of which are inevitably made to carry far more significance than they can comfortably manage. There is some merit in the author's basic assumption, but one expects the Sophist at least to preserve the appearance of the genre, even though deliberate ambiguity cannot be ruled out.

Perhaps the most valuable part of this work is the careful study of certain words and phrases: τὸ ἐπιεικές as equity (12-14); καιρός as "les nécessités de l'heure," ἐν καιρῷ and ἐν τῷ δέοντι being equivalents (21-6); τὸ πρέπον (39-41); κοσμοί and ὑβρισταί (45-54); πόθος (85 on), and others. The interest remains even where one does not agree with the conclusions.

Vollgraff is fairly restrained in the number of his emendations, but those he does make are not convincing. He tells us that when, at the beginning, Gorgias expresses the hope that he will escape the νέμεσις of the gods and the φθόγος of men, he is clearly introducing some unpopular opinions. He then proceeds to emend πολλά twice in πολλά μὲν δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιεικές τοῦ αὐθάδους δικαίου προκρίνοντες, πολλά δὲ νόμου ἀκριβείας λόγων ὀρθότητα because, he

tells us, it is obviously foolish to reckon as divine virtue what is done only on occasions! One might reply that the law and "le droit" must surely not be subordinated on every occasion, even by a Sophist. But for that, however, his rendering: "en prisant bien plus la douceur de l'équité et la justice du raisonnement que la dureté du droit et la rigueur de la loi" is sound, and the parallels he adduces enlightening, even if one doubts that the advice was exclusively addressed to forensic orators. On the other hand, I fail to see how τὸ δέον ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ λέγειν καὶ σιγᾶν καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ εἶναι need imply "l'amoralisme élevé au rang du principe, la morale de l'occasion," for this would make all the apostles of τὸ πρέπον into amoralists, from Aristotle to Cicero. To practise both γνώμη and ῥώμη surely does not mean that one should throw oneself into party politics without ethical ideals for purely selfish ends, and the parallel passages do not convince me to think so. So too one should have thought that "to look after those undeservedly unfortunate and punish the undeservedly prosperous" is clear enough without any deeper meaning that an orator should only take such cases as will make him rise in public esteem. No more conviction is carried by interpreting αὐθάδεις πρὸς τὸ σύμφερον as "opiniâtres à servir leurs intérêts."

Vollgraff is on much sounder ground when he takes εὐόργητοι πρὸς τὸ πρέπον as "ready to submit to the dictates of good form," and he supports this ably. In the next clause he wishes to read τῆς δόξης instead of τῆς ῥώμης, which he is fully entitled to do, since both are conjectures, but it is a bold statement that the repetition of ῥώμη is here not like Gorgias. The interpretation of κοσμοῖ as those who respect the established νόμοι, and of ὑβρισταί as those who do not, is definitely attractive, and so, if less compelling, is his translation of ἀφοβοὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀφόβους, δεινοὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς as "sans malice envers les ingénus, habiles entre les habiles," though the words need not refer, at least exclusively, to the practitioners of rhetoric. When the author tells me that the clause μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων το ἀναθήματα is a rhetorical parenthesis, I believe him, but I cannot swallow the transposition of ἀγάλματα and ἀναθήματα even though it makes for a much easier sense. A further transposition, in the next clause, of ἄρεος and ἔριδος is even less justified, though it would be pleasant to be able to translate ἔρις as emulation, which in the text as it stands is impossible. There is, however, a great deal to be said for his taking νόμιμοι ἔρωτες as "legitimate aspirations" (following Wilamowitz) instead of the absurd "lawful loves." δικάω is shown to be a correct word in men's relations to the gods, but τῷ ἴσῳ as self-consistency is much more doubtful. Nor can I see that the harmless words εὐσεβεῖς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τῇ πίστει mean that Gorgias is taking position in the controversy between honour and friendship on the side of the latter.

But it is when he comes to deal with πόθος, in the last sentence, that Vollgraff loses all sense of proportion or direction. The meaning is perfectly clear: "though they are dead, our longing for them (πόθος) lives on for ever." But no! πόθος apparently means enthusiasm, "la flamme inextinguible qui brûle dans le cœur des jeunes héros," and its use here makes Gorgias "l'inventeur de la παιδεία

par le moyen du $\pi\acute{o}\theta\omicron\varsigma$." The discussion of this magic word continues for over eighty pages; it deals with the text of a sentence in the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, the $\pi\acute{o}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ of Alexander the Great, the importance of the love of glory and the reading of the poets in ancient education, the ancient quarrel between the poets and the philosophers, the meaning of catharsis in Aristotle and the text of the definition of tragedy, and other things. Of all of which the prime source is Gorgias! Most surprising perhaps, the author's own enthusiasm seems to blind him to the contradiction between this Gorgias, the champion of glory and the heroic ethic, and the complete amoral sceptic to whom we were introduced in the earlier part of the book.

All that is rather a pity, for the fragment is important and Vollgraff had some interesting things to say about it. Even in the second half of his study (the note on $\pi\acute{o}\theta\omicron\varsigma$) there are a number of things of interest, if the reader can get over his irritation at their irrelevance.

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL, but all pertaining to the classical field are listed under BOOKS RECEIVED. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

Bell (H. Idris). *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Being the Forwood Lectures for 1952). New York, *Philosophical Library*, 1953. Pp. x + 117. \$4.75.

Brogan (Olwen), with drawings by Edgar Holloway. *Roman Gaul*. Cambridge, Mass., *Harvard Univ. Press*, 1953. Pp. x + 250; 51 figs.; map. \$4.25.

Chamoux (François). *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades*. Paris, *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 1953. Pp. 420; 25 pls.

DeWitt (Norman Wentworth). *Epicurus and his Philosophy*. Minneapolis, *Univ. of Minnesota Press*, 1954. Pp. 388. \$6.00.

Dinnage (Paul). *The Satyricon of Petronius*. Translated and with an Introduction. London, *Spearman and Calder*, 1953. Pp. xiii + 162. \$2.95.

Festugière (André-Jean), O. P. *Personal Religion among the Greeks*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, *Univ. of California Press*, 1954. Pp. viii + 186; frontispiece. \$3.75. (*Sather Classical Lectures*, XXVI.)

Gomme (A. W.). *The Greek Attitude to Poetry and History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, *Univ. of California Press*, 1954. Pp. vi + 190; frontispiece. \$3.75. (*Sather Classical Lectures*, XXVII.)

Harding (G. Lankester). *Four Tomb Groups from Jordan*. London, *The Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1953. Pp. xi + 72; frontispiece; 7 pls.; 23 figs. 15 s. (*Palestine Exploration Fund Annual*, No. VI.)

Henle (Jane Elizabeth). *A Study in Word Structure in Minoan Linear B*. New York, 1953. Pp. v + 185. (Columbia diss.)

Mason (Cora). *Socrates, The Man Who Dared to Ask*. Boston, *The Beacon Press*, 1953. Pp. xi + 165; 10 illus. \$2.75.

Oldfather (C. H.). *Diodorus of Sicily*. With an English Translation. Vol. VI (Books XIV-XV, 19). London, *Harvard Univ. Press*, 1954. Pp. vi + 378; map. \$3.00. (*Loeb Classical Library*.)



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WHOLE NO. 300

SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY*.

With the present issue, the *American Journal of Philology* terminates its seventy-fifth year of continuous publication. As Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, its founder and first editor, wrote in looking back over its first twenty-five years (XXV [1904], p. 486), "twenty-five years is youth for a crow, but a good old age for a horse and the congeners of the same, a respectable age for a quarterly." Today, after another fifty years, we need not concern ourselves with the horse and the congeners of the same. They have disappeared from our reckoning. So we are left with a classical crow that is well into the third of his nine human generations and a classical journal that may fairly be said to have reached a venerable age. But enough of the crow, ἐς κόρακας with him in the antique manner, and let the journal now be the sole object of our attention.

It seemed to me as editor and chief administrator of the *American Journal of Philology* at the present time that both tradition and sentiment required some official recognition of its current anniversary. A history of the *American Journal of Philology* which might have made a fair claim to completeness would clearly have been the most desirable way of celebrating the occasion. But the time and the writer were lacking. A task which would have become inevitably the writing of a sizable work, as much concerned with the growth and development of American scholarship in many fields as with the *Journal* itself, was nothing to be undertaken lightly.

So a compromise was imposed and the result of it is the following pages. They belong to the *Journal's* past and their contents would be included in more extensive form in a more comprehensive and satisfactory discussion. The matters of which they treat have been selected for their general interest and will be presented chronologically insofar as possible. This scheme was adopted in the hope that the friends and readers of the *Journal*, although deprived of a true history, might learn nevertheless enough of the *Journal's* genesis and growth to discern the whole behind the parts. At the same time, since a journal in its final analysis is what its editors and contributors make it, there will be opportunity to honor some of the scholars now dead, who labored most fruitfully in its interests.

It has already been mentioned that Gildersleeve himself gave an account of the first twenty-five years of the *Journal's* existence. The account is trenchant, informative, and highly personal and the reader who would enjoy its full flavor must read it for himself. There is no substitute for Gildersleeve in the original. I have not the space or heart to summarize it and a summary would not well accord with the continuity that I should like to give these pages. Consequently I am compelled to ask forgiveness of his *Manes* and to treat what is finely thought and boldly expressed as mere information from which pertinent bits and pieces can be reworked into my own pedestrian account.

Finally, in this skeletal reconstruction, a rather important element has been intentionally neglected, if not entirely omitted. In the *Editorial Note* which served as an introduction to the first issue, Gildersleeve spoke (p. 2) of the "earnest desire to represent as fairly as may be the whole cycle of Philological study." By then he must have known what the contents of his first volume would be and he mentions a preponderance of the Greek element which might lead to suspicion on the part of some. But in the same paragraph he disavows any just basis for it, by appealing to the spirit in which he was undertaking his task and the wide variety of reports and periodicals which would be part of the *Journal*.

How the classical material came to preponderate may best be reserved for treatment further on. At the moment it is worth noting that Gildersleeve's broad concept of a Journal of Philology as a single house with many mansions met the most

critical need of American scholarship in the humanities at the time. For more than a half century, the *Journal* published articles outside the classical field by scholars of recognized distinction. In this way, it made an invaluable contribution to the encouragement and dissemination of non-classical studies, especially during a period when these studies had few or no media of publication of their own in the United States. For some years, however, the *Journal* has been devoted almost exclusively to all aspects of Classical Antiquity and closely contiguous fields. Presumably, the kind of scholarship and learning which it now represents is the principal professional or academic interest of the great majority of its readers. In view of this prevailing situation and the limited scope of the present discussion, there seemed to be some justification for concentrating here on the classical aspects of the *Journal*, even in that long period when it was classical only in part, and to mention its history in other fields as a relative matter, furnishing perspective and completing the general view.

The first issue was published in 1880. At the time, Gildersleeve was entering his sixth year as Professor of Greek in the Johns Hopkins University. He had accepted appointment in December, 1875, and his formal duties had begun in the fall of 1876 when the new University opened its doors to students. There could be no clearer proof that the University from its very beginnings was dedicated to serving advanced learning than the fact that Gildersleeve was the first professor to be formally appointed to its faculty. Nor was it a small part of this devotion to learning and scholarship that Daniel Coit Gilman, the first President, warmly urged the professors of his first faculty to found professional journals through which all scholars, not those of his University alone, could make public the results of their investigations.

The *American Journal of Mathematics* began to appear in 1878. Gilman had proposed founding it to J. J. Sylvester almost as soon as he arrived from England to join the Faculty as Professor of Mathematics in May, 1876. Consequently, a journal of mathematics was in the process of being created before the first student entered a classroom to attend a mathematical lecture. Gildersleeve chose its motto: *πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων* (Hebrews XI, 1). The *πίστις*, we can assume, was omitted

intentionally out of respect for the purest of sciences. Sylvester, who could make a verse translation of an Horatian ode that was highly agreeable, and when abandoning the symbolic dialect of his discipline for English prose could amaze and delight the uninitiated no less than Gildersleeve himself, interpreted the motto as "the clinching of the invisible, that is the leading idea of mathematics."

The following year saw the first issue of the *American Chemical Journal* under the editorship of Ira Remsen. The *American Journal of Philology* was therefore the third of the national scholarly journals inspired by Gilman, founded by Hopkins professors, and assisted financially by the University.

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the *Journal*, Gildersleeve wrote (XXV [1904], p. 487): "and President Gilman gave me to understand that it was my manifest duty to follow the lead of the *American Journal of Mathematics* and the *American Journal of Chemistry*. The University did not undertake to guarantee the expenses of the enterprise, but it became a large subscriber and without that subscription, the *Journal* would still have a hard, if not a hopeless struggle for existence." This financial assistance was assured by the Summer of 1878, for Gildersleeve speaks of it in his presidential address to the American Philological Association in July of that year (I [1880], pp. 1 f.). At a time when we in the United States think of our scholarly journals as "belonging" to Universities or other learned institutions, it is worth noting that the early Hopkins journals were the property of the scholars who founded them. In the case of the *American Journal of Philology*, it was not until 1920, when Gildersleeve retired as editor, that his rights in the *Journal* were transferred to the University. For forty years, the *Journal* was his in flesh as well as in spirit. It is always refreshing to be reminded of instances when the piper was considered the person best qualified to own the pipe, and the most competent to judge what tune or tunes should be played on it, gratuities notwithstanding.

But the burden was heavy. For the first eighteen volumes, all the work was done or supervised by Gildersleeve himself: not only the many and varied tasks which fall under the general term of "editing," but also all the business arrangements with the one exception of putting the issues in the mail, once they had

been printed and bound. With the nineteenth volume, the business department was placed in the hands of Nicholas Murray, the Superintendent of The Johns Hopkins Press. Then, for the first time, do we find "Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press" substituted for "Baltimore: The Editor" on the title page. The Notice, however, which was inserted at the beginning of this volume makes it clear that the business management alone was transferred to the Press and that the Press had become the publisher only insofar as this routine aspect of the *Journal* was concerned.

There is very little formal mention of editorial assistance during the first thirty-six years. It is not until 1916 and volume thirty-seven that a second name takes its place below that of Gildersleeve on the title page. The year before, Gildersleeve had retired from his regular academic duties and become Honorary Francis White Professor of Greek in the University. In the same year, Charles William Emil Miller had been appointed Professor of Greek and it is with this title that his name first appears as Assistant Editor. Miller received his doctorate in Greek from The Hopkins in 1886 and after teaching elsewhere he was called back in 1891 as special assistant to Gildersleeve.

As early as 1896, when he was an Assistant Professor, Miller must have been helping Gildersleeve with the *Journal*. In a *Brief Mention* of that year (XVII, p. 390), Gildersleeve thanks Miller for having seen the two preceding issues through the press. Now again, he will take "full charge." With Gildersleeve, there could be no divided command or divided responsibility until he felt his powers failing, at the end of a long and vigorous life. Only three volumes, the last that Gildersleeve took part in editing (XXXVIII, XXXIX, and XL), carry the names of Gildersleeve and Miller as joint editors, on the same footing. *Εἰς κόλπον ἔστω* was the attitude with which Gildersleeve founded and edited the *Journal* (XXV [1904], p. 487). Nevertheless, there was a great deal of tedious and time-consuming work to be done and it is clear from what my senior colleagues have told me that Miller loyally carried his share of the burden. His devotion to Gildersleeve was profound and he seems to have been content to stand within the shadow of the master for many years.

Another sort of collaboration was furnished by the scholars

who composed the "Reports" or summaries of periodicals to which Gildersleeve attached great importance (XXV [1904], p. 489). On page 117 of the first volume, a list of some forty-four periodicals is given. The editor promises "abstracts of some and notes on others" in each issue and states the need of help to effect the project. This help was generously given by a number of scholars, some of whom were conspicuously willing to devote what must have been an inordinate amount of time to abstracting and criticising the works of others year after year. Other reporters lent their services more intermittently.

The history of the Reports reflects the *Journal's* development from the general to the particular. During its first ten years (1880-1889) reports were published on some twenty-five learned periodicals of which nine were devoted solely or chiefly to classical antiquity. During the next decade (1890-1899), an apparent balance was struck between the classical and non-classical journals, in that six of the former and eight of the latter were reviewed. But the former were reviewed more often and occupied more space. The third decade (1900-1909) saw the decisive victory of the classical element, for it was during this period that such veterans as *Englische Studien* and *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* made their last appearance. Presumably because of close philological kinship, a place was still made for *Romania*, which continued until 1922 to remind the reader of the larger scope which the founder had entertained.

This change in the subject matter of the Reports was accompanied by a change in their character and size. In his report on *Mnemosyne* in Volume I (pp. 107 ff.), Charles D. Morris devotes two pages to an article by Cobet on Cicero's *Philippics*, in which he cites twelve of Cobet's emendations as "characteristic specimens of Cobet's textual criticisms"; and in the following report on *Romania* (pp. 111 ff.), Samuel Garner finds space to quote 6 lines from Paul Meyer's edition of Terramagnino's *Doctrina de cort*, about which he states that "it possesses little interest or value as a grammatical treatise." Fortunately, "the beginning of the Proemia is somewhat amusing as applied to the subject to be treated," so all was not lost.

Needless to say, all articles within the same issue of a periodical were not given uniform treatment. The reporters were naturally inclined, as reviewers of *Festschriften* are today, to

dwell longer upon articles within their respective fields of special competence. We find the briefest summary at the side of the analytic note. M. W. Humphreys, for example, reports on van Herwerden's "Novae Lectiones Euripideae" in the *Revue de Philologie* as follows (I, p. 79): "Nearly two hundred conjectures." Succinctness of a high order, for the reader is informed and warned at the same time.

But all in all, those were the ample days of reporting, when Reports might take up 129 pages or about a fourth of a volume (this is the case in Volume I). Soon times were to change and by Volume XXV (1904), when the classical elements in the *Journal* had begun to predominate, about 50 pages of reports per volume had become the average and reports were becoming increasingly concise. They were dropped entirely with the beginning of Volume LVI (1935).

On the other hand, the space devoted to "Reviews and Book Notices" increased as that devoted to Reports diminished. The first volume contained 45 pages of reviews as against 129 of reports. By Volume XXV (1904) about 50 pages were assigned to each department. Today, about a fourth of a volume (114 pages) is the normal amount of space given over to reviews. In the course of their history, the reviews, like the reports and articles, were increasingly limited to the classical field.

I fear that Gildersleeve himself might have considered the preceding paragraphs examples of the "mere statistic-mongery" against which he often protested (XIII [1892], p. 123). But as he stated, elsewhere, "'Auf Zettln sammeln' is no crime" (XXV [1934], p. 356) and my "Zettln" have at least *tenuitas* to commend them. At all events, to turn from the dry to the refreshing, the limited space accorded to reviews during most of Gildersleeve's editorship found abundant compensation in Brief Mention. The title first appears at the end of Volume IV (1883), p. 529. In the preceding volume (III, p. 138), Gildersleeve had complained about the limited space and inadequate help which caused many important works to remain unnoticed or to be noticed only when interest in them had declined. Brief Mention was clearly meant to remedy the situation. It began as a series of short notices or reviews, all of which with the exception of a very few came from Gildersleeve's pen. In the tenth year of its existence, Gildersleeve admitted that it had

practically become a synonym for "Editor's Table" (XIII [1892], p. 125) and it continued to be almost exclusively his own work until his retirement from the *Journal* at the end of its fortieth volume in 1919. A glance at the *Index Scoliodromicus*, which was prepared by Lawrence H. Baker under Gildersleeve's direction, under the caption "Reviews" will give the reader some idea of Gildersleeve's astounding activity in this field (XLII [1921], pp. 376 ff.). There are about 275 different titles listed there. To be sure a large number of these works were only briefly mentioned. But others received a different kind of treatment and it is this treatment which gives Brief Mention a large part of its unique place in modern classical scholarship.

Analysis is difficult, for Brief Mention was a law unto itself. But there is an ascertainable progression in the author's approach from the notice or review which indicates a tendency to abide closely by the subject at hand to the disquisitions of later years for which a new book had to furnish no more than a random thought or a point of departure. In other words, it is perhaps not unfair to say that Gildersleeve became increasingly inclined to take the subject away from the author of the book, not so often in order to show him how he could have done better here or there, as to expound his own views on a subject of common interest. As in conversation there are times when we feel that we must speak directly to the ideas of our companion on a given subject, and times when we are content to develop it ourselves without argument, even though our ideas are quite opposed to his, so we find both approaches and all degrees between them in Brief Mention.

The reader who dips occasionally into C. W. E. Miller's *Selections from the Brief Mention of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve* will probably gain the impression that he is learning more about Gildersleeve himself than about the books which Gildersleeve was purporting to criticise. In this he will be generally right. But if his perception of detail is now swept away by the larger strokes, the brilliancy of the wit, the sagacity of the thought, and the felicity of the expression, he will discern a wealth of criticism which bears on specific points. This is especially true in the field of Grammar and Syntax in which Gildersleeve was an acknowledged master. Most of the references in the *Indiculus*

Syntacticus which he composed himself (XXXVI [1915], pp. 483 ff.) are to Brief Mention and the majority of passages take issue with statements or theories expressed by other scholars in the course of their works.

Yet it is not these hard kernels of the most exact investigation scattered copiously throughout the pages of Brief Mention which draw the scholar back to any part of it and send him away enlightened. It is rather communion with a man who loved literature and life and understood both uncommonly well by nature and training. When he said toward the end of his life that "the history of Greek syntax is the history of the soul of the Greek people" (XXXVI [1915], p. 481), hundreds of pages of Brief Mention, to say nothing of books and articles, had amply demonstrated that in both syntax and soul he knew whereof he spoke. The connection was not made by a grammarian alone; it was made by a man who had thought and felt a great deal about the Greek soul and had been able to discern it most clearly through a mastery of the Greek language which allowed none of its subtleties or graces to escape him. Here a rigorous discipline was made to serve the higher ends of criticism and understanding.

Gildersleeve's brains, vitality, and common sense gave him his fine jocosity and wit. Nor was he reluctant to exhibit these qualities in the pages of a learned journal. Consequently, for several decades the *Journal* was able to entertain as well as instruct its readers. These dainties at the feast were not always appreciated. In the light of Brugmann or Delbrück alone, a scholar might fail to sense the devastating logic of the "sexual system of the cases," with its acute observation that the dative is "a φιλότῃτι μῆγῃναι case— masculine or feminine or both" (XXXVI [1915], p. 110); and the statement regarding a new edition of Persius that "A translation into Flemish faces the text. To one not over-familiar with Hollandish Dutch the specific charm of the Belgian variety will not be at once apparent—," might seem to a foreigner to be no more than a confession of an appalling lack of linguistic capacity (XXXIII [1912], p. 237). The style, which scintillated rapidly between the playful and the earnest, the ironic and the candid, the imaginative and the factual, and the confident and the humble, was something new in "Wissenschaft"; also a scholar who more

than any other was prepared πρὸς τὸ θέατρον καὶ παραβαίνειν τολμᾶν τε λέγειν τὰ δίκαια. His comments on the wars which he had seen are no less illuminating than those on the Peloponnesian.

For thirty-seven years, then, for the last Brief Mention appeared in Volume XLI (1920), Gildersleeve contributed this unique element to the *Journal*. When he ceased, Miller wisely let the title and section drop from the *Journal*. No thought of a successor could be entertained. The monument was complete.

Let us return now to the period when the first volumes of the *Journal* appeared, and begin by looking at ourselves through foreign eyes. In 1877, the first volume was published of the *Revue des revues et publications d'académies relatives à l'antiquité classique* as an appendix to a new series of the *Revue de philologie*. It was the first effort on a large scale to ransack all publications which were concerned with classical antiquity in any of its aspects and to indicate their respective contents. The publications are divided into geographical groups according to the countries in which they are published. For the year 1876 alone, Germany occupied 155 pages, France 40, Great Britain and Ireland 26, Italy 17, and Russia 6. Under the caption États-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord, we find the following information which I quote *in toto*:

NORTH (THE) AMERICAN REVIEW; n° CCLI.
W. Watkiss Lloyd, *A History of the Politics and Arts of Greece from the Persian to the Peloponnesian War*.

Oeuvre d'un dilettante et destinée, non aux savants, mais au grand public. La meilleure partie du livre est celle qui traite des arts du dessein et notamment de l'architecture. Erreurs sur plusieurs points d'histoire littéraire. L'auteur ne tient pas volontiers compte des savants allemands.

The author of this notice was Charles Graux. It is a summary of a review of William Watkiss Lloyd's two-volume history. Lloyd was an Englishman and his book was published in London by Macmillan and Co. in 1875. The review is not signed, but according to the general index to Volumes I-CXXV, it was written by a certain Thomas Joseph Davidson. The character of the review and the learning that it displays strongly suggest that the author was the same Thomas Davidson who contributed

an article and some notes and reports to the early volumes of the *Journal*. This was probably the famous Scotsman, linguist, philosopher, educator, and wandering scholar, who came to America in 1867 and settled in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1875. The middle name Joseph, given in the index to the *North American Review*, causes difficulty, since I cannot find any evidence that the Scotsman bore it, or, if he did, that he ever used it. Yet, since I can find no other Thomas Davidson in America at this time who would have been capable of writing the review to which Graux refers, the identification which I have just made may stand as a reasonable conjecture. If it is correct, American classical scholarship was first noticed in the *Revue des revues* for a review by a Scotsman of a book written by an Englishman and published in London.

To be fair, Graux could have found material other than this if he had cared to look further. The first volume of *The Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1869-70) was published in 1871. It contained articles relating to classical antiquity and so did all the following volumes. Graux's oversight was corrected by Angellier in the next volume of the *Revue* where four pages are devoted to the 1876 Volume of the *Transactions*. In the third volume of the *Revue*, Milton W. Humphreys, an American professor, appears as "rédacteur général." His report includes notices of classical articles and reviews in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, the *International Review*, the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, the *Nation*, *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, and the *Transactions*. In Volume V (1881) the *American Journal of Philology* was added to this list. It and the *Transactions* then occupied the pages devoted to the United States exclusively until Volume X (1886) when the *American Journal of Archaeology* and the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* made their initial appearance. Until Volume XXII (1908), when *Classical Philology* was first included, the reader of the *Revue* might expect regular reports on only four publications: the *Transactions*, the two journals of philology and archaeology and the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*. Of these it should be observed that although the first three tended toward concentration on the classical field, the fourth alone was a purely classical publication.

There can be no doubt, then, that American classicists were badly in need of a learned journal in 1880 which would publish the results of their investigations. But the *American Journal of Philology* was not to be limited to contributions from Americans only. In one of his last Brief Mentions (XL [1919], p. 446), Gildersleeve recalls a visit to Europe on which he had been sent by Gilman in 1880, the year the *Journal* was founded. One of the ostensible purposes of the trip was to seek contributions to the *Journal*. Looking back at it over a period of forty years, Gildersleeve writes: "the whole business was a device to give me a holiday and incidentally an opportunity to make or renew acquaintance with foreign philological notables. This was one of Mr. Gilman's countless benevolences." Be that as it may, we find articles by Nettleship, Robinson Ellis, and Lewis Campbell in the first volume, and the *hospitium philologicum* which was then established between English-speaking classicists on both sides of the Atlantic continues to bear fruit that does honor to the *Journal*.

Although comparatively few German scholars ever published their articles in the *Journal*, the part played by German scholarship indirectly in forming its initial character is so large that a few words must be said about it here. "It was a great thing," wrote Gildersleeve, who obtained his doctorate from Göttingen in 1853 after three years of study at German universities, "for an American boy to see scholars in the flesh" (XXVIII [1907], p. 113); and he goes on to speak of Boeckh, Lachmann, and Bekker (he could have added Ritschl and many others under whom he studied). And again, at the end of the first world war: "For two generations German scholarship had dominated the philology of America. The Germans have been our schoolmasters and governors. Our leading scholars, if not trained in Germany, are thoroughly familiar with the German language and German methods" (XXXIX [1918], p. 428). Let us look more closely at the pioneers, the young Americans who during the second half of the nineteenth century went to Germany to study classical philology and thus ventured into a field which had been virtually untrod by any American before.

First of all, they were as free to choose scholastically as their ancestors had been to choose politically when they were confronted with the problem of constituting a new government in

a new world. Both, to a large measure, were making a completely fresh start, uninfluenced by long and binding traditions. However much of German scientific method and learning a Dutchman, Englishman, Frenchman, or Italian might adopt in the nineteenth century, there lay behind him a long tradition of classical humanism which was at the core of his education and a vast body of classical studies to which his earlier compatriots had made important contributions. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, a mentality and an attitude toward classical studies had been established in the nations of western Europe, which varied according to the historical, social, and literary development of each and the character or "genius" of its inhabitants. The problem of the European scholar was one of adapting as well as adopting the new methods and discoveries which were pouring out of Germany.

Not so the young American scholar-to-be. Although he had studied the classical languages in school and college and had mastered certain authors, he was not likely to have undertaken even an elementary investigation into any aspect of classical antiquity. Nor were his teachers charged to lead him into these paths—paths that they themselves had not traveled. He did not possess a strong tradition of classical humanism and scholarship to exercise his imagination and to form his approach. He could claim no Scaliger, Budé, or Causabon, no Erasmus or Lipsius, no Bentley or Porson as an intellectual ancestor. Although he had grown up in a social environment which acknowledged the importance of Greek and Latin in formal education, there existed no intellectual compulsion handed down from the past to discover more than had been known before. Those who thirsted to become true scholars in the classical field had to look to Europe for the means; and the ways of doing which they would find would have to become their own ways of doing almost entirely. For they brought with them no attitude or tradition which could have imposed selection in adoption and insisted that there were things to be kept as well as discarded both in the old and the new approaches.

The young American turned naturally to Germany for his training. He wished to acquire both what was best and most recent in the field, and Germany offered both in abundance. No one in his right senses could argue at the time that Germany

did not hold the primacy in classical scholarship. A huge new structure of learning was being built and classical antiquity was being reinterpreted and illuminated in the scientific spirit of the period. To members of a breed that had explored and conquered a continent and was still in the process of organizing its winnings, the German intellectual conquest and organization of the classical past must have touched a sympathetic note. Here too was pioneering on the vigorous, grandiose, and successful scale; here too one looked forward and built for the future, abandoning old values and old approaches.

Scholars of all nations are deeply indebted to German classical scholarship, but the debt of the Americans is particularly large. The Germans gave us our start and sent back to us such men as Gildersleeve, Goodwin, Lane, Seymour, Warren, and Whitney, to name but a few, who established advanced study in classical philology and comparative linguistics in the United States.

There was of course a reverse to the medal. Contemporary English classicists were treated with superciliousness by German scholars and many Germans made no effort to attain to proficiency in the English language. A few good words might be said about Bentley and Porson, but Jebb was "kein Philolog." The English did not publish. They spent their time acquiring a gentleman's ability to write Greek and Latin verses and then devoted their lives to teaching. Comprehensively they were unproductive and unscientific. Such an attitude could not help but leave an impression on young Americans, who might still be looking on England as the hereditary enemy. The pity of it was that some eyes must have been closed to the fact that classical antiquity is not only a field for scientific investigation, but also a living force which can be used to form man as a rational human being and a political animal. The English had been doing this for centuries with results that speak for themselves in politics and letters. But, more than this, British travelers, architects and artists, were visiting ancient sites and making careful drawings of the classical remains and thus founding practical archaeology long before Schliemann began his first excavation.

It is not argued that the young American at the time did not need most the scientific training and approach which the Germans generously gave him. Time would teach him, if he were teachable as Gildersleeve was, that there were also things to be

learned across the North Sea and south of the Rhine and the Alps; and that a Boissier might understand Cicero even better than a Mommsen. Today, when the young American classicist turns eagerly to Italy or Greece for part of his training, it is difficult to understand how Berlin, Bonn, and Göttingen could constitute satisfactory horizons. If Greece was too difficult, Italy was certainly accessible and even though no American School of Classical Studies yet existed at Rome, there were the libraries, museums, collections, and monuments themselves. What had happened to the curiosity which impelled Goethe to cross the Alps?

The American student who returned home with his doctorate from a German university safely tucked in his pocket brought with him an admiration for his truly great teachers and an enthusiasm for their learning and methods. It was natural that in some instances the enthusiasm became an uncritical acceptance of all things German. The most pedestrian dissertation or the wildest hypothesis was treated with respect which was not their due, because they came from a German pen and the great names acquired an aura of infallibility. It would take experience, political as well as philological, before most Americans could begin to hear "la voix du sang" in their own veins.

The first volume of the *Journal* (1880) contained nineteen articles of which eleven were in the field of Greco-Roman Antiquity. Of these, eight are chiefly concerned with things Greek, two with things Roman, one with both. Of the remaining eight, two deal with general linguistics, two with Romance, one with Keltic and Germanic, one with German literature, one with Semitics, and one with English.

The first article by W. W. Goodwin discusses the meaning of the phrase *δίκαι συμβόλαιαι* in Thucydides in connection with *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*. The elucidation is carried out through a study of the historical and legal evidence. The second by Lewis R. Packard is entitled "Geddes' Problem of the Homeric Poems." It begins with the statement: "It would seem almost impossible to invent a new theory in regard to the Homeric poems"; and a few lines below: "There is of course no shadow of a chance of any new element in the question" (I note in passing that Schliemann's *Trojanische Alterthümer* and his *Mycenae* had been published six and two years before, respec-

tively. They are not mentioned by Packard). The article is a very careful discussion of Geddes' book and belongs in the class of review-articles.

The next two classical contributions are of a purely philological nature: Gildersleeve's "Encroachments of $\mu\eta$ on $\omicron\upsilon$ in Later Greek" and Allen's "Etymological and Grammatical Notes." In "Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*," C. D. Morris takes issue with the conclusions of Karl Lincke who attributes about a quarter of the traditional text to interpolation. Morris refutes Lincke in detail and then criticises his method. The work is well done, but again we have essentially a review article.

"The Fourth Play in the Tetralogy," by M. W. Humphries, is an investigation of the nature and metrical structure of the *Alcestis* and the *Cyclops* of Euripides. The results are used to determine more accurately the character of a fragment of a play contained in the Papyrus Didotiana that was then attributed to Euripides and is now generally recognized to be the work of Menander (cf. Jensen's edition of Menander, p. 132; Koerte's [1938], p. 143). Nettleship's "Verrius Flaccus" is the first of two articles in which the author undertakes to analyze the character and composition of the *De Verborum Significatu*. The title of Bloomfield's article, "The 'Ablaut' of Greek Roots which show variation between E and O," speaks for itself.

"The *Neapolitanus* of Propertius" by Ellis is a general treatment of the problems presented by the *traditio* of this author's poems. In "A Proposed Redistribution of Parts in the Parodos of the *Vespae*," Allison begins with Arnoldt's *Die Chorpartien bei Aristophanes, scenisch erläutert* and proposes improvements in his handling of the parodos of the *Wasps*. The last two classical articles are Fay's "Imperfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive in the Roman Folk-speech" and Campbell's "Notes on the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus." The latter consists mostly of interpretations of lines and phrases.

As will have been seen from this brief survey, all the papers are philological in the wide sense of the word inasmuch as they deal with language or literature. The first to be sure has some historical background, but I should hesitate to call it primarily an historical study. There is no reference to archaeology or epigraphy and no article treating of philosophy, law, or religion. On the other hand, we do not find the heavy masses of conjec-

tures and emendations which were prominent in some of the European journals of the time. "Quellenforschung" is also notably absent. The section called "Notes" is of about the same texture. But in one of them a new Greek inscription is cited by Davidson in connection with a topographical problem.

A glance at the next nine volumes shows that articles of a purely philological nature continued to predominate. But articles devoted to inscriptions begin to appear and in Volume V we find a general survey of ancient remains and discoveries in Cyrenaica. More important is the publication in Volume IX of Paul Shorey's "Recent Platonism in England," which is one of the few articles on ancient philosophy which the *Journal* published during many volumes of its existence. If we make a distinction between articles particularly concerned with language (morphology, syntax, etymology, etc.) and those concerned particularly with literature (analysis, interpretation, authorship, etc.) we find that the former outnumber the latter during this period. History is poorly represented.

During the next ten years (XI-XX [1890-1899]) variety increases to a considerable degree. The interest is less in problems of language and more in papers on literary works and authors. We find discussions of disputed authorship and of literary "genres," influence and chronology. There are articles on metrics and on the Greek theatre, both in its physical aspect and in the organization of the chorus and actors. Textual criticism is well represented and a non-literary papyrus is published for the first time.

By Volume XXX (1909) the literary article has achieved ascendancy, although syntax and etymology are still vigorous. The older scholars, like Gildersleeve himself, were still plowing these fields and training younger men to follow after them. But the trend was toward the texts and authors and the contents of the works. Articles on ancient history and the ancient historians as historians and not as literary men were still few and far between, although Mommsen and his colleagues with the help of epigraphy were shedding such light on the Greco-Roman world as had never been shed before. The *Journal* was still fundamentally philological in its widest sense.

No marked change in character can be observed between Volumes XXXI and XL (1919), the last to bear Gildersleeve's

name as editor. With the exception of Tenney Frank and Allan Chester Johnson, there were few contributors whom we now connect particularly with historical research. But one who is even slightly familiar with the work done by American scholars in classical literature will recognize the names of many a scholar who made important contributions to learning in this field. And to the end, Gildersleeve gave the brilliance of his literary criticism to almost every issue through the observations scattered abundantly throughout Brief Mention.

The editorship of C. W. E. Miller, who succeeded Gildersleeve in 1920 (Volume XLI) lasted fourteen years. He obtained the cooperation of his colleagues on the faculty of the Hopkins, when he took over his new duties, and their names appear on the title page of his first volume. They were Maurice Bloomfield, the Indologist, Hermann Collitz, Professor of Germanic Philology who is best known to Classicists for his edition of the Greek dialectical inscriptions, Tenney Frank, Wilfred P. Mustard, and David M. Robinson. Bloomfield died in 1928, Mustard in 1932, and their names no longer appear beginning with Volumes L and LIII respectively. Roger M. Jones collaborated on Volume LIII (1932). Harold Cherniss and Benjamin D. Meritt began their service as Associate Editors with Volume LV (1934) and Kemp Malone, Professor of English Philology, with Volume LVI.

As we have said above, Brief Mention ceased to be published with Gildersleeve's retirement from the *Journal*. Otherwise Miller's first volume was very similar in character to the last volume of Gildersleeve. Articles on classical literature including textual criticism predominated. But as we advance in time, a tendency towards philosophical, historical, and epigraphical articles makes itself evident. Contributions by Frank, Cherniss, Meritt, and Robinson, all associate editors, were in this direction. In many of Frank's articles, we find him combining his extraordinary knowledge of literature, history, and archaeology, so that these different aspects of classical antiquity are all made to contribute their light to a given subject. At the same time, Cherniss was bringing out papers in the field of ancient philosophy and Meritt and Robinson were publishing and interpreting historical inscriptions. The articles of these four scholars gave the *Journal* wider horizons and must have encouraged others who were working in the same fields to submit the results

of their investigations to the *Journal*, in the certainty that they would be accorded a sympathetic reception. It is in this period that the *Journal* began to develop a more universal character. It was on the way to becoming a journal devoted equally to all aspects of classical antiquity and contiguous fields.

Miller's death occurred on August 7, 1934. His devotion to the *Journal* from its early days when he had assisted Gildersleeve down to the time of his death had never faltered. Miller, by training and character, was a philologist in a somewhat narrow sense. But he did not allow his particular inclinations to distort the contents of the *Journal*. It increased in diversity during his editorship and he left it an accurate reflection of the changes in interest and emphasis which were gradually taking place in American classical scholarship.

Before his death, Miller had arranged for the first two issues of Volume LV (1934). Benjamin Dean Meritt, who had been appointed Francis White Professor of Greek in 1933 upon the retirement of Miller, edited the last two issues and the next volume. The editorship was then transferred to Tenney Frank, who held it until his death in 1939.

When Frank became Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal* in 1936 (Volume LVII), he had already achieved a prodigious record of publication on almost every aspect of the Roman world (see *A. J. P.* LX [1939], pp. 280-287). In his books on Catullus and Horace and on Vergil, he had demonstrated how much can be learned about a poet and his works from a profound knowledge of his environment. In the *Roman Buildings of the Republic* which he wrote in Rome while serving as Professor-in-Charge of the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy, he had produced a book which must still be consulted by every student of Roman Archaeology. His *Roman Imperialism* had brought a fresh point of view to bear on a much worn subject and *A History of Rome* had made it clear that a "short" history when written by a great scholar who had worked out the details elsewhere could be rewarding reading for scholar and layman alike. In *An Economic History of Rome to the End of the Republic*, he had already laid the foundation stone of the monumental *Economic Survey*, the last volume of which, by his own hand, was published after his death.

Frank brought the untiring energy and the unique learning

which had produced these books and the scores of articles in which he established his views on smaller points to the direction of the *Journal*. As he himself used all disciplines to recreate the whole and knew that there were no water-tight compartments separating literature from archaeology and archaeology from history, so any article which made a sound contribution to the understanding of any aspect of classical antiquity was given friendly consideration.

The trend was now running strongly towards history. Whereas, in the days of Gildersleeve, an historical article was a rarity, there were now many of this nature—almost as many, in fact, as there were literary articles. Papyrology and epigraphy were well represented and a fair number of articles embraced elements of different fields. The grammatical article did not disappear, but the interest in research in formal grammar was apparently declining among the contributors. Also, the rapid development of Linguistics as a separate discipline with its own vehicles of publication was diverting from the *Journal* several kinds of articles which would normally have found a place in it in the past. On the other hand, students of ancient philosophy who worked with the texts in the original turned quite naturally to a journal which was published for those who were competent to follow their arguments, at least insofar as language was concerned, and were interested in their subject as a fundamental part of the civilization of the ancient world.

On the death of Tenney Frank, the editorship came to Harold Cherniss, who had served as Assistant Editor since 1936. Meritt had remained on the editorial board after his resignation as Editor-in-Chief, and Malone and Robinson were continuing in their duties as Associate Editors. Cherniss edited three volumes (LXI [1940]-LXIII [1942]) before leaving the Hopkins to enter military service. Meritt then accepted reappointment as Editor-in-Chief while Robinson became Honorary Editor and his place on the Board was occupied by Richard M. Haywood. On my return from the war, I was appointed Editor-in-Chief, beginning my duties with Volume LXVII (1946). Malone and Meritt continued serving as Associate Editors and Robinson as Honorary Editor. In 1937 Dr. Evelyn H. Clift had been appointed Secretary to the *Journal*. The fifteen-year index which is contained in this issue and the similar index at the end of

Volume LX could stand alone as fine examples of the meticulous care, unusual patience, and great skill with which she handles her editorial functions. But as many contributors and all editors will testify, these qualities have been generously given to the editing of every issue and Dr. Clift's ability as a classical scholar as well as her sure editorial touch have not only caused countless mistakes to be avoided but added excellence to the *Journal* as a whole.

The new editor was also fortunate in having the advice and loyal collaboration of an old friend and distinguished colleague almost from the very beginning of his editorship; for James Henry Oliver was appointed to the editorial board in 1947. Ludwig Edelstein was appointed in 1953, but long before this time he had never refused at a sacrifice of his own time to help the *Journal* in many ways. No learned journal can be entirely a one-man show, even under a Gildersleeve or a Frank. In the present day, when the study of antiquity is becoming increasingly specialized, an editor who recognizes his limitations must turn for advice more and more to those better qualified to pass judgment. If an anniversary is an occasion for rejoicing, it is also an occasion for expressing gratitude to those who have made it possible to rejoice. Many have advised outside the editorial family; many have done the *Journal* honor by entrusting the best results of their investigations to it for publication. They are most warmly thanked.

To judge from the contents, the chief characteristics of the *Journal* have changed very little, if at all, since the death of Tenney Frank, except in degree. During the years of my own responsibility the number of historical articles, if I may use the term loosely to cover the vast variety of articles that do not belong primarily to the fields of language and literature or philosophy and religion, has been increasing. Philosophy is more than holding its own. The interest in the purely grammatical is small. As for articles on the great works of literature which gave form, thought, and delight to the men who rebuilt our civilization after the dark ages, they are distressingly few. It would almost seem as if only a hardy few venture to believe that even now, after all that has been said in the past, something fresh can still be said about Homer and Aristophanes, Vergil and Horace.

But in the great house of Classical learning, there are many

mansions. If some of the more spacious of these which were thronged in the past are now more sparsely inhabited, there is occasion for distress, but not for desperation. Their doors are hospitably open and their windows look out upon the noblest vistas of humanity. They cannot fail to exercise their challenge and attraction once again.

In the meantime each must abide where he finds the atmosphere most congenial. If each keeps his mansion in order with labor and intelligence, then the house itself will shine. The *American Journal of Philology* pledges itself to continue to serve every good tenant in that part of the common task which he or she has chosen. It will continue to publish within its physical limits all articles which add to our knowledge of classical antiquity, regardless of aspect or element. May its future be worthy of its past.

HENRY T. ROWELL.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.
JULY 1954.

ATHENIAN COVENANT WITH MYTILENE.

The text of *S. E. G.*, X, 46 has been reconstructed again by Ioannes Papastavrou, in two studies published by him in 1953.¹ He returns to the idea once held that this inscription is a treaty between Athens and Philip, and offers the following text:

[θ ε] ο [ι]

[χσυνθέκας 'Αθ]εναίον [καὶ Φιλίπ-]

[πο κατὰ τὰδε ἐ]γαι· 'Αθε[ναίος μὲν]

[μὲ βλάπτειν τ]ῆγ γέν Φι[λίππο, αὐτ]

5 [ὄν δ' ἔχεν φιλ]ίος 'Αθεν[αίοις καὶ]

[τοῖς χσυνμμά]χοις· καὶ ἐ[ς τῆγ γέν]

[τὲν αὐτὸ λ]ειστὰς μὲ ἡ[υποδέχουσ]

[θαι μεδ' αὐ]τὸν λείζε[σθαι, μεδὲ χ]

[συμπορεύεσ]θαι μετ[ὰ τὸν πολεμ]

10 [ίον ἐπ' 'Αθ[εναίος], μεδ' [ἐπὶ τὸς χσυν]

[μμάχος τὸν 'Αθ[εναίον] -----

This text labors under grave epigraphical disabilities, which I indicate here:

1. The inscription is stoichedon, as may be seen in the photograph published by Schweigert in *Hesperia*, VIII (1939), p. 170, and editors (including Papastavrou) have restored it with 25 letters in each line. Yet Papastavrou has achieved this uniformity in the length of the lines in violation of the pattern of the preserved letters. Necessarily, the restorations he offers between lines 4 and 5, lines 6 and 7, and lines 7 and 8 are impossible because of considerations of spacing alone. The errors in his text can be most easily seen if one attempts the impossible task of plotting it in a chequer pattern.

2. The eighth letter from the end of line 6 (seventh letter in Papastavrou's restoration) is given by Papastavrou as sigma, in the phrase ἐ[ς τὲν γέν]. Actually it is upsilon. The upright vertical stroke has been known for years, and it shows in

¹ 'Ο Περδίκκας Β' εἰς τὰς παραμονὰς τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, *Γέρας Ἀντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου* (Athens, 1953), pp. 133-9, esp. pp. 133-4, note 4; *Σχέσεις Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὸν 5ον π. χ. αἰῶνα, Προσφορά εἰς Στίλπωνα Π. Κυριακίδη* (Thessalonike, 1953), pp. 525-31. My own earlier study appeared in *A. J. P.*, LXVIII (1947), pp. 312-5.

Schweigert's photograph. On my squeeze I read also the left sloping stroke that makes the letter into upsilon.

3. The thirteenth letter of line 8 (the eleventh letter in Papastayrou's text) is sigma, not nu. This is clear in the photograph, and is of importance in that it shows the contracting parties who joined in this covenant with the Athenians to have been plural—not singular. Indirectly this too proves that the text is not a covenant between Athens and Philip.

These are formidable objections, and indeed are conclusive that Papastavrou's text is fallacious. Some better case will have to be devised if the name of Philip is to be restored in line 4.

One should note here also Wilhelm's suggestions, published in the *Addenda* of *S. E. G.*, X, for the opening lines of this inscription:

[χσυνθῆκαι Ἀθ]εναίων [καὶ Ναυπα]
 [κτίον (?) · τὸ νῦν ἔ]ναι Ἀθε[ναίος ἑᾶν]
 [αὐτὸς ἔχεν τ]ὴν γῆν, φύ[λος δὲ ἔνα]
 5 [ι κάπιτεδε]ίος Ἀθена[ίους καὶ τ]
 [οῖς χσυνμά]χοις, κτλ. — —

If [τὸ νῦν ἔ]ναι is correct for the restoration in line 3, there should be some corresponding provision for the future, like that which appears in the covenant with Erythrai [ἀπο]κυμαεῦσαι [δ]ὲ καὶ καταστῆσαι τὴν μὲν νῦν βολὴν τὸς τ' [ἐπισκ]όπος καὶ [τὸν] φρ[ό]-
 ραρχον τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τὴν βολὴν καὶ τὸν [φρόρ]αρχον,² or in the decree about the first-fruits at Eleusis (*I. G.*, I², 76, lines 23-4) τὸ μὲν νῦν ἔναι *hos τάχιστα*, τὸ δὲ [λ]οιπὸν *ὅταν δοκῇ αὐτῇ*. Moreover, since the Athenians are mentioned by name in both clauses of the contract, in which the specification is laid down about what the Athenians shall do for the party of the second part and then in turn what the obligation shall be for the party of the second part toward the Athenians, it is not enough to define this party of the second part in the first clause merely as αὐτός (with the name to be inferred from the title), nor is it legitimate to restore the second clause—which contains the statement of the obligation of the party of the second part—with no reference to who they are, even with a pronoun.

In my earlier restoration, I suggested that lines 4-5 might

² The text is in *A. T. L.*, II, D10, p. 55, lines 13-15. The dots under doubtful letters are omitted from the quotation here given.

have read $\phi\acute{\iota}[\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \tilde{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota\ \text{Μυτιληνα}]ίος\ \text{Ἀθηνα}[ίους]$. I repeat the suggestion more confidently here. Whether the name of the Mytilenaians is or is not correct, the pattern of the restoration seems certain; and it is equally certain that the same name should be restored in lines 2-3 and in line 4. In every instance the name of the Mytilenaians can be supplied, so far as epigraphical requirements need to be satisfied, with the following text:

S. E. G., X, 46

427 B. C. ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25

[θ ε ο [ζ]

[χουνθῆκαι Ἀθ] εναίον [καὶ Μυτιλ].

[εναίον· ἀποδο]ναι Ἀθε[ναίος Μυτ]

5 [ι εναίους τ]ῆγ γῆν· φί[λος δὲ ἔνα]

[ι Μυτιλεναί]ους Ἀθνα[ίους καὶ τ]

[οῖς χυμμά]χοις, καὶ εὐ[ποῶν Ἀθε]

[ναίος καὶ λ]ειστὰς μὲ ἡ[υποδέχε]

[σθαι μεδὲ αὐ]τὸς λείζε[σθαι μεδ']

[ἐπιστρατεύε]σθαι μετ[ὰ τὸν πολ]

10 [εμίον ἐπ'] Ἀθναίους[μεδ'] ἡ στρατι

[ἀν ὀφέλεν τὸν πολεμῖον μεδὲ . .]

I suggest that this is in fact a reasonable restoration, and that the present covenant is that envisaged in *A. T. L.*, II, D22, in its regulation of Mytilenaian affairs.³ The text of D22 has been the subject of a special study recently by Arnold Gomme.⁴ I believe that his suggested restoration for lines 11-12 καὶ ἀπο[δόσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν γῆν]⁵ is confirmed by the text of *S. E. G.*, X, 46, lines 3-4: [ἀποδοῖ]ναι ῥ' Ἀθε[ναίος Μυτιληναίους τ]ὴν γῆν. There are other references in D22 to the "giving back of the land" to the Mytilenaians: in line 27 (γῆς ἀνταπόδο[σιν]), and, as I believe, in line 19 (πρὶν ἀ[πο]δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς). The question again arises how the events that took place at Mytilene after its capture by the Athenians in 427 B. C. can be related to these two texts, to the account in Thucydides (III, 50), and to the casual hints of Antiphon (V, 77, 79). First of all, for purposes of study and reference, I give here a text of D22 which permits, in my judgment, the necessary reconciliation of the evidence:

³ Also *I.G.*, I², 60 and Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I², 63.

⁴ *Studies presented to David Moore Robinson, II* (1953), pp. 334-9.

⁵ There is a misprint in the text of Gomme's article at this point (*op. cit.*, p. 337).

D22 = I.G., I², 60 = Tod, G. H. I., I², 63

Μ υ τ ι λ η [ν α ί ο ν]

[. ⁶ ἔ γ ρ α μ μ ά τ] ε ν ε
 [θ ε ο]

5 [ἔδοχσεν τῷ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δέμοι· Ἀκαμα]ντὶς ἐπρ
 [ντάνευε, ⁹ ἐγραμμάτενε, Σμίκυ]θος ἐπε
 [στάτει, ⁸ εἶπε· ἐπειδὲ καλὸς πειθαρ]χεῖ
 [Μυτιλεναῖον ἦο δῆμος καὶ φίλος ἐστὶ καθάπερ ἐ]
 [ν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνοι Ἀθηναῖον τῷ βολῇ κα]ὶ τῷ
 [ἰ δέμοι, κέρυκα ἀποπέμψαι εὐθὺς ἐπειδ]ᾶν δόχσ
 10 [εἰ ταῦτα ἡδὺς ἀπαγγελε]ῖ τ[οῖς Μυτιλεν]αίοις ἡότ
 [ἰ καλὸς διάκειται ἦο δ]ῆμος ἦο Ἀθηναῖον καὶ ἀπο
 [δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν γέ]ν καὶ αὐτο[νό]μος δοκ[εῖ ἐ]ν
 [αὐτὸς οἰκόντας πάντα] τ[ᾶ] σφ[έτερα] αὐτῷ[ν πλὴν]
 [ἐ παραδό]ντας [σφῶν τὰ κα]τ' ἐ[πειρον χορία ἡάπερ π]
 15 [αραδὼν]αὶ Ἀθε[ναῖ]οι κελεύουσ[ιν καὶ ἀπὸ χονυμβολ]
 [ὦν δι]κας διδόν[τα]ς πρὸς Ἀθεν[αίος καὶ δεχομένο]
 [ς κα]τὰ τὰς χον[υμβο]λὰς ἡαὶ ἔσαν [πρὸ τῷ· καὶ λογιζέ]
 [σθ]αὶ τοῖς κλε[ρό]χοις ἡόσα ἐπο[λέθε] τισὶ ἐκ τῶν κ
 [λέ]ρον πρὶν ἀ[πο]δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς [ξετέσαντας τῶν]
 20 [στ]ρατεγῶν [καὶ] τῶν στρατιωτῶν [καὶ τῶν ἄλλον Ἀθ]
 [εν]αῖον τὸς ἔχοντας· καὶ ἀναγράφ[σαι ταῦτα τὸ γ γ]
 [ρα]μματέα τῆς βολῆς ἐστέλει λιθ[ίνει καὶ καταθ]
 ἐναὶ ἐμ πόλει τέλεσι τοῖς σ[φετέροις αὐτῶν· ταῦ]
 τα μὲν ἀναγράφσαι καὶ κ[αλέσαι τὴν πρεσβείαν τ]
 25 ὦν Μυτιλεναῖον ἐπὶ χ[σένια ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς]
 αὔριον· τοῖς δὲ κλ[ερόχοις] διδόναι μετὰ τὴν τῆς
 γῆς ἀνταπόδο[σιν τὰ οἰκόπεδα τῶν ἀπογεγενεμέ]
 [νο]ν^v ἔδο[χσεν τῷ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δέμοι· ⁸]

This Athenian decree is the first of a series that were inscribed on a marble stele at Athens at the request, evidently, of the Mytilenaians. The beginning of the second decree is preserved in line 28. How many other decrees there were is not known, nor is the date of the last one known. Its secretary was different (line 2) from the secretary of the first of the series; its date fell within the time when Attic script was still used (probably before 407/6),⁶ but when an Ionic eta was not out of place in the heading, and—if the restoration is correct—when ἐπεσάττει was a normal spelling (lines 5-6) instead of ἐπεσάτε. Neither of these last two criteria is of much help in defining the date. It is clear in any case that even the first inscription must have been later than 428/7.⁷ The name Διόδωτος could be restored

⁶ Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athens*, pp. 176-7.

⁷ The so-called Methone decrees (D3-D6, *A. T. L.*, II, pp. 48-9) were

as the author of the first decree, the conciliatory tone of which is suited to his championing of the Mytilenaian cause at Athens.⁸ It will be observed that the Mytilenaians did not record on their stele all the decrees that were passed at Athens about them after the conquest in 427 B. C. The harsh vote (1) of the first debate in the assembly was omitted (Thuc., III, 36, 2), as was also the later reversal (2) to a more moderate view (Thuc., III, 42, 1). Nor was Kleon's motion recorded (3) by which the guilty Mytilenaian leaders, numbering more than a thousand, were put to death (Thuc., III, 50, 1) and the walls dismantled and the fleet confiscated. Before the date of the first decree in D22 these events had already taken place,⁹ and klerouchs had been dispatched to the island.¹⁰ The presence of klerouchs on Mytilene is presupposed in the text of D22. They were already in residence when this "first" decree was passed, undoubtedly in possession of the allotments to which they had been assigned when they first arrived, and with the Mytilenaians—practically serfs—dispossessed of their land and working for them.

This was an unhappy arrangement both for the klerouchs and the Mytilenaians on Lesbos and also for the Athenians at home who wanted security in their control of the island. For effective control, the klerouchs should have been concentrated in the capital city, and perhaps in other cities too, on the island.¹¹ Thucydides leaves no doubt that the klerouchs actually went to Lesbos, but he condenses the narrative by putting into one sentence the sending of the klerouchs and the return of the land to the Mytilenaians, which latter is the business of D22. The same condensation of the narrative occurs in Antiphon's speech

at least four in number, the earliest dating from 430/29 but all inscribed in 423 B. C.

⁸ It is an error in *A. T. L.*, IV, pp. 117 and 209 that Smikythos is named as the orator. He should have been indexed as the epistates of Akamantis.

⁹ Hence I give up the suggested reading *ἀπό[χρη τὸς αἰτίος κολάξε]ν* which was published in *A. T. L.*, II, D22, lines 11-12, and accept also Gomme's suggestion for line 11 in place of our earlier *[οὐ μνησικακέσει ἡ οὐ δ]έμος*.

¹⁰ These events are reflected in Antiphon's speech (V, 79): *ἡλλάξαντο μὲν γὰρ πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας πολλὴν κακοδαιμονίαν. ἐπείδον δὲ τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα ἀνάστατον γενομένην.*

¹¹ See Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I², p. 136.

On the Murder of Herodes (V, 77): ἐπὶ δ' ὑμεῖς τοὺς αἰτίους τούτων ἐκολάσατε, ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ὢν ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις Μυτιληναίοις ἄδειαν ἐδύκατε οἰκεῖν τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν — — —. The execution of the guilty was on Kleon's motion, and must be dated in spring of 427; the restoration of the land was the business of D22 and was also embodied in the covenant *S. E. G.*, X, 46, both of which were later than spring of 427. Gomme (*op. cit.*, p. 339) thinks the date may have been as late as 425/4, but I doubt that it would have taken so long for both sides to discover how unworkable the original settlement was, and I date the first decree of D22 and *S. E. G.*, X, 46 both in the year 427/6. The giving back of the land was accompanied by political autonomy, which in all probability was inconsistent with the maintenance on Lesbos of a formal Athenian military garrison.¹² Hence the restoration in *A. T. L.*, II, D22, p. 76 (lines 26-8) is suspect:

τοῖς δὲ κλ[ερόχοις] πράττειν τὰς ἀντὶ τῆς]
γῆς ἀνταποδό[σας τὰς ἐκεῖ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὸμ φρόραρ]
[χο]ν.

With provision in the earlier lines of this decree for the handing over of their land to the Mytilenaians, the need in lines 26-8 is for some provision to settle what shall become of the now dispossessed klerouchs. I believe that they were to have the confiscated lands of the executed leaders of the revolt. These lands were undoubtedly among the choice properties on the island, largely concentrated in or near the cities, and therefore desirable not only for the klerouchs but also for the Athenians in their search for political security. Here the klerouchs, who were responsible to the Mytilenaians for returning the kleroi in the condition in which they found them (lines 17-21), settled down and received—by virtue of the agreement of the exchange—a yearly income of two minai from each kleros that had been yielded up to its original Mytilenaiian owner. Thucydides is quite explicit that this money was paid to the klerouchs after the vacating of the land (III, 50, 2): οἷς ἀργύριον Δέσβιοι ταξάμενοι τοῦ κλήρου ἐκάστου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύο μνᾶς φέρειν αὐτοὶ εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν. Gomme (with others¹³) is clearly right that the dispossessed

¹² Cf. *A. T. L.*, III, pp. 154, 156-7, 228, 237, 348, for interference with autonomy.

¹³ Cf. Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

klerouchs could not have gone back to Athens and there *in absentia* collected the rents paid by the Mytilenaians. But I disagree with him when he says that the Mytilenaians cannot have held their own lands and paid rent for the privilege of working them. On the contrary, rent could not have been exacted until the klerouchs were moved off the land and the allotments returned to their owners. This rent, as Thucydides says, was the plan finally adopted for Mytilene instead of an assessment of tribute.

Although the Mytilenaians on Lesbos were now politically "free," they were not to regain their mainland possessions. Thucydides (III, 50, 3) says of them: *παρέλαβον δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίσματα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅσων Μυτιληναῖοι ἐκράτουν, καὶ ὑπήκουον ὕστερον Ἀθηναίων*. As Thucydides tells the story, political autonomy extended to the island, but not to the mainland; the islanders paid rent in lieu of tribute, while the mainlanders were reduced to subject status.¹⁴

These two settlements of the question of political sovereignty so closely associated by Thucydides are also reasonably to be sought in D22. For this reason I retain the text of *A. T. L.*, II, D22, in lines 13-15. The implication is that the status of the mainland possessions was not definitely settled until the permanent arrangement for the island was also made.¹⁵ The alternative is to read some form of restoration about the matter of the rent, for which I have found no text quite so satisfactory. Nor does this interpretation seem to me antecedently quite so probable. A possible text might be:

[. . αὐτὸς οἰκόντας πάντα] τ[ὰ] σφ[έτερα] αὐτῷ[ν δύο μ]
[νᾶς διδό]ντας [τέλε ἀντὶ] τῆ[ς γῆς ἡδὲ ἡεκάστο κλέρ]
[ο διδό]ν[αι Ἀθε]ν[αῖ]οι κελεύουσ[ιν - - - - -] ¹⁶

The main concession of the restoration of the land was made by the Athenians to the Mytilenaians in the terms of D22. There was even provision that the kleroi should be returned to their

¹⁴ They are known to have paid tribute, and appear as a rubric in the Assessment of 425/4 (*A. T. L.*, II, p. 43, A9 III, lines 124-41).

¹⁵ See also *A. T. L.*, III, p. 70.

¹⁶ Cf. Gomme, *op. cit.*, p. 336; Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 136. The precise wording given by Tod as [κατὰ τὸν κλ]ῆ[ρον ἡεκάστον] in line 14 cannot be, for the preserved letter Ε is preceded by a vertical stroke at the edge of the fracture which may be iota, tau, or upsilon, but not lambda.

owners in as good condition as they were received. As I have restored lines 17-21 the text reads, in translation, as follows: "And they shall charge to the klerouchs whatever has been sold to anyone from the kleroi before their being given back to them, after searching for those who have such goods whether generals or soldiers or any other Athenians." My interpretation is that during the period of military occupation and actual settlement by the klerouchs there was a certain amount of buying in of valuables which the Mytilenaian owners were unable to prevent. The Mytilenaians, on taking over their property, were permitted to hold these items as a debit against the retiring klerouchs,¹⁷ and they were to search out and make a list of those of the Athenians who acquired (and still held) their proper possessions. The search must unquestionably have been widespread—and it will in the nature of things not always have been successful. But the attempt to round up such recoverable property had to be made. One is reminded of the search that was instituted in 434 B. C. for the records of indebtedness to the Other Gods (*A. T. L.*, II, D1, p. 46, lines 11-13): ζετέσαντες τά τε πινάκια καὶ τὰ γραμματεῖα καὶ ἑὰμ π[ο ἄλ]λοθι εἰ γεγραμμένα. ἀποφαινόντων δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἡοί τε ἱερ[ῆς κ]αὶ ἡοι ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος οἶδεν. Now, as before, I reject the restoration πρὶν ἀ[πο]δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς [τὲν γὲν ἡντὸ τῶν στ]ρατεγῶν [καὶ] τῶν στρατιωτῶν because I believe that the land was returned by the klerouchs who had been sent out to take possession, and not by the generals and the soldiers. The subject of ἀ[πο]δοθῆναι is inferred from the preceding mention of the kleroi ([ἐκ τῶν κλέ]ρον), and does not have to be supplied by restoring [τὲν γὲν].¹⁸ This provision for the return of the kleroi sound and whole, with losses made good by the klerouchs, must have opened the way for innumerable lawsuits, of which there is evidence in Antiphon's speech *On the Murder of Herodes*. Antiphon's client praises his father as having been a good citizen (V, 78) and not like some others τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον ἰόντας καὶ οἰκοῦντας ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις, <τοὺς δὲ> καὶ δίκας ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν ὑμῖν δικαζόμενους.¹⁹ He also says that his father, after the revolt had been suppressed and the covenant made with Athens, "has not been guilty of a single fault, of a

¹⁷ This is the meaning of λογίζεσθαι τι πρὸς τι.

¹⁸ See Gomme, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

¹⁹ See the note in Maidment's Loeb edition of Antiphon, pp. 215-17.

single lapse from duty. He has failed neither the city of Athens nor that of Mytilene, when a public service was demanded of him; he regularly furnishes choruses, and always pays the imposts."²⁰

Maidment's note on this translation (*op. cit.*, p. 214) defines the "services to Athens" as nothing more than the payment of τέλη (? harbour-dues), and quotes Wade-Gery's suggestion that perhaps the εικοστή is meant, the 5 per cent tax which replaced the tribute in 414/13. More probably, it seems to me, Euxitheos' father regularly paid his share of the 200 drachmai a year on whatever kleros had been returned to him (and others?) in 427/6. These were the τέλη *par excellence* expected from the Mytilenaians.²¹

After the provision for the inviolability of the kleroi comes, on the stone in D22, provision for the inscription. It was not τὸδε τὸ φσέφισμα or τὴν γνώμην τήνδε, but simply ταῦτα. What we have in D22 is a record from the chancery files produced at some later year and inscribed at the top of a stele which contained a number of decrees concerning Mytilene. What the secretary inscribed in 427/6, in my opinion, was the text of the covenant which we now have in *S. E. G.*, X, 46. The ambassadors from Mytilene were in Athens, and on one essential point they had concluded a successful negotiation and reached an agreement. The first clause of the covenant reads [ἀποδοῖναι Ἀθε[ναίους Μυτιληναίοις τ]ὴν γῆν. The reciprocal obligations of the Mytilenaians followed. Whether they included the provisions for the yearly rental of two minai for each lot we do not know; perhaps not, and perhaps these further details were taken up in the "second" decree, of which only the beginning is preserved in D22, line 28.

Antiphon, in his speech *On the Murder of Herodes*, has a passage which shows the presence in Mytilene (on the easiest inter-

²⁰ Maidment's translation (V, 77) in the *Loeb Classical Library*: οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι ἡμάρτηται [τῷ ἐμῷ πατρί], οὐδ' ὃ τι οὐ πεποίηται τῶν δεόντων, οὐδ' ἥς τινος λητουργίας ἡ πόλις ἐνδεής γεγένηται, οὔτε ἡ ἡμετέρα οὔτε ἡ Μυτιληναίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χορηγίας χορηγεῖ καὶ τέλη κατατίθουσιν.

²¹ This passage has, therefore, no bearing on the arguments for an early or a late date for the speech. Cf. P. S. Breuning, *C. Q.*, XXXI (1937), pp. 67-70; Maidment, *op. cit.*, pp. 148; 214, note b; Gomme, *op. cit.*, p. 338. Breuning makes a strong case for the summer of 424 B. C.

pretation) of Athenian magistrates (V, 47): ὃν ἐχρῆν δεδεμένον αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν, ἢ τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐξεγγυῆσαι, ἢ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις παραδοῦναι, καὶ ψῆφον περὶ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. The slave who had testified against Antiphon's client had been put to death by the prosecutors, and Antiphon wrote this protest for his client's speech of defense. If Athenian magistrates were in Mytilene, this would have been an infringement of her sovereignty, and I believe that the permission for such magistrates must have been given by one of the later decrees on the stele.

It has occasioned some surprise among scholars that nothing further is heard in the histories of these klerouchs on Lesbos. They remained, of course, Athenian citizens; and there was no need to mention them as a special group or to differentiate them from other Athenian citizens.²²

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²² *A. T. L.*, III, p. 294. Gomme notes this (*op. cit.*, p. 337, note 4), though he says that we know from Thucydides (VII, 57, 2 and 5) that none of these klerouchs from Lesbos formed part of the Athenian forces in Sicily in 415/13; and he says that klerouchs were called from other settlements. The fact is that Thucydides in VII, 57, 2 and 5, does not name any klerouchs from anywhere, and that his designation 'Ἀθηναῖοι' is broad enough to cover citizens from any klerouchy, including Mytilene. See also *A. T. L.*, III, pp. 285 with note 47, 289.

ATHENS AND THE AMPHIKTYONIC LEAGUE.

The restorations which Adolf Wilhelm has proposed for the Athenian decree *S. E. G.*, X, 18 (*I. G.*, I², 26) are persuasively set forth by him in an article published in *Mnemosyne*, II (1949), pp. 286-93. We have both made improvements in the previously accepted text, each writing without the knowledge of the other. We are agreed that the document gives the terms of a treaty which Athens proposed to ratify with the members of the Delphic Amphiktyony, that there is no mention of Phokis, that there is no reference to the archonship of Ariston (454/3), and we are likewise agreed about the preserved letters of the text.¹ Wilhelm differs from me in restoring a continuous opening clause from line 4 to line 13 (an arrangement which I prefer to my own with its two clauses), and in restoring the actual wording of the oath in lines 13 ff. (in which I believe him to be mistaken). Our texts, side by side for purposes of comparison, read as follows:

MERITT'S TEXT (1948)	WILHELM'S TEXT (1949)
[ἔδοχσεν τῇ βο]λῇ καὶ τῷ[ι δέμ]	[*ἔδοχσεν τῇ βο]λῇ καὶ τῷ[ι δέμ-]
[οι, ... ντῖς ἐπρ]υτάνευε, Αἰ[...]	[οι· ... ντῖς ἐπρ]υτάνευε, Αἰ[σιμ-]
[... ἐγραμμάτ]ευε, Μένυλλ[ος ἐ]	[ίδες ἐγραμμάτ]ευε, Μένυλλ[ος ἐ-]
[πεστάτε, ...]ῖες εἶπε· χσ[υνθ]	[πεστάτε, Διδυμ?]ῖες εἶπε χσ[υνθ-]
5 [έκας ἐναι καὶ χ]συνμαχίαν [τοῖ]	5 [έσθαι μὲν τὲγ χ]συνμαχίαν [κατ-]
[s μετέχοσι τῆς] Πυλαίας ἀπα[σι·]	[ἀ ἡὰ ἡοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς] Πυλαίας ἀπ[αγγ-]
[ἡόρκος δὲ δδνα]ι τοῖς Ἀμφι[κτί]	[έλλοσιν ἡάпас]ι τοῖς Ἀμφι[κτί-]
[οσι ἡοῖσπερ μέ]τεσσιν τῷ ἡ[ιε]	[οσι ἡοῖσπερ μέ]τεσσιν τῷ ἡ[ιε-]
[ρῷ, ἐμμενῶν τε ὁ]μόσαντας ἐν [τῇ]	[ρῷ καθ' ἡιερωῶν ὁ]μόσαντας ἐν[με-]
10 [ι χσυνμαχίαι νὲ τ]ὸν Ἀπόλλο [κα]	10 [νῆν τῷ ὄρκοι νὲ] τὸν Ἀπόλλο [κα-]
[ι τὲν Λετὸ καὶ τὲν] Ἄρτεμιν ἐ[χσ]	[ι τὲν Λετὸ καὶ τὲν] Ἄρτεμιν· ε[ι δ-]
[ὀλειάν τε ἐμὶν α]ῖτοῖς ἐπαρ[ομ]	[ἐ μέ, ἐχσὸλειαν ἐαυ]τοῖς ἐπαρ[ομ-]
[ένος ἐὰν παραβαί]νομεν· φσε[φί]	[ένος· Ἠόρκος· ἐνμε]νόμεν φσε[φί]
[σματος δὲ γενομένο] τριὼν ἐ[με]	[σμασι τοῖσι περὶ πα]τρῖον [ἡὰ ἐ-]
15 [ρῶν πρέσβες πέμψαι] ἐς Πύλ[ας]	15 [πὶ τῆς νῦν γεγενημέν]ες Πυλ[αί-]
[ἡοὶ ἀπαγγελοῦσι τὰ ἐφσε]φισ[μέ]	[ας οὐ Ἀμφικτίονες ἐφσε]φισ[αν-]
[να - - - - -]	[το ἡοῖς μέτεσσιν τῷ ἡιερω? . . .]

¹ I published the inscription, with a critical apparatus, a translation, and a brief commentary, in *A. J. P.*, LXIX (1948), pp. 312-14. Wilhelm appends a discussion and criticism of my text to his own treatment in *Mnemosyne*.

The following are minor objections which I believe should be made to Wilhelm's text: (1) there is no second clause with δέ to balance the opening clause which has μέν in line 5;² (2) ὄρκοι without the rough breathing in line 10 clashes unfavorably with ἡόρκος in line 13 (both are restored by Wilhelm); (3) τοῖς in line 7 contrasts unfavorably with τοῖσι in line 14 (the latter is Wilhelm's restoration, and the difference could be avoided by writing φσε[φίσμασιν τοῖς περὶ πα]τρίον in lines 13-14); (4) the definite article is lacking before φσε[φίσμασι] in line 13 and before [πα]τρίον in line 14, though in both places Wilhelm's interpretation properly demands it.

A more serious objection is the violation of the *stoichedon* order which Wilhelm's text assumes in line 12. His suggested restoration ε[ἰ δὲ μέ, ἐχσόλειαν ἑα]ντοῖς ἐπαρ[ομένος] is too long by one letter. It would not help to write [ἡα]ντοῖς instead of [ἑα]ντοῖς. To write simply [α]ντοῖς does not give the reflexive meaning required of the pronoun; to write [α]ντοῖς, satisfactory from considerations of space, would be not to write epigraphical Greek.

But the most serious objection to Wilhelm's restoration is his interpretation of the oath. The Athenians are supposed to make an alliance, affirmed by the swearing of oaths. Now, the actual oath, if introduced by the words [ἐμμε]νόμεν κτλ., must specify that the Athenians will abide by their oaths, or by the alliance made. It is a *non sequitur* to suggest that the Athenians are to abide by someone else's decrees (not even oaths), nor is it reasonable to suppose that they should have sworn to do so. The correct usage with ἐμμενόμεν is well illustrated by the text of the treaty between Athens and Halieis (*S. E. G.*, X, 80, lines 24-9): [καὶ ἐ]μμενόμεν ταῖς χρ[υθέκαις πιστῶς καὶ ἀδόλος Ἀθηνα]ίοις· ὁμνύντον δὲ [καὶ] αὐτῷ[ν πρέσβες καὶ ἐχσόλειαν ἐ]παράσθον εἰ μὲ ἐμμ[έ]νοιεν [ἐν τοῖς ἡόρκοις ἡδὲ ὁμομόκα]σιν ἡαλιῆς· ὁμ[οσαν] δ' αὐτοῖς [Ἀθηναίον ἡε βολεὶ καὶ ἡοι σ]τρατεγοὶ ἐμμε[γέν ἐ]ν ταῖς χσυν-θ[έκαις - - -]. Furthermore, ἡόρκος is not a legitimate restoration (as Wilhelm has it) in line 13. Brief though epigraphical style may be, it is not quite so telegraphic as this. The normal usage in introducing the words of an oath is some form of the verb ὁμνυμι, with subject expressed to indicate who is to swear

² Wilhelm was aware of this difficulty. In spite of his explanation (*op. cit.*, p. 289), the difficulty remains.

the oath, for example: ὁμνύνα[ι δ]᾽ ἐ[τά]δε [τὲν] βολέν (A. T. L., II, D10, line 21; S. E. G., X, 11, line 20); ὁμοσ[άντων δὲ Κολοφόνιοι τάδε] (A. T. L., II, D15, line 42; S. E. G., X, 17, line 41); [κατὰ τάδε αὐτ]ὸς ὁμόσαι (A. T. L., II, D16, lines 6-7; S. E. G., X, 35); κατὰ τάδε τὸν ὄρκον ὁμόσαι Ἀθηναίων τὲν βολέν καὶ τὸς δικαστάς (A. T. L., II, D17, lines 3-4; I. G., I², 39); κατὰ τάδε Χαλκιδέας ὁμόσαι (A. T. L., II, D17, line 21; I. G., I², 39); [Ἀθηναίος δ' ὁμόσαι] (A. T. L., II, D18, line 21; I. G., I², 50); etc. That the word *hórkos* should stand alone, as a kind of chapter heading, embodied in the text of the decree (line 13), is most improbable, even if we could have agreed that the words that followed belonged to an oath.

The final lines of the text are badly damaged, and no sure restoration can be offered unless some new fragment is found. But the second clause of the decree must begin in line 13. Since there are grave objections to [ἐμμε]νόμεν, I continue to favor [ἐὰν παραβαί]νομεν, as I did in 1948. Wilhelm disliked this use of *παραβαίνω* without an object (apparently); he says "ἐὰν παραβαί]νομεν ist ungewöhnlich, παραβαίνομεν ohne Zusatz nicht glaublich." I grant that the lapse into first person plural is unusual, but I think not beyond our comprehension; for *παραβαίνομεν* without an object see Thuc., V, 47, 8: καὶ οὐ παραβήσομαι τέχνη οὐδὲ μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ. In recasting the text of these lines, my earlier suggestion ἐ[χσόλειάν τε ἐμὴν α]ὐτοῖς should be abandoned in favor of the more acceptable ἐ[χσόλειάν τε καὶ ἡα]ντοῖς. There is no reason to assume that the first person intruded itself earlier than *παραβαίνομεν*, and the new text is in much smoother style.

Suggested Text of S. E. G., X, 18

ca. 458 B. C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24

[ἔδοχσεν τῷ βο]λῇ καὶ τῷ [ι δέμ]
 [οι, . . . ντὶς ἐπρ]υτάνευε, Αἰ[. . .]
 [. . . ἐγραμμάτ]ευε, Μένυλλ[ος ἐ]
 5 [πεστάτε,]ίης εἶπε· χσ[υνθ]
 [ἔσθαι μὲν τὲν χ]συνμαχίαν [καθ]
 [ἀπερ ἡοι ἐκ τῆς] Πυλαίας ἀπα[γγ]
 [ἔλλοσιν ἡάπασ]ι τοῖς Ἀμφι[κτί]
 [οσι ἡοῖσπερ μέ]τεσσιν τῷ ἡ[ιε]
 [ρῷ, ἐμμενῇν τε ὁ]μόσαντας ἐν [τῇ]
 10 [ι χσυνμαχίαι νῆ τ]ὸν Ἀπόλλο [κα]
 [ι τὲν Δετοὶ καὶ τὲν] Ἀρτεμιν ἐ[χσ]

[όλειάν τε καὶ ἡα]υτοῖς ἐπαρ[ομ]
 [ένος ἐὰν παραβαί]νομεν· φσε[φί]
 [ξεσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὸ πά]τριον π[ερ]
 15 [ι ἡαπάντον ἡὰ ἡοι ἐκ τ]ῆς Πυλ[αί]
 [ας ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ἡεφσε]φισ[μέ]
 [να -----]

For [ἡεφσε]φισ[μένα] in lines 16-17, see τῶν ἡεφσεφι[σμένον] in *I.G.*, I², 45, line 22, and [τὰ νῦν] ἡεφσεφισμένα τοῖ δέμοι in *I.G.*, I², 76, lines 22-3. It must be emphasized again that the interpretation of these last lines is conjectural. The text as given here is based on the assumption that the messengers from the Pylaia had reported (a) the recommendation for a treaty (which the Athenians voted to approve and ratify) and (b) certain other Amphiktyonic acts (which the Athenians agreed to vote on κατὰ τὸ πάτριον). These "other acts" were presumably recommendations that were supplementary to, or in addition to, the treaty.

The date of the inscription is before the middle of the fifth century, and should be sought after the Athenian victory at Oinophyta in 458 B. C.,³ and after the Athenians had made great gains in their land empire in Central Greece by getting control of Boiotia, Phokis, and Opountian Lokris (Thuc., I, 108, 3), undoubtedly winning at the same time a position of dominance in the Amphiktyonic Council. The recommendations from this Council that were brought to Athens, and to which reference is made in this decree, came surely as no surprise to the Athenians, and in all probability were originated by them in the Council. This alliance was a measure of that Athenian imperialism on land which Perikles hoped to achieve (before the defeat at Koroneia and the revolt of Euboia in 446 B. C.), and it is just possible that Perikles himself was instrumental in gaining passage of the decree. The name of the orator is preserved as [. . . .]ίς, which Wilhelm restored, tentatively, as [Διδυμ(?)]ίς, though he was aware that the proper Attic form of this name is Διδυμίας. There is no Attic name, I think, that can be here restored. Yet the name should be Attic, for the orator was unquestionably Athenian. If no Attic name is possible, this dilemma leads one to the necessary conclusion that the iota

³ This date is discussed in *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 171, 173 with note 49, 177 with note 61, 279 note 21.

(which is quite clear on the stone)⁴ must have been intended for some other letter, viz., that it was a letter not completely cut. It may be an imperfect lambda, and if so the name of the orator could be restored as [Περικ<λ>ες. I believe that this should be mentioned only as a possibility. The imperfect iota could have been either an unfinished Β, Ε, Κ, Γ, , or Ρ, as well as lambda; and many names other than Perikles are possible. But, whatever the name, it must have had an Attic spelling; an Ionic form is not permissible. The name Αι[σιμίδες], which Wilhelm has for the secretary in lines 2-3, is a mere guess, and should not be restored.

The treaty which this document records was already in force when the Athenians made their expedition into Thessaly in 454 B. C. (Thuc., I, 111, 1),⁵ for the Athenians recruited help from Boiotia and Phokis (καὶ παραλαβόντες Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκέας ὄντας ξυμμάχους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐπὶ Φάρσαλον) according to the terms of an existing alliance.

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⁴ See the photograph in *A. J. A.*, LV (1951), Plate 37.

⁵ Cf. *A. T. L.*, III, pp. 173 and 178 for the date. See also *A. J. P.*, LXIX (1948), p. 314.

LEX ACILIA REPETUNDARUM.

The great inscription associated with the name of Cardinal Bembo and containing extensive fragments of a *Lex Repetundarum* of the late second century B. C. has usually, on the authority of Mommsen and other great scholars, been identified with a *lex Acilia* mentioned by Cicero, and it has been the general opinion that this law was part of the Gracchan legislation, passed by a friend and colleague of C. Gracchus during one of the latter's tribunates. Attempts to identify the *tabula Bembina* with the law of Glaucia have not stood up to criticism. Recently, however, the whole series of *leges repetundarum* in the second half of the second century B. C. has been subjected to exhaustive analysis by G. Tibiletti in an article¹ that is bound to remain—at least until further epigraphical evidence is discovered—the standard discussion of the subject. Tibiletti proves that our acceptance of one of the cardinal "facts" in this field, the *Lex Rubria Acilia* supposedly mentioned in the *SC* on Astypalaea, has been based on authority rather than reason:² the most that the wording of that decree proves is that Acilius (if he is indeed our Acilius) held office later than Rubrius (who probably is the Gracchan tribune). Having thus lost the sheet anchor for the traditional dating of the *Lex Acilia Repetundarum*, we are faced with the problem of mooring it more or less securely, by means of our other evidence, somewhere within the period 123-100 (see below) and fitting it into the surprisingly crowded series of such laws known to us from literary and epigraphical sources. Tibiletti, whose main concern is a thorough re-examination of our epigraphical evidence in the light of the new Tarentine fragment,³ touches on this problem only incidentally. He denies⁴ the identification of the *Lex Acilia* with the *tabula Bembina*,⁵ which he regards as the *Lex*

¹ "Le leggi 'de iudiciis repetundarum' fino alla guerra sociale" (*Athenaeum*, N.S. XXXI [1953], pp. 5-100). As he gives exhaustive references, there is no need for a new bibliography.

² Pp. 7 f.

³ See pp. 38 f.

⁴ Pp. 33-8.

⁵ *Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiust.*, 2nd ed. (1941), I, pp. 84-102. Cf. above.

Sempronia of C. Gracchus, and he tentatively suggests—though without insisting—a date about 111 for the law of Acilius.⁶ It is the purpose of this study to supplement Tibiletti's investigation in this particular and to suggest that, in the present state of our knowledge, the *Lex Acilia* had best be left—though perhaps with less confidence than before—where it was placed by Mommsen and (more precisely) by Last.

I

C. Gracchus and the Jury Courts.

The conflicting evidence on the way in which C. Gracchus dealt with the jury courts⁷ has been the subject of much discussion. Into this discussion Tibiletti does not enter;⁸ but for our present purpose it seems to be the natural starting-point. The difficulty is caused by the fact that, while nearly all our literary sources state that C. Gracchus transferred the courts to the *Equites* (as we may proleptically call them), two of the most important authors—Plutarch and the Epitomator of Livy—appear to record (if the statements we are about to consider do in fact refer to the same measure) a totally different scheme. Plutarch⁹ reports that Gracchus proposed the addition of a jury panel of 300 selected *Equites* to that formed by the 300 members of the Senate; the juries were to be formed from both. The Epitomator of Livy,¹⁰ while not mentioning the jury courts at all, describes with much emphasis a proposal that 600 *Equites* should be adlected into the Senate, thus outnumbering the old Senators two to one. These two accounts show sufficient similarity to be regarded as referring to a single scheme by which Senators and *Equites* were to be somehow associated and which at least one of our two authors has misreported. Plutarch, especially on constitutional questions, is not above inaccuracy;

⁶ Pp. 81-3.

⁷ The chief evidence is set out in Greenidge-Clay, *Sources*, pp. 26-7; cf. also Broughton, *Magistrates*, I, pp. 517-18; and *C. A. H.*, IX, pp. 52 ff.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 36-8; see especially p. 35, n. 5 (p. 36).

⁹ *C. Gr.*, 5, 2 f. Mommsen (*St.-R.*, III, p. 530, n. 1) erroneously ascribes to Plutarch the statement that the 300 *Equites* were to be adlected into the Senate.

¹⁰ *Per.* lx.

but we have no warrant for assuming that either his scheme as a whole or its connection with the courts is pure invention or has been seriously misunderstood. The Epitomator of Livy in general deserves little credit for accuracy in summarising or even for care in reading his author:¹¹ thus, that he merely omitted to state the connection of his scheme with the jury courts is an easy assumption; even his figures, in spite of his emphasis, may be doubted; but that there must be something genuine that he is trying to report appears to be beyond question.

Various attempts have been made to combine the statements of these two authors and reconcile them with our other sources. Most attractive, perhaps, is the solution advanced by Last in the *Cambridge Ancient History*.¹² Starting from the fact that Gracchus' law *ne quis iudicio circumueniatur* applies only to Senators,¹³ he argues that this law must have been passed at a time when the participation of *Equites* (as such) in the jury courts was not yet envisaged.¹⁴ He is therefore inclined¹⁵ to accept the Epitomator's account as accurately reporting a proposal, which, however, was later dropped in favour of the law transferring (as most of our sources report) the courts entirely to the *Equites*. On this view, Plutarch's account of the δικαστικός νόμος is an inaccurate version of the Epitomator's scheme for increasing the size of the Senate. This interpretation is, however, faced with a formidable difficulty: the one point (beyond

¹¹ For an interesting test see Balsdon, *P. B. S. R.*, XIV (1938), p. 100.

¹² IX, pp. 52 f. This is based on an analysis by Warde Fowler in *E. H. R.*, XX (1905), pp. 425 f. Another solution, conjecturally introducing Senators into a gap in the *Tabula Bembina* (Levi in *Riv. Fil.*, N. S. VII [1929], pp. 383 f.), cannot be fruitfully discussed unless supporting evidence for such a step is adduced. On the uselessness of attempts to differentiate between *lex iudiciaria* and *lex repetundarum*, see Warde Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 429; Tibiletti, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 f.

¹³ Cic., *Cluent.*, 151-4. On the application of this law see (most recently) Sherwin-White in *J. R. S.*, XLII (1952), p. 46.

¹⁴ On this, Last's arguments (pp. 53-4) are decisive.

¹⁵ See especially p. 70. He also supports this (following Warde Fowler, *op. cit.*, pp. 427-8) by noting (pp. 52-3) the Epitomator's surprise at what he found in Livy—a surprise which should have made him attentive. But the Epitomator was still capable of misunderstanding what he found; and emendations in his text have also been proposed (*in decurias* for *in curiam* and the omission of *in senatu* as a bad gloss) to bring it into line with Plutarch's account.

the number of Senators) in which the accounts of Plutarch and the Epitomator agree is that each states that the proposal he reports actually became law. The Epitomator says that Gracchus "perniciosas aliquot leges tulit," and gives this law among his three examples. Plutarch goes further and adds that after the adoption of the law the People entrusted Gracchus with the selection of the new panel of Equestrian jurors.¹⁶ If we accept these varying accounts (as it seems we should do) as based on fact, we cannot easily ignore this point of agreement. But once we accept it, we are forced to believe that a proposal to treble the size of the Senate was actually passed—without leaving any other trace in our sources—and (we should have to add) later repealed, perhaps after Gracchus had already been assigned the task of selecting the new Senators; and that its place was taken, without any very clear reason, by a law transferring the jury courts to the *Equites*. Nor could we easily account for the fact that a measure of such general importance, upsetting the whole basis of Roman political life, is reported by Plutarch as a jury law.¹⁷ It therefore seems easier to follow Plutarch's entirely coherent version,¹⁸ on which this difficulty does not arise: for if Gracchus later came to the conclusion that the Senate ought not to have even a share in the courts, the first *lex iudiciaria* might well be repealed by a second to that effect; and as the former would only have been on the statute book for a short time (and almost certainly never applied in practice in the trial of a case), it might well have been blotted out from most of our sources by its more effective successor. In that case we may put the law *ne quis iudicio circumueniatur* at the very beginning

¹⁶ *Per. lx; C. Gr., 6, 1.* A minor point is that Plutarch calls this law *δικαστικός* (5.2)—i. e., he probably found *lex iudiciaria* in his source—and that could hardly apply to a law increasing the size of the Senate. On Gracchus' power to select the jurors, see Warde Fowler, *op. cit.*, pp. 430-1: a difficult view. But no convincing explanation has been advanced.

¹⁷ See last note and text. Warde Fowler (*loc. cit.*) thinks that the law lapsed because Fannius as consul refused to carry it out. If so, why did not Gracchus enforce it, at a time when he was able to transfer the jury courts to the *Equites*?

¹⁸ For an attempt to bring the Epitomator into line with Plutarch by emendation, see n. 15 above. It is not by any means impossible, though perhaps unnecessary: it is as easy to distrust his intelligence as his text.

of Gracchus' tribunician legislation, as a first and immediate attack on the notorious corruption of the courts,¹⁹ an attack which was later intensified, as his programme developed, by a blow at the root of the evil—the Senatorial monopoly of the courts. Yet Gracchus did not at once exclude Senators from the courts, but, in accordance with his ideas (at that stage) of balanced reform, associated Knights and Senators on the juries. After this—as appears from most of our sources²⁰—there must have been a final stage, after the intransigent hostility of the ruling clique had turned the reformer into a revolutionary: safeguards and balance were thrown to the winds in a desperate attempt to play off the *Equites* against the Senate.²¹ We thus have three laws: (a) the *lex Sempronia ne quis iudicio circumueniatur*; ²² (b) a *lex iudiciaria* setting up mixed juries; ²³ (c) a law transferring the courts to the *Equites*.

II

The *Lex Acilia Repetundarum* and M'. Acilius Glabrio.

In the whole of our sources there are only two passages in the *Verrines* (with scholia) in which the *Lex Acilia Repetundarum* is mentioned. In the first²⁴ Cicero reminds M'. Acilius Glabrio, the praetor in charge of the court, of the law passed by his father, “qua lege populus Romanus de pecuniis repetundis optimis iudiciis seuerissimisque iudicibus usus est.” In the second²⁵ we are informed that the *Lex Acilia* provided for *ampliatio* and was superseded (in this respect) by the law of Glaucia, which introduced *comperendinatio*.²⁶ Tibiletti seems

¹⁹ App., *B.C.*, 22. Last has exploded the theory (from which even Warde Fowler does not wholly escape) that Gracchus' aims and methods were clearly worked out from the start.

²⁰ See n. 7 above.

²¹ On the development of Gracchus' programme, see Last in *O.A.H.*, IX, pp. 49 f. His conclusions are accepted (most recently) by Broughton, *Mag.*, I, 515.

²² See n. 13 above and text.

²³ See n. 16 above and text.

²⁴ 1 *Verr.*, 51.

²⁵ 2 *Verr.*, I, 26—a *terminus ante quem* for our dating.

²⁶ For the interpretation of this, and for proof of the uselessness of the scholiast's comments on our passages, see Baldson, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 102 and 108 f. (Cf. Mommsen, *G.S.*, I, p. 18.)

to consider that we have not enough information for dating the law of Acilius or determining its contents and purpose; and he is inclined, especially in view of the fact that we have no other references to it, to consider it as of little importance.²⁷ But, while admitting that Cicero is trying to flatter the son of the author of this law, we may still draw some conclusions from Cicero's references to him and to the law itself.²⁸

The first reference is the more important and has therefore been quoted in full. It tells us clearly, above all, that the law of Acilius was actually applied in that portion of it which settled the composition of juries. This precludes any attempt to identify it with Gracchus' first judiciary law [(b) above], or to explain the lack of references to it in our sources (apart from these two) by assuming that it did not deal with this controversial question at all, but confined itself to some technical points that would arouse no interest. Indeed, we may go further than this: it is very difficult to believe, on Cicero's wording, that Acilius did not introduce some change into the composition of the juries—that he lifted his clause relating to this subject from a predecessor, perhaps even *totidem uerbis*.²⁹ Cicero could, after all, have found some more general and noncommittal words of praise for the law (e.g. simply *optima et seuerissima*), if all he wanted was to appeal to Glabrio; yet he chooses with great emphasis to specify the excellence of the *iudicia* and *iudices* under this law. Nor can it be validly objected that this particular emphasis is called for by the context: on the contrary, careful reading shows that the context has to some extent been created for this passage. Cicero has devoted much space (in sections 38-50) to the corruption of the Senatorial courts and to expressing the hope that this case will mark a new beginning. He then (§ 51) turns to Glabrio, asking him to ensure this. It is precisely at this point that Glabrio's father and his law are mentioned, and there follows a short appeal to Glabrio's *laus domestica* (§ 52). There can be little doubt that Cicero decided to introduce that appeal at this point—where there is no particular compositional reason for it—mainly because the

²⁷ *Op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 81-2; 96-7.

²⁸ On the technical matter of *ampliatio*, see n. 26 above.

²⁹ This is the tentative view of Tibiletti (pp. 81-3).

mention of Acilius' law, itself called for by the long disquisition on *iudicia* and *iudices*, naturally led into it.

The words following the passage quoted are also of great interest: they praise the energy of the elder Acilius in fighting against *homines audacissimi*.³⁰ Now, although we cannot tell with certainty to what incident this refers,³¹ it is most reasonable to suppose that it is to the passing of Acilius' judiciary law—a task which, after 123, was in every other case of which we have any knowledge beset with difficulties and surrounded with acrimonious faction fighting;³² in fact, it would *a priori* be most surprising if Acilius' law had had a smooth passage.³³ Once we agree that the passing of his law is meant, the question next arises: who were the *homines audacissimi* who opposed it? The term is, of course, very suitable for those who object to *seuerissimi iudices*; and we must take this question in conjunction with the further question: who were the *seuerissimi iudices* to whom Acilius entrusted the courts, with (in the eyes of Cicero) such beneficial results?

These questions, it seems, can be satisfactorily answered by a study of Cicero's tone and attitude in this speech: he has the highest praise for the merits of the Equestrian jurors who sat on the juries until they were removed by Sulla,³⁴ and he brands the Senatorial juries that followed them as venal and altogether disgraceful.³⁵ The *seuerissimi iudices* and *optima iudicia* with which Acilius blessed the Roman People can, in the context of the *First Verrine*, only be Equestrian juries. But if that is

³⁰ "Si Glabronis patris uim et acrimoniam ceperis ad resistendum hominibus audacissimis" (§ 52).

³¹ The words about Scaevola, which immediately follow, are not explicable on our evidence.

³² The absence of any other evidence about struggles round the Acilian Law cannot be used as an argument against this without begging the question of its identity. Between 123 and 91, the laws of Gracchus, Caepio, Glaucia, and Drusus are attested as controversial.

³³ This is Tibiletti's suggestion, based on the lack of evidence (*op. cit.*, pp. 81-3); he does not consider this Ciceronian passage. (Cf. last note.)

³⁴ See especially § 38: "cognosceat ex me populus Romanus quid sit quamobrem, cum equester ordo iudicaret annos prope quinquaginta continuos, nullo iudice equite Romano iudicante ne tenuissima quidem suspicio acceptae pecuniae ob rem iudicandam constituta sit."

³⁵ Cf. the series of examples following the passage quoted in the last note.

so, the *audacissimi* who brazenly opposed this excellent law must be those who wanted to protect administrative corruption by resisting the establishment of—according to Cicero—these just juries: i. e. those who unsuccessfully resisted the establishment of Equestrian juries. In fact, to put it in non-controversial language: Acilius, against strong opposition,³⁶ passed a law setting up Equestrian juries.

Now we know that the law of Acilius must come between those of Gracchus and Glaucia, unless it is identical with the former: for with the law of Glaucia, which succeeded it, it is clearly contrasted by Cicero himself,³⁷ while only two effective laws (the Calpurnian and the Junian) preceded the establishment of Equestrian juries by Gracchus. Thus, unless the law of Acilius is identical with the last one ascribed to Gracchus [(c) in our enumeration], it must be one that restored the state of affairs he established.³⁸ Yet, as far as we know, that state of affairs was, in our period, upset only once—and then with much commotion: that was in 106, by the consul Caepio, whose law was repealed by Glaucia.³⁹ Thus, unless we conjecturally interpolate in our series a totally unknown law, upsetting the Gracchan reform and later repealed by Acilius—unless we resort to such a flimsy expedient, we are led by the study of Cicero's evidence to the probability that the *lex Acilia* is identical with the final law of Gracchus.

We must now look at what other evidence we have on the elder Acilius.⁴⁰ He was married to the daughter of a Mucius Scaevola, probably the Augur Quintus, related to the cos. 133 (a supporter of Tiberius Gracchus) and himself of Gracchan sympathies.⁴¹ He died when his son was a child—which is per-

³⁶ This is Mommsen's view (it seems), though he does not argue it and states it with somewhat misleading conciseness ("Cicero eum fortissimum dicit . . . homo etiam tum popularis"—*G. S.*, I, p. 18; cf. p. 21).

³⁷ 2 *Verr.*, I, 26.

³⁸ We have seen that the view that Acilius' provisions on juries were merely a *translatio* of those of Gracchus is not acceptable.—For the *Lex Calpurnia* and *Lex Junia*, see *Tab. Bemb.*, l. 74 = 81.

³⁹ See especially Balsdon, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 106-8—unaffected by the Tarentine fragment.

⁴⁰ For the sources and their interpretation, see Klebs, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Acilius," col. 256; Münzer, *Röm. Ad.*, pp. 275-9.

⁴¹ Publius himself according to the scholiast; but Münzer's arguments

haps why we hear so little about him, though political events may have retarded his advancement—and Scaevola watched over the education of that son, the later praetor of 70 and consul of 67. The younger Glabrio's date of birth is, unfortunately, not recorded. He was the *aequalis* of his colleague C. Piso and older than L. Torquatus (cos. 65), as appears from his place in the *Brutus*.⁴² Münzer puts the date of his birth about 110; we may safely go up to at least 111 or 112.⁴³

These Acilii Glabriones (father and son) must be descended from the cos. 154, famous for the fact that the *Andria* of Terence was first performed in his curule aedileship; and he in his turn is (as Livy tells us) the son of the cos. 191, the family's first consul.⁴⁴ If we put the birth of the cos. 67 in 112 (see above), we can fit in either one or two generations between the cos. 154 and him: if we put the date of birth of his father (the author of the *Lex Repetundarum*) about 145 or later, we have to assume two;⁴⁵ if we put it somewhat earlier, he can himself be the son of the cos. 154. Neither course is impossible; but we know nothing of any Acilius between the cos. 154 and the author of the *Lex Acilia*, and the hypothesis of his existence should not be resorted to if it is not needed. Consideration of the stemma of the Glabriones shows that it is not.⁴⁶ If, however, we assume

(*loc. cit.*) in favour of the elder Quintus are convincing. On him and his views, see Münzer, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Mucius," col. 432.

⁴² Cic., *Brutus*, 239.

⁴³ Münzer, *Röm. Ad.*, p. 276. Nepos (*Att.*, 1, 9) mentions L. Torquatus, C. Marius *filius*, and M. Cicero as boyhood friends of Atticus—probably in order of age. (At least we know that Cicero was the youngest.) C. Marius was 27 years old when he entered upon his consulate of 82 (*App.*, *B. C.*, 87—to be accepted; see Münzer, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Marius," col. 1812); therefore he was born in 110. L. Torquatus was probably older than Marius (*Nep.*, *Att.*, *loc. cit.*), and Acilius was older than Torquatus (*Brut.*, *loc. cit.*); therefore 112 is safe enough.

⁴⁴ On these men, see Klebs, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Acilius," cols. 255 f.

⁴⁵ This is Tibiletti's suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 17) and its implication; he does not discuss the stemma.

⁴⁶ The following Acilii Glabriones are known:

(1) tr. pl. 201; aed. pl. 197; pr. 196; cos. 191 (as *novus homo*)—born not later than 235.

(2) II uir aed. ded. 181; aed. cur. 166; cos. suff. 154—born *ca.* 200.

(3) tr. pl. (?) between 123 and 100 (probable date of Glaucia's law).

(4) pr. 70; cos. 67—born 112?

(5) a son of (4), born 81 (see Münzer, *Röm. Ad.*, p. 276).

(1) will have been 35 years of age when (2) was born; (4) was over

that the author of the *Lex Acilia* is the son of the cos. 154, we must put his birth about 155—and that makes him the *aequalis* of C. Gracchus.⁴⁷ Again the simplest hypothesis (avoiding the interpolation of unknowns) leads us to C. Gracchus, and we arrive at an Acilius Glabrio married to the daughter of a pro-Gracchan and himself probably of the same age as C. Gracchus. It would, therefore, not be at all surprising if his law were pro-Gracchan and not too remote in time from the years of C. Gracchus' chief activity.

Though on each of our two paths we have had to bridge some gaps by conjecture (choosing what seemed simplest in each case), the convergence of these two totally independent investigations—into the implications of Cicero's text and into our other information on the elder Glabrio—may give us some confidence. Despite the loss of one of our signposts, the supposed "*Lex Rubria Acilia*,"⁴⁸ we may reach the conclusion that the *Lex Acilia Repetundarum* was, like the *Lex Rubria* founding the colony of Junonia, part of the Gracchan legislation and is, as such, identical with the law of the *Tabula Bembina*.⁴⁹ Follow-

30 when (5) was born; (3) died when (4) was a child and may well have been not very young when his son was born. The Acilii seem to have married late, and not more than two generations (i. e. no unknowns) are needed to fill a gap of less than 90 years between (2) and (4). If we do wish to interpolate unrecorded Acilii, it is as easy to make (3) a younger son (even his *praenomen* is not well attested) as to interpolate another whole generation; but it is as unnecessary. Intervals of 45 years between the consulships of successive generations of even the noblest families are by no means unheard of. To take a case not too distant in time from that of Glabrio (cos. 67), the L. Metellus who was consul (probably *suo anno*) in 68 was probably a son (though not the eldest) of the cos. 113 (see Münzer, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Caecilius," nos. 74 and 84). Cf. also the birth dates of C. Marius and his son, the younger Marius (see n. 43 above, and *R.-E.*, Suppl. VI, col. 1367).

⁴⁷ On his date of birth, see Münzer, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Sempronius," col. 1377.

⁴⁸ See n. 2 above and text. Mommsen, incidentally, did not overstress its importance (*G. S.*, I, p. 21: "tenue neque tamen plane spernendum indicium"); though if he had not had it, he would perhaps have devoted more detailed attention to the rest of the evidence.

⁴⁹ That the *Tabula Bembina* gives us part of the Gracchan legislation has never been successfully contested and is accepted by Tibiletti. Warde Fowler (*op. cit.* [n. 12], p. 429, n. 25) notes that Gracchus' measure is never called *lex Sempronia*. (But cf. Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 60—not, of course, to be pressed.)

ing Last's analysis of C. Gracchus' programme, we may be more precise than Mommsen and date it in 122, when C. Gracchus had arrived at his final position on this matter. Perhaps the very fact that he had already passed a judiciary law which he himself now wished to have superseded made him entrust Acilius with the final law; though, with the attested example of the *Lex Rubria* before us, we need not insist on this suggestion. This law, then, held the field (as far as we know) until it was, in its essential part, superseded by that of Caepio in 106.⁵⁰

There is still, even apart from the removal of a false signpost, one great service that Tibiletti's resolution of the "*Lex Rubria Acilia*" into a *Lex Rubria* followed by a *Lex Acilia* has done: we may now, with a clear conscience and without resort to doubtful expedients, leave the *Lex Rubria* on Junonia in 123, where all our specific sources put it,⁵¹ and the *Lex Acilia Repletundarum* in 122, where it appears to belong: Rubrius and Acilius were members of successive colleges.⁵²

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⁵⁰ Tibiletti's inferences (pp. 82-3) from the fact that the *Lex Agraria* is engraved on the back of the *Tabula Bembina* are not stressed by the author and advanced only in the context of his whole argument. Without it, we can think of many ways—only some of the possible ones are suggested by Balsdon, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 114—in which this fact could have come about.

⁵¹ See Broughton, *Mag.*, I, pp. 519-20; Tibiletti, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-3.

⁵² The author wishes to thank Mr. Last and Professor Syme for kindly reading and improving this article in manuscript (they are not, of course, responsible for the views expressed or for errors remaining); also the University of Sheffield for generously assisting the research of which this is a *parergon*.

THE FIRST REGNAL YEAR OF ANTIGONUS GONATAS.¹

Some uncertainty still surrounds the circumstances and date of the accession and the first regnal year of Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia.² New evidence has recently appeared that enables us at least to fix, with an approach to certainty, the year from which he dated his reign. This is a decree from Amphipolis which dates itself βασιλεύοντος Ἀντιγόνου ἔτους ἐνὸς καὶ τεσσαρακοστοῦ, and which falls in midsummer (Gorpaios, July/August: *R.-E.*, XIV, col. 1664) of that year.³ In this paper I ask whether the stone can yield decisive evidence for the first regnal year of Antigonos; then, without circularity, whether a date is implied for the foundation of the Asclepieia at Cos, an invitation to which the decree acknowledges; finally, what the circumstances of the invitation and response may be.

We have first to examine the ancient traditions regarding the accession of Antigonos. It will be remembered that the date of his accession to the throne and his first regnal year are not necessarily the same.⁴

- I. Antigonos ruled for 33 years. Armenian table of Macedonian kings, Eusebius, I, 241, 18 Schoene; Armenian table of Thessalian kings, I, 245, 34. The variant 34 is given by the Greek table of Macedonian kings I, 242, 18 and by the Armenian text, I, 243, 6: *F. Gr. H.*, 260 F 31. 3.
- II. He ruled for 37 years, 276/5–240/39. Armenian text of the Olympiad-years, I, 237, 13–17: *F. Gr. H.*, 260 F 3. 12.
- III. He ruled for 43 years. Armenian text, I, 237, 9:

¹ I wish to thank Professors S. Dow, C. Edson, and A. D. Nock and Mr. W. M. Calder for most helpful suggestions.

² The matter is argued by Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (1913), pp. 112, n. 3; 434, n. 6; 478; Beloch, *Gr. G.*², IV, 2 (1927), pp. 104 ff.; cf. Ferguson, *O. P.*, XXIV (1929), p. 29 and n.

³ Herzog-Klaffenbach, *Asykleurkunden aus Kos* (Abh. Berl. Ak. 1952), No. 6. 19. Cf. review by the writer, *A. J. A.*, LVIII (1954), pp. 173–4.

⁴ Naturally one expects a ruler to try to date his reign as early as possible, as was apparently done by Antigonos' son and successor Demetrius II: cf. n. 6.

F. Gr. H., 260 F 3.12. The figure 44 is given in the Greek text, I, 238, 10. 44 years is also given by Medius *ap. Ps.-Lucian, Macrob.* 11.

IV. He ruled for 10 entire years in Greece before he attained the sovereignty in Macedon. Greek and Armenian texts, I, 237-8, 11: *F. Gr. H.*, 260 F 3.12.

V. He obtained the sovereignty within the 125th Olympiad, or by 277/6 at latest. Fourth life of Aratus (Westermann, *Βιόγραφοι*, p. 60, 15).⁵

Some preliminary evaluation of these sources is possible. The Eusebian lists are fertile in small errors such as the variants 33:34 and 43:44; in this case there is a strong probability that the figure 44, attested by Medius (tradition III), is correct as a representation of the original reading of the lists or their source. Moreover the Aratus-life (V) deserves consideration apart from I-IV. It is also clear that we may at once reject both I and II (they must, however, be rationally accounted for; see below) as being formally contradicted by our inscription, since at the time of the Amphipolis decree Antigonus had ruled for 40 years and was in his 41st. Tradition III appears to be possible according to the decree. To see whether it is more than possible one must ask what year it implies for the beginning of Antigonus' rule. His death is fixed as occurring in 240/39.⁶

⁵ I do not think that we need to reckon with yet another tradition. A. Mayer, *Philol.*, LXXI (1912), pp. 228 f., suggested 279/8, a date which cannot be correct. No doubt it is based on the false supposition that Antigonus succeeded Ptolemy Keraunos immediately after the latter's death; but such a view overlooks the fact that the Eusebian lists present a rapid succession of kings (Meleager, Antipater, Sosthenes) followed by an anarchy. Diodorus notes only an anarchy after Keraunos. Any suggestion that Antigonus began to rule directly following Keraunos' death therefore overlooks the unanimous, though confused, testimony that this was not the case. Mayer's citation of Paus., I, 16, 2 and Memnon, 14 (*F. Gr. H.*, 434 F 8) is nugatory, since these appear equally carelessly to ignore the interregnum. Had Antigonus really gained Macedonia in 279/8, we may be sure that no ancient source would have invented these temporary sovereigns, much less an anarchy. I may anticipate to say that Antigonus cannot have dated his reign from this year 279/8: for he would then die in the 39th year of his rule, and the Amphipolis decree shows that he did not.

⁶ Polyb., II, 44, 2: his successor Demetrius II ruled for 10 years and died in 229, *περί τήν πρότην διάβασιν εἰς τήν Ἰλλυρίδα Ῥωμαίων*. This year is in fact 230/29 (Attic): Antigonus died in 240/39. So too tradition

Forty-four years back from this year brings us to 284/3; this I take to be the first regnal year implied by III.

The relation of 284/3 to events in the life of Demetrius I, Antigonus' father, must now be considered. He began to rule in 294/3: *I. G.*, II², 646 shows that he received the surrender of Athens shortly before 9 Elaphebolion 294 (archon Nicostratus); from Plutarch, *Demetr.*, 35-7 we learn that he did not actually reach Macedonia and begin to rule there until late in the year: 294/3 was then the beginning of his rule. He ceased to rule in 288/7: *I. G.*, II², 650 proves Athens free of him by 11 Hecatombaion 288/7 (archon Diocles).⁷ Demetrius did not die then, but rather retired from Macedonia and tried to besiege Athens. The siege did not begin before spring 287: *I. G.*, II², 651 shows that Athens was still able to import corn as late as Anthesterion 288/7. When the siege failed, Demetrius crossed to Asia in summer 287; with his departure from Greece his son Antigonus became the representative of his house on the mainland. Demetrius will have spent part of 286 in his march to Cappadocia; the rest of that year and part of 285 in his war with Seleucus (Plut., 46-50). He was captured (presumably) in 285 and died during the third year of his captivity (Plut., 52). His death fell in 284/3.⁸

This chronology of the career of Demetrius I (worked out in detail by Beloch) will fit tradition III, that Antigonus ruled from 284/3 to 240/39, or 44 years. What meaning has tradition IV? As has been seen by both Tarn and Beloch, Porphyry (in Eusebius) cannot, or should not, mean that Antigonus ruled from 284/3 to 274/3 and *then at last*, in 273, became king of Macedon (*sc.* by conquering the Kelts near Lysimacheia): for this would be contradicted by the Aratus-life (V above), which dates the victory over the Kelts to 277/6 at latest.⁹ Porphyry

II. The recently discovered manumission which is said to be dated to the 28th year of Demetrius II (M. Andronikos, *Ἀρχαῖαι ἐπιγραφαὶ Βεποίας*, 1950: cf. *J. H. S.*, LXXIII [1953], p. 187) does not affect this date. Apparently—I have not seen the book—the best explanation is that Demetrius exercised a co-regency with his father from 256 at latest.

⁷ The Eusebian lists allow Demetrius I either 6 or 6½ years: Plut., *Demetr.*, 44 gives him 7; but the inscription must take precedence over Plutarch. I retain the date for Diocles as given in Pritchett-Meritt, *Chron. Hellen. Ath.* (1940); but see Appendix.

⁸ So Eus., I, 247, 31: *F. Gr. H.*, 260 F 32. 2.

⁹ Tarn's date for the battle, 277 (p. 166, n. 104) seems to me correct.

or his source will therefore mean that Antigonus was in fact ruler, in default of his father, from 287/6; but that owing to the struggle for Macedonia in which he alone was finally successful, he did not gain actual power in the north until 277/6. The 10-year period was 287-277. Traditions IV and V are, so interpreted, entirely compatible.¹⁰

Moreover, this explanation of the "ten years' rule in Greece" before Antigonus came to power in Macedonia accounts, as Tarn (p. 112, n. 3) saw, for tradition I, that Antigonus ruled for 34 (33) years only: that is, someone merely subtracted 10 years from the correct reign of 44 years, believing no doubt that this computation accommodated the 10-years tradition; but the 10-year rule is in fact wholly independent of the question, when Antigonus succeeded his father in the Antigonid house.

We have still to examine tradition II. The figure 37 may readily be recognized as a reckoning from the date of Antigonus' acquisition of true power after the battle with the Kelts, viz. 277/6, to the known date of his death, 240/39; but, as stated above, we know that II cannot be correct as a witness of the claimed length of Antigonus' rule. This raises our main question, When did Antigonus *begin to reckon* his own rule? Two dates alone are *possible*, as allowing a reign of at least 40 years in accordance with the Amphipolis decree, viz. 287/6 and 284/3.¹¹ Nor are we now limited to a subjective choice between these two dates, for the following reason.

No. 1 in Klaffenbach's article (cf. note 3) is a royal letter from Ptolemy II Philadelphus to Cos (older text, Welles, *Royal Correspondence* [1934], No. 21). Our only date for the letter is before (? January) 246, since Ptolemy II died in that year.¹²

¹⁰ Tarn also argued (p. 112, n. 3) that *I. G.*, II, 5, 323 b (= II², 683) proved Antigonus to be ruling in 275/4. The evidence for this view must be abandoned, because Polyeuctus, the archon of this inscription, can no longer be dated so early. Pritchett-Meritt place him in 249/8, but his exact date is not known.

¹¹ Tarn's suggestion, followed by Woodward, note 16 below, that he dated from 277/6 (p. 434, n. 6) is now unnecessary, since it would allow a reign of only 37 years.

¹² I cannot, of course, rule on the fine points of Egyptian chronology. But the attempt of Ernst Meyer, *Unters. zur Chronologie d. ersten Ptolemäer auf Grund d. Papyri* (1925), to lower the traditional dates by one year, so that Ptolemy II would have turned his power over to

Conversely, No. 8, from Ainos, mentions a King Ptolemy and a Queen Berenike: the reference is clearly to Ptolemy III Euergetes I, who turned northward after his victories in Asia (245) and conquered certain Thracian holdings (references, Beloch², IV, 2, pp. 346 f.). Now, the decrees published in *Asylieurkunden* are responses to invitations, tendered by the Coan *θεοποί*, to attend the Asclepieia at Cos; and it is to be assumed that the embassy executed its entire circuit within a single summer. The decrees must be dated, all of them, to one year. But if this is so, one or other of the two Ptolemaic stones must be disengaged from the main body of decrees, since they cannot both fall in the same year. Klaffenbach is indubitably right in regarding No. 1, of Ptolemy II, as the extraneous stone (*Asylieurk.*, p. 28). All the other decrees are therefore to be dated after 246 and in fact after 245, inasmuch as Ptolemy III was engaged in Asia in that year and could not invade Thrace.

To return to the choice between 287/6 and 284/3 as the first regnal year of Antigonus: if we test the year 287/6 as candidate for the first year, the 41st year will be found to be 247/6; yet we require that the 41st year shall fall after mid-246 at the earliest, and for this reason 287/6 may be ruled out as the first regnal year. We are left with 284/3 alone: from this year, and from no other, Antigonus dated the years of his rule. His first year of rule was 283/2, and his 41st year was 243/2.¹³

But in what month did the Macedonian king-year begin? The *communis opinio* is that the kings dated their years from 1 Dios (about mid-October, Beloch², IV, 2, p. 38). This date will fit the Amphipolis decree, which is dated 19 Gorpiaios, that is well within August; the 42nd year of Antigonus would not begin until October 242. There are indeed two minor difficulties. First, Demetrius died in spring 283. Why did Antigonus not begin to reckon his rule from spring, not from October, 283?

Ptolemy III in 247 but would have lived to 245, does not appear to have won favor: Tarn, *C. R.*, XL (1926), pp. 86-7; Bevan, *Hist. of Egypt under the Ptol. Dynasty*, p. 386 (he follows Meyer in his text). I therefore suppose that Ptolemy II died in 246 and that Ptolemy III ascended in that year. See now Tarn and Griffith, *Hellenistic Civ.* (1952), p. 18 (January 246).

¹³ Indeed his piety toward his father made it unlikely that he would begin to date his years while Demetrius was still alive (Plut., *Demetr.*, 53; I owe this suggestion to Prof. Edson), *pace* Ferguson, cited in n. 2.

We may answer that he did not hear of his father's death at once, perhaps not until summer was well on; and since he could hardly go back to 1 Dios 284, when his father still lived, he decided to ignore the precise moment of Demetrius' death and to date from the *nearest* 1 Dios, i. e. 283. Second, Medius and Eusebius (tradition III) credit him with a reign of 44 years. But it is established that he died in spring 239. If he dated his rule from October 283, he fell short of 44 years by a few months; but since he was in his 44th year and had only a few months to go, the source of III may well have rounded off to the nearest complete year.¹⁴

We may then hold to 1 Dios as the beginning of the king-year. And since the Amphipolis decree was passed in August of Antigonos' 41st year, we may date it to summer 242. Moreover, the Asclepieia were to be held (*sc.* for the first time as a penteteric festival, *Asylieurk.*, No. 12.15) in the 9th month after the decree from Kassandreia (No. 6.17), which presumably was very close in date to the Amphipolis decree: the first penteteric Asclepieia were therefore held in spring 242/1.¹⁵

We can also now date firmly another document, a letter from Demetrius the son of Antigonos to Harpalos, the prefect of Beroea.¹⁶ The inscription dates itself to the 36th year of Antigonos, which we now know to be 248/7. (This is, as far as I know, the only other dated inscription of Antigonos.) As remarked by Woodward, Demetrius must be supposed to be acting as regent for his father. Where then is Antigonos? I should reply, at Corinth: for I believe Tarn correct in dating Antigonos'

¹⁴ Tarn (p. 434, n. 6) and Woodward (cited, note 16) find a difficulty in the fact that Antigonos will have dated by the regular Macedonian king-year even though his country was in turmoil and he was a king without a capital. Although I cannot share this sense of difficulty, I should reply that when he became *de facto* king of Macedonia he could easily have revised his reckoning (which perhaps had never been used on any official documents) to accord with Macedonian practice. The adjustment, if there was one, was trifling.

¹⁵ This result agrees wholly with that of Klaffenbach. I have presumed only to analyze fully the sources and to supply the necessary assumptions.

¹⁶ Found by Wace; published by A. M. Woodward, *B.S.A.*, XVIII (1911-12), pp. 134 ff.; *Syll.*³, 459. Best text, Cormack, *B.S.A.*, XL (1939-40), pp. 14-16.

recovery of Corinth to just this year (pp. 370, n. 5; 374, n. 16).¹⁷ But Antigonus left for Corinth some time before he sent for Demetrius to join him there (Plut., *Arat.*, 17). Perhaps we may press the evidence and say that, since Demetrius has not yet left Macedonia, the decree is likely to fall before spring 247, that is in the earlier part of the year 248/7.

I turn to the occasion of the founding of pan-Hellenic, penteteric Asclepieia at this time. Unfortunately we cannot say much about the political circumstances of Cos in 242. We know that it was a favored satellite of the Ptolemies in the middle years of s. III, owing no doubt to the birth there of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.¹⁸ Cos was also the scene of one of the two famous sea-battles between Egypt and Macedonia at some time near the middle of the century.¹⁹ We must also believe that Ptolemy III, who owned Cos, is responsible for the institution of these games. Nor can the Asclepieia be meant as funeral games for Ptolemy II: too much time has elapsed, and we find no mention of Philadelphus' name in the decrees. They are rather to be associated somehow with the fortunes of the new king.

These facts are not much; but perhaps we can obtain a clue from the foundation of the Paneia and the Soteira by Antigonus on Delos about 245.²⁰ These apparently follow the conclusion of Antigonus' war with Egypt of which the two most famous battles are those of Andros and of Cos. Tarn himself has restored the terms of the peace between the northern and the southern king with masterly skill.²¹ Antigonus did not devote the closing years

¹⁷ Curiously, the recovery is placed in 246 by Tarn and Griffith, p. 18. Yet the main argument previously used by Tarn had been that Corinth was recovered before the accession of Ptolemy III. As to the date of the letter, Woodward had supposed that Beloch's view (which he did not share) would date the text to 249/8. That date would depend on assuming that Antigonus had dated from 1 Dios 284, which Beloch did not do.

¹⁸ Briefly, Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, pp. xxxiv f.; Büchner, *R.-E.*, XXII, cols. 1479 f.; Gow, *Theocritus*, I, p. xxvi; Schol. Callim. *Hym.* 4, 165 (Pf.).

¹⁹ Last discussed by Manni, *Athenaeum*, XXX (1952), pp. 182-90.

²⁰ So Tarn, p. 380; cf. *J. H. S.*, XXIX (1909), pp. 271 ff.; Ferguson, *ibid.*, XXX (1910), pp. 191 ff.

²¹ *J. H. S.*, XXIX (1909), pp. 284 f. Intimacy between the Antigonids

of his life to a hasty attempt to crush Egypt: rather each nation was allowed a sphere in the Aegean, and Egypt was allowed to expand northward, if possible at the expense of the Seleucid empire to Antigonos' east. We now know that the Thracian conquests of Ptolemy occurred within 245-242, that is immediately before the new Asclepieia. The interpretation which would make the foundation least significant would associate it only with the coming of peace to the Aegean; but if, as I think, there is more in it, we may see in the new Asclepieia a celebration of Ptolemy's victories in Thrace following the unsuccessful war with Macedonia. But for this purpose Alexandria was far away from most Greeks, and Delos and Delphi were taken. As his corollary to Antigonos' festivals, Ptolemy wanted a well-known place in Greece with a powerful indigenous deity. We need not wonder that he chose Cos. The ready acceptance of Antigonos shows that he approved of the pan-Hellenic games, and incidentally confirms Tarn's view of the peace.

I do not wish to say whether Asclepius was the most likely deity to choose for the victory celebrations. But his *auctoritas* at Cos was formidable, and he received dedications from all over the Greek world (including now an Asclepieion at Gela, *Asylieurk.*, no. 13.36) and would continue to be honored so long as people were sick.²² As a pan-Hellenic deity to signal a recovery of strength in Egypt he might do very well. Be this as it may, a close connexion with the career of Ptolemy III is at present the most plausible occasion for the establishment of the penteteric Asclepieia at Cos.

I summarize the chronology adopted in this paper:

287	Demetrius I leaves Greece for Asia.
284/3	Demetrius dies.
283/2, October	Antigonos Gonatas begins to date the years of his reign.
277/6	Antigonos gains <i>de facto</i> control of Macedonia.
ca. 255-245	Antigonos' victories over Egypt; foundation of the Delian Paneia and Soteira.

and Cos is shown, e.g., by the *λεπών* of Antigonos Doson at Cos: Segre, *Rend. Pont.*, XVII (1940-1), pp. 21-34.

²² For other Asclepieia, Edelstein, *Asclepius* (1945), I, T 556-75.

245-242	Ptolemy III's conquests in Thrace.
242	Cos sends invitations to penteteric Asclepieia.
241, spring	The first "Great" Asclepieia are held at Cos.

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APPENDIX.

I have retained in the text the year 288/7 for the archonship of Diocles in Athens as given in Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (1940), p. xvii. This date has twice been challenged recently, by E. Manni, "Tre note di cronologia ellenistica," *Rend. Lincei*³, Classe di Scienze morali, etc., IV (1949), pp. 53-85, and by A. R. Deprado, "La liberazione di Atene nel 286 A. C.," *Riv. Fil.*, XXXI (1953), pp. 27-42. Since the year of Diocles is of some importance to the argument stated above, I wish briefly to consider the question here. Both scholars wish to bring Diocles down to 286/5, though for different reasons. Manni holds (p. 69) that the new date is partly required by historical considerations. In fact, however, part of his historical argument is based on the erroneous date 241/40 for the death of Antigonus Gonatas: in this error (as I believe) he follows Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens* (1931), pp. 108-9. This computation leads him to place the death of Demetrius I in 282, not in 283. Manni follows this chronology in his *Demetrio Poliorcete* (Rome, 1951).

Deprado's case for moving Diocles down to 286/5 is based on the inscription reported by Thompson, *Hesp.*, XVIII (1949), pp. 222-3. The stone attests a secretary of tribe VII for Pytharatus, whose year is fixed by literary evidence as 271/0; the difficulty is that Pytharatus *ought* to have a secretary from tribe IX, if the cycle is to be preserved as it stands e.g. in Pritchett-Meritt. The stone is reportedly being studied by Dinsmoor, and I do not wish to attempt any premature explanations of the irregularity. But this much may be said. The new fragment will also probably suggest a new year for Lysitheides (246/5, Pritchett-Meritt), since it is a decree in honor of certain grain-commissioners from his year. Lysitheides then precedes, one would have thought directly, Pytharatus. 273/2 is still vacant, and it is *possible* that the adjustment may be made

without shifting archons very far back from 271/0. If a break must be supposed in the cycles before 271/0, as apparently it must, then the break *may* be later than the year of Diocles, viz. some time between his year and 271/0. That is, the year of Diocles is not necessarily subject to revision because of a break in the late 270's.

Be this as it may, the new inscription makes it possible to construct a chronological framework for the reign of Antigonus Gonatas that must be reckoned with in any future studies of s. III chronology.

AENEID, I, 462: A NEW APPROACH.

I suppose no temerity on the part of a Latin scholar could even approximate that of coming forward with the suggestion that he has definitely and finally discovered what this line means. Bearing this in mind I shall, therefore, for fear of being stoned out of the city, do nothing more than suggest a new approach to the interpretation from the standpoint of the line's origin and its connection in the narrative. Where did Virgil get it? What part did he intend it to play in the sense just where it stands, between 461 and 463? This too though I am well aware that the very simplicity of my proposal may draw down upon me the pity—rather than the wrath—of those whom I shall call the “neoterics” in Virgilian interpretation, those, I mean, who have spun fine webs of every sort in this particular corner still further to cut it off from the last chances of the plain comprehension of men.

And in order that this remark may be appreciated or at least understood, I propose to quote a translation (or is it a commentary?) offered by Mr. W. F. Jackson Knight for the line we are discussing; he sees in it all this:¹ “Even in this far land honour gets its due, and they can weep at human tragedy; the world has tears as a constituent part of it, and so have our lives, hopeless and weary; and the thought how things have always their own death in them breaks our hearts and wills, and clouds our vision.” On this exegesis Mr. Knight magisterially, if somewhat mistily, remarks: “That seems to be it in the sense that it is hardly possible to deny that any of those meanings are there; and anyhow no one has translated the line more shortly with any great prospect or even expectation of success.” Yet surely it is from this line 462 that Aeneas draws the very practical conclusion that he and Achates and all the folk they have left back at the ships really have some kind of chance for safety, and it must be from this line, taken where it stands, that Achates is able to understand why his prince makes that claim, even if he may not grasp the run of the thought in its entirety nor supply all the links that would formally complete the whole logical chain of demonstration. There

¹ In his *Roman Vergil* (London, 1944), p. 193.

is something in 462 which suggests hope to Aeneas, and if he is to feel that Achates will at all appreciate the conclusion he declares to him, it must be because he and Achates are going through an experience together of which Achates can get the bearing if once Aeneas points out the specific goal. Line 462 is part of that experience, an important part, not as a nebulous generality but a very fundamental particularity.

One may, if he thinks he should, excuse himself for being *dans cette galère* by noting that the discussion, despite all the pronouncements to end further discussion, goes steadily on. Thus in *C. W.*, XLV (1951-1952), pp. 257-8 L. A. Mackay suggests a possible vindication of J. Henry's interpretation of *sunt lacrimae rerum*,² and in *C. P.*, XLVIII (1953), p. 19 W. T. Avery contributes pleasantly by suggesting the likeness of *mentem mortalia tangunt* to the πολλὰ γοῦν θιγγάνει πρὸς ἥπαρ of Aeschylus, *Agam.*, 432. He also reminds us of Sidgwick's rendering, "There are tears for trouble and human sorrows touch the heart," in which "trouble" (or "troubles") is undoubtedly right but "touch" is less than adequate.³ But for my own purpose I am particularly obliged to Professor Avery for his words about the middle of column 1: "Apparently looking once again" (i. e., after his rhetorical question to Achates about the range of Trojan renown) "at the picture of Priam, he [Aeneas] exclaims: *En Priamus* etc." That is the physical setting. Aeneas in the first instance takes a long hard look at the Priam panel; then half turns away from it and throws his question at Achates; then, with the exclamation *en Priamus*, turns back to study the painting again in more detail.

The murals as first caught sight of by Aeneas and Achates are summarily described in 456-8:

videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas
bellaque iam fama totum vulgata per orbem,
Atridas Priamumque et saevom ambobus Achillem.

This is Homer's approach to the Trojan legend, the Wrath of

² As given in the *Aeneidea*, I, 705. But see R. S. Conway's incisive comment on the Henry view (even as assisted by Mackay, I fear) and hence on all Henry-descended enthusiasms such as T. R. Glover's and J. W. Mackail's, in his *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber I* (Cambridge, 1935), p. 88 (note to line 462).

³ Again Conway, as just cited, notes to I, 178 and I, 462. This edition of Book I deserves the closest study throughout; it repays.

Achilles. The *Atridas*⁴ and *Priamum* sets out the official leadership on both sides. Achilles is not, of course, in the *Wrath* story actively enraged at Priam as he is at Agamemnon, but if anyone doubts Achilles' savage (*saevom*) bitterness towards the father of the slayer of Patroclus, even if open display is avoided, let him consult *Iliad*, XXIV, 582-6.

Priam for Virgil's purposes must occur in this line (458) to be promptly indicated as the object of Achilles' potential wrath because, as Avery has pointed out, Aeneas' speech from 459 probably, and from 461 certainly, *is made in front of the Priam panel*. It is in the rapt contemplation of this panel that the Trojan prince begins to surmise that he and his followers may have some kind of chance (*aliquam . . . salutem*, 463).⁵ It is really intended that confidence in full security shall be granted by the noble attitude and the generous speech of Dido (613-42), but "leads" on the probabilities are stimulating to the story.

With the words *feret . . . salutem* there is really no further positive need for the murals save emphasis of a point already made, but let no one suppose that the poet is going to miss the opportunity for a description of seven panels, each in a sense complete. Through this magnificent catalogue Aeneas is once again firmly associated with the great tradition of the Homeric world; the pictures derive almost in their entirety from the *Iliad*. The Priam panel, powerfully included already in the narrative, appears also in the catalogue; thus again the lime-light falls upon it. In the advance notice, as we may call it, Priam is definitely touched upon in 461 and inferentially in 462, as we shall see. In the catalogue we are given (483-7) other details. The first of these lines is, to be sure, simply a prior establishment of the basic fact out of which the picture finally emerges: "Achilles had killed Hector and had dragged his body thrice around the walls of Troy; [now the body is lying just outside Achilles' headquarters]." Line 484 gives what may be called the panel's title; we are reminded of the inscription on a Greek vase: "Achilles sells the lifeless body to Priam for gold." Lines 486-7 add some graphic details, the *spolia* of Hector, the *currus* of Achilles along with the *ipsum corpus [Hectoris]*, which,

⁴ Readers in Virgil's day would make the Atridae fit in nicely with the double kingship of Sparta in historical times.

⁵ Not all the *salus* you might desire, but some measure of it certainly. Cf. Conway to 463.

as we see from *Iliad*, XXIV, 416-17, has been permanently attached to the conqueror's car for daily abuse in being dragged around the barrow of Patroclus.⁶ Finally in line 487 the phrase about "Priam lifting up his unarmed suppliant hands,"—which carries us back to the *en Priamus* of 461, and indicates the attitude there given him by the painter in the panel.

We shall now turn to the detailed account of the whole Priam-Achilles incident as given in *Iliad*, XXIV; all verse-numbers from here on, except where special notice is given, will refer to *Iliad*, XXIV.

At 471 Priam enters the quarters of Achilles; he is not observed by either Achilles or the two young men who are serving him food and drink. Thus he is enabled to get near the mighty foeman, and (478-9):

χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος λάβε γούνατα καὶ κύσε χεῖρας
δεινὰς ἀνδροφόνους, αἳ οἱ πολέας κτάγον νῆας.

Achilles was amazed (*θάμβησεν*); an extraordinary action, a deed of sublime courage had been performed, and actually at his expense, the *laus* of *Aeneid*, I, 461. Priam takes full advantage of this amazement to press upon Achilles his plea for the surrender of Hector's body, and ends that speech by emphasizing the unique character of what he has done, his act of supreme courage and abnegation (505-6):

ἔτλην δ' οἷ' οὐ πῶ τις ἐπιχθόνιος βροτὸς ἄλλος,
ἀνδρὸς παιδοφόνου ποτὶ στόμα χεῖρ' ὀρέγεσθαι.

Its perpetuation on the panel at Carthage is the *sua praemia laudi*.

But Achilles is not quite conquered even by that; "he took the old man's hand and pushed him gently away" (508). The deed of unmatched fortitude has been performed by Priam, the deed without rival in the annals of ancient chivalry, and he has proudly, almost arrogantly, registered his claim to it, but not yet has its full greatness been borne in upon Achilles; none the less (507):

ὥς φάτο (Priam), τῷ (in Achilles) δ' ἄρα πατρὸς ὑφ' ἡμερον
ᾤρσε γόοιο,

⁶ Despite Henry who says that it is Hector's chariot. He has gone curiously astray at this point. Henry can at times be as strikingly and obstinately wrong as he is, all so often, strikingly and insistently right.

and presently (509-12) :

τῷ δὲ μνησμένῳ, ὃ μὲν Ἑκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο
κλαῖ' ἄδυνά προπάρουθε ποδῶν Ἀχιλλῆος ἐλυσθείς·
αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς κλαῖεν ἐὼν πατέρ', ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτε
Πάτροκλον· τῶν δὲ στοναχὴ κατὰ δώματ' ὀρώρει.

So then in Homer the claim made by Priam for an unrivalled courage in doing what no mortal before him had dared to do, which must be identical with the *laus* of *Aeneid*, I, 461,⁷ is followed by a flood of tears and wailing throughout the house (512). Then Achilles gets control of himself again, and from 518 forward speaks of the bitterness of life's experiences, of the harshness of appointed dooms, falling on Priam and himself alike. These bitternesses bite deep and hard; whither they have sunk there let them lie; stir them not; it is no profit (522-4) :

ἄλγεα δ' ἔμπησ
ἐν θυμῷ κατακείσθαι ἑάσομεν ἀχνόμενοί περ·
οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρυεροῖο γόοιο.

It seems to me entirely reasonable to assume that all this mutual weeping, all this contemplation of inescapable doom, is what is covered by the single Latin hexameter *sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*. In all other respects Homer has been employed by Virgil, item by item, to supply *both the material and the order* for his abbreviated recapitulation of the Priam-Achilles story; for the extended lamentations of the Homeric original he wisely offers but a single line.

The art that Aeneas and Achates are viewing is *graphic* art and that is emphasized in the catalogue, as I call it, lines 483-7. It is not *speech* art, as in the Homeric recital of the whole incident. And it is just in view of these considerations that I am led gravely to doubt whether I, 462 is to be regarded as an outstandingly great line at all. I see rather, graphically, Aeneas shaking his head sadly and summing up the whole scene in the Priam panel in phrases after all sufficiently commonplace. I will suggest to any reader to peruse slowly and thoughtfully the Homeric account in *Iliad*, XXIV and then say if *Aeneid*, I, 462 is really in his honest opinion a particularly outstanding line. Does it not mean simply this: "There are tears being

⁷It is my view that in *Aeneid*, I, 461 *hic etiam* means "right here [in the picture]," since by the sudden turning back to the panel and the exclamation *en Priamus* the connection with the preceding *quis locus* and *quae regio in terris* has been broken off.

shed over things; dooms of death are cutting the soul to the quick”?

The passage *Aeneid*, I, 459-63 emerges then with novel simplicity thus: “He came to a dead stop and, as the tears fell fast, he cried (*turning half-left to Achates*): ‘Achates, what place by now, what region in all the world, is not full of our toil and suffering? (*Pause, followed by a half-right turn with a resultant direct confronting of the panel again.*) Look at Priam! Even here (*placing his hand on or close to the picture*) there is conferred appropriate reward on a deed of the highest courage. (*Pause.*) They are weeping over sorrows, [those heroes in the panel,] and mortal dooms are cutting them to the heart. (*Long pause.*) Forget your fears; your part in this story will bring you at least a measure of safety. [Come, as we have still a little time to kill, let us look the whole series over.]’”

No cobwebs, no nuances, no mysteries, no *O altitudo's* any longer; just a plain speech developed out of the factual surroundings in accordance with the dramatic needs of the situation and rationally supplied with appropriate pauses,⁸ in which, by reflection, a promise of at least partial security is glimpsed and, by emotion, some measure of guarantee suggested.⁹

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⁸ Appropriate pauses in the speech of narrative have to be supplied by one's sense of dramatic fitness; epic is full of drama. And pauses can make such a difference in interpretation. In the *London Times Literary Supplement* of Friday, August 21, 1953, Mr. Roy Walker writes (p. 535, col. 4, foot) on the question of who sees the witches first in the Banquo-Macbeth scene in the great tragedy. He makes the claim that Macbeth is the first to see them, quite contrary to the ordinary interpretation. “The reason why the point has been missed is that a dramatic silence is not necessarily noted in a Shakespearian text, though it may, of course, be powerfully dramatic in effect.” In the Virgilian passage a long pause after 462 gives Achates at least a chance to get the run of the argument indicated in the following footnote.

⁹ The unexpressed argument in the pause postulated by me as preceding *solve metus* (463) is like this: “The people of this place have spent money, and plenty of it, to secure a painting like that Priam panel which deals so sympathetically with human griefs and facts, which can occur and do occur among the bravest and the best. This picture draws its inspiration directly from a series of events of which you and I are an integral part, events which all the world knows of. The seeds of sympathy for us and of mercy upon us are right in that panel.”

A REJOINDER ON *p*-ITALIC AND CORNISH *-ns*.

In a recent note,¹ Professor Louis H. Gray has claimed to have uncovered a possible parallel between *p*-Italic and Cornish in the 3d plural endings in *-ns*; it is only right to observe, too, that he terminated the title of his note with a question mark. The purpose of the present rejoinder is to take issue with that formulation. In deference to so eminent a scholar, I should prefer to remain silent in my disagreement, but general unfamiliarity with Cornish, stepchild that it is, may be such that the formulation offered will prove a trap for the unwary; thus I am prompted to speak out.

Nobody denies that the termination of the IE participle nom. sing. was **-nts*.

If I understand Gray aright, he would have the IE 3d plural to be **-nts(-i)*. In the first place, why include the nom. ending **-s* in the verb form, especially if this arose at such an early "primitive stage before inflexion"? I might add that I do not mean to imply that I share Gray's belief in such stages.

Against the formulation offered there are numerous reconstructive arguments from various branches of IE. First, against an ending **-nts-i*: Hittite *z* (before *i*!) proves nothing, since this is easily explained as **t*; what is more, the other Anatolian languages show unambiguous reflexes of *t*. We should expect Sanskrit to preserve an inherited **ts*; cf. *vatsá-* 'calf', *patsú* 'feet' (loc. pl.). The Greek sigma is readily explained from **t*. The Italic primary endings show evidence explained most easily as **t*. Gaulish *dugiionti-io* points clearly to IE **t*; if we had **ts*, we should expect Proto-Keltic **s(s)*, if any change had occurred (see Lewis and Pedersen, *Concise Comp. Celt. Grammar*, § 25. 6). Likewise, instead of *berit* /*béréd'*/, for OIr. we should expect **beris* < **bérē:s'* / < **bère:ssi* / < **ber^o/n^t/si*/. Furthermore, we should expect Slavonic **berasb*; cf. *kqsō* 'piece' < **kontso-*: Lith. *kāndu*, *kąsti* 'bite.'

In short, all branches speak for IE **-nti*.

Against an ending **-nts*, most branches furnish negative evidence. Perhaps the most valuable piece of evidence, however,

¹ *A. J. P.*, LXXIV (1953), pp. 286-7.

comes from Avestan. The nom. sing. of *-nt*-stems was clearly **-nts* (*θwāvqs* 'like you,' *čvqs* 'quantus?'), and that of *-t*-stems was **-Vts* (*ha(u)rvatās* 'totality'). But we find that the 3d plural secondary endings (depending on stem-final) are *-an* < **-ént*; *-at* < **-nt*; *-n* < **-nt*. That is to say, we find no evidence of **-s*; the Sanskrit sandhi form cited by Gray is easily viewed as analogy.

When it comes to Oscan-Umbrian, there are overwhelming objections against this formulation. From an original **-nts* we should expect Umbrian (and probably Oscan, too, though relevant attested forms are lacking) *-f*; see Buck, *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, pp. 72-3, and the very form *zēref* cited by Gray (p. 286). As for the *-ns* that we find, Buck (p. 81) amply discusses the riddle. Whatever the answer is, an extra innovating element may well have to be posited, and **-nts* is certainly not the solution.

For Cornish, the change *t > s* (not limited to final position after *n*!) is compactly discussed in Lewis and Pedersen, § 263. If we were to assume **-nts* instead of **-nt* as the precursor of Cornish *-ns*, we should still be left with forms unexplained: e.g. OCor. *guins* 'wind' (: Welsh *gwynt*, Breton *gwent*, an *o*-stem throughout IE), *mols* 'wether' (: Welsh *mollt*, Breton *maout*, Irish *molt*). Besides, Cornish would then have preserved an archaic feature here, against its sister dialect Breton, while at the same time they would both have innovated (perhaps in common?²) in the introduction of vowel affection (umlaut) in these same forms. On the other hand, the Cornish forms are easily explained as a special innovating divergence within British Celtic.

In short, all attested forms point phonologically to **-nt*, and Cornish and Oscan-Umbrian (plus the other minor Italic dialects) show nothing in common on this point; on the contrary, they exhibit independent late departures, and their resemblance is purely superficial.

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² See my comment on this point in "Morphological Correspondences in Cornish and Breton," *The Journal of Celtic Studies*, II (1953), p. 21, point 11.

REVIEWS.

Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood.* Edited by MARY E. WHITE.
University of Toronto Press, 1952. Pp. xvii + 278. \$5.00.
(*The Phoenix, Journal of the Classical Association of Canada*,
Supplementary Volume I.)

It is the current fashion to deery the ancient and honorable tradition of the *Festschrift*, and there are, to be sure, many drawbacks to the form as a method of publishing one's researches for the world of scholars. Yet until a better device for honoring distinguished elder scholars comes along, it is ungenerous to dwell on the disadvantages of the form and to slight the positive merits of the material which is thereby offered to the reader. Indeed, in considering this attractive and well-printed volume of homage to Canada's most eminent classical scholar and teacher, it is impossible not to be impressed by the rich diversity of material and the galaxy of talent presented. How else, if not in a *Festschrift*, could one assemble in one volume articles by such scholars as G. M. A. Grube, Ivan Linforth, W. B. Stanford, E. A. Havelock, Norman W. DeWitt, J. M. Edmonds, E. R. Dodds, Lily Ross Taylor, H. J. Rose, and Joshua Whatmough—to name but a few, whose work in their special fields has long been known to this reviewer? There are thirty-one articles, ranging in time from Homer to Milton, and representing such fields as literary history and criticism, history, palaeography and papyrology, philosophy, even astrology. Very likely there is something in this volume to interest and instruct almost anyone engaged in the study and teaching of the classics.

Yet obviously such richness presents an insuperable problem for the reviewer: no single person is competent to evaluate critically the wide diversity of material included in the volume. Merely to list the authors and their contributions, with a word of comment on each, would take too much space, while reducing the review to the level of an "Abstract of Articles." It might perhaps be sufficient to state that the general level of the contributions is very high, worthy of the scholar to whom they are dedicated, and that many of the articles are of more than passing interest. However, a few of the contributions deserve more extended notice; therefore, with all due apologies to those who are omitted from this review, I shall concentrate these remarks on a handful of essays upon which I feel moderately competent to comment, and which coincide with my personal interests and teaching commitments.

The first article, "The Gods of Homer," by Professor Grube, is a very readable and sensible discussion of this perennial problem. In general, the position taken is close to that of the late G. M. Calhoun. The main point of view of the essay may be summed up in the author's own words: "The gods were anthropomorphized *poetically but not yet theologically*." The essence of divinity is still in the power, not in the personality of the divine being;

* The notice of Professor Norwood's death, on October 16th, appeared after this review was printed. All classicists must lament the loss of this distinguished scholar, who is so justly honored in the volume under review.

hence, the personal conduct of the gods does not affect their divinity, nor is it ever depicted as a pattern for mortals to follow. The essay concludes with a good discussion of divine intervention in the epics, which (according to Grube) "does not exclude human activity, but is merely a poetic and imaginative way of describing the same activity." All teachers of Homer, whether in the original or in translation, should welcome this clear and usable argument on a problem we all must deal with in one way or another.

Miss Kathleen Freeman offers an interesting discussion ("The Mystery of the Choreutes") of Antiphon's sixth oration, which she treats almost as an ancient prototype of the modern murder-mystery tale. She suggests, on the principle of *Cui Bono?* (the motive for the crime), that the young choreutes was poisoned by the enemies of the defendant, the Choregus, in order to embarrass him in his prosecution of them for embezzlement and to remove him from public life at a critical moment—just before the revolution of 411 B. C. Since the Choregus must have belonged to the oligarchic faction, this would suggest that the democrats too indulged in a little terrorism in that troubled year of Athenian history.

Perhaps the most challenging and stimulating essay in the volume is the discussion of Socrates' trial ("Why was Socrates Tried?") by E. A. Havelock, who is rapidly gaining a reputation for his unorthodox treatment of ancient thought. In this thought-provoking discussion of the sophists and Socrates, and of their impact on the educational and social patterns of life at the end of the fifth century, Professor Havelock argues that the trial reveals a crisis in education: the conservative elders and heads of families resented deeply the new professional educators who, with their new techniques and their insistence that general education is a matter for specialists, threatened to usurp the traditional function of the family-group (the "oikia") as the center of moral and political instruction. In the light of this opposition, the issues burlesqued in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes become sharper, and the details of the plot gain fresh significance. Though greatly impressed with this excellent article, I still find it hard to accept the sweeping statement at the conclusion, viz., that Plato deliberately and dishonestly concealed Socrates' real educational purposes and activities by means of Socrates' familiar profession of ignorance and his inability to offer instruction like that of the sophists. It seems clear that one of Plato's aims, in the *Apology* and elsewhere, was to make a valid distinction between the sweeping educational claims of the sophists and the method, or technique, of analysis imparted by Socrates. From this point of view, it is appropriate and quite honest for Socrates to disassociate himself from Evenus and other sophists who professed to teach a concrete and specific *τεχνή πολιτική*.

Professor DeWitt, a leading authority on Epicureanism, offers an interesting essay on "Epicurus and Menander"; despite the fact that the two men are often associated in later antiquity, they could not have been friends, and the playwright, as a close friend of Theophrastus, was probably hostile to Epicurus. Nonetheless, for dramatic purposes Menander exploits or echoes several doctrines of the Epicurean school. A number of these are discussed; curiously, all but one of the instances that DeWitt has been able to find come from the Menandrian plays of Terence.

Further light on Menander is shed by J. M. Edmonds' report on

"The *Cairensis* of Menander by Infra-red." For the general classical reader, the most startling part of this article is the transcription of the ancient Paraphrase, which gives the lost ending of the *Epitrepontes*: it is worth noting that Onesimus receives his freedom in the very last scene, not before his conversation with Smicrines, as several editors assume; it is also surprising to learn that the surly and dishonest Davus gets his freedom as a reward for finding the baby. All those who assign this play to undergraduates will want to take into account this new information. The Paraphrase continues with the first 33 lines of the *Heros*, and in addition the text of the opening lines of this play can be read more exactly than before.

In "Lucretius and the Roman Theatre" Miss Lily Ross Taylor has collected a number of passages referring to the theatre, used by the poet to illustrate his argument. Arguing that these descriptions reflect the poet's own observations and experience and are not stock examples taken from Epicurean handbooks, Miss Taylor concludes that "Lucretius is the only republican writer who provides evidence for the use of awnings in the (Roman) theatre, the sprinkling of the stage with saffron, the pre-Augustan custom of having men and women sit together, and the presence of gods (or rather their symbols) in the theatre. Except for Plautus he is the only Roman writer who speaks of the existence of an altar on the Roman stage. In his allusions to gods and altars Lucretius adds to the evidence for the religious character of Roman scenic games. If I am right in my interpretation of 4. 81-83, Lucretius gives us the only contemporary comment we have on the first permanent theatre of Rome" (i. e., Pompey's theatre, dedicated in 55 B. C.). Miss Taylor has made another of her valuable contributions to our knowledge of the Roman theatre.

A number of other articles may be more briefly mentioned. E. T. Salmon discusses "Horace's Ninth Satire" from a topographical point of view, attempting to trace the path of Horace and his famous bore through the Forum and its vicinity. H. L. Tracy discusses "Thought-sequence in the Ode," contrasting "architectural" with "linear" (or cursive) exposition of ideas; the chief illustrations are naturally taken from Pindar and from Horace, in whom Tracy finds a perfect fusion of both patterns. Teachers of Horace will want to have a look at this. Gilbert Bagnani offers an entertaining treatment of Petronius in "And Passing Rich." His argument is that Petronius wrote for an ultra-sophisticated, extremely wealthy Roman audience, from whose point of view the dinner of the "provincial" Trimalchio was "probably deficient in both quality and quantity." This view is amusingly supported by listing some dinner menus from nineteenth-century England. More convincing to this reader is the argument that Trimalchio's fortune was actually modest by the standards of the Roman aristocracy. Hence, Petronius' picture in the *Cena* should be taken not as a satiric caricature, via exaggeration, of the wealthy freedmen at Rome, but as tolerant, yet clinically precise dissection of the manners of the well-to-do provincial middle class.

"The Prophet in Israel and Greece," by H. T. Robinson, suggests that there was some connection between "prophecy" (of a wild and ecstatic nature) in the monarchical period of Israel and certain religious phenomena in the Graeco-Roman world. Since

Dionysus, Apollo, and Isis are apparently the only Greek deities whose followers combine mantic powers with "ecstasy," and since all three of these gods are immigrants to Greece from Asia, the phenomenon may have originated in Asia Minor, perhaps in northern Phoenicia, whence it spread in both directions, to Israel and to Greece. H. J. Rose's observations on "Metaphor, Ancient and Modern" and his illustrations are both amusing and instructive; but I doubt if he is correct in asserting that "to sit on" a person ever meant, "in plain United States," to impose upon him. It is dangerous for Englishmen to deal with American colloquialisms, and vice versa. The volume concludes with two essays on later literary figures, which might prove of interest to most classicists: "Helena in Goethe's *Faust*" by Barker Fairley, and a good discussion of "Milton's Pastoral Monodies" by A. S. P. Woodhouse.

This random sampling of the contents of the volume will, I hope, give some idea of the value and high caliber of the work. There are, of course, a few of the trivia inevitable in such a volume—emendations, notes on textual readings, and other *miscellanea* of the sort which live to plague graduate students in their bibliographical exercises; but where so much is good, it is ungrateful to complain. All in all this is a handsome tribute, worthy of the distinguished scholar to whom it is offered, and the editorial committee is to be congratulated on a volume which will add lustre to the new Journal of the Classical Association of Canada.

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PHYLLIS WILLIAMS LEHMANN. Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. With an appendix by HERBERT BLOCH. Cambridge, Archaeological Institute of America, through a subvention granted by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953. Pp. xvi + 232; 42 pls.; 81 figs. \$12.00. (*Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts sponsored by the A. I. A. and the College Art Association of America.*)

For over fifty years there was published no full account of the Roman villa near Boscoreale which, privately excavated in 1900, subsequently became best known by the name of the one who probably owned it last, Publius Fannius Synistor. Yet as the grass grows over a deserted excavation, so the facts which come to light with an archaeological discovery are quickly overgrown with errors and insecure memories, if they are not immediately recorded. Even now, after only half a century, a sizable volume was needed to collect the ascertainable data and sift the evidence regarding this important find. It is not the least among the merits of the book before us that it performs this service. Over and above the discussion of the frescoes in the Metropolitan Museum, announced by the title, Mrs. Lehmann has given us a lucid report of facts and problems and, indeed, a scholarly monograph on the entire villa and its decorations. This, therefore, is a very useful publication. For the first time the *disjecta membra* of the villa of Fannius Synistor are exhibited together in good illustrations, and with well documented descriptions. Now the reader can form for himself an

idea of one of the prime monuments of ancient art in its original context.

Chapter I gives a reconstruction of the architectural remains, as far as the available records permit. It also allocates to their proper places the fragments of painted decoration which meantime have found their way to various museums the world over, with Naples and New York holding the lion's share. From this report the villa emerges as a comfortable if not luxurious monument of the Campanian art of living. Sociologically the owners and builders of this and the many similar, lavishly decorated houses around the Gulf of Naples are not easy to classify. Their number included Roman aristocrats and native middle classes. But together these people must have formed a curiously educated group. Alike they shared a fondness for Greek mythology and for literary quotations, already then classical. Even the Trimalchios, the caricatures of this type of cultivation, testify to the general trend: to recognize oneself and one's own experience in the symbols and exemplars of an ancient art and religion. At the time when the villa of Fannius Synistor was built, shortly after the middle of the first century B. C., the Greek myths went through a genuinely Roman revival. Their human impact was vividly felt; nor had art yet become a mere ornament, as happened after the turn of the century. With the author, one receives the impression that the decoration of this villa was indeed selected with more than usual thoughtfulness.

These problems come to the fore in the second chapter, pp. 23 ff., which deals with the room called by the author the "Hall of Aphrodite." This room contained the large frieze of figures, now divided between New York and Naples, which perhaps constitutes the most impressive performance of ancient painting preserved anywhere. Yet in this chapter, the reviewer must take exception to the iconographic interpretation. True, Aphrodite is seen in the rear wall, and Eros shoots his arrow from her lap. But none of the other women in this room can claim to be the same goddess; nor can the athletic form of the man seated beside the alleged Aphrodite, in New York, in the absence of all descriptive attributes convince me that he represents Adonis. The chapter retains its value because of the vast and interesting information the author has to give, on the celebrations and the iconography of Adonis and Aphrodite. But few will feel that its point has been proven, or even made likely.

Thus the problem of this mysterious frieze is again wide open, inviting further suggestions; and like others before me, I seize the opportunity to join the learned symposium.¹ I cannot believe that its solemn figures represent either Roman portraits² or Greek deities. On the other hand the earlier observation by L. Curtius³ has hardly

¹ Cf. the review of the same book by M. Bieber, *A. J. A.*, LVII (1953), pp. 237 ff.

² The suggestion that the friezes in the "Hall of Aphrodite" represent the owner and his family was made by M. Bieber, *loc. cit.*, p. 238. While taking a different view regarding this interpretation, I concur with most of her criticisms of the earlier explanations, including the one here under review.

³ L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis* (Leipzig, 1929), pp. 279 ff. For additional bibliography, cf. author, p. 35, n. 30. Concerning the painting or paintings by Theoros mentioned below, representing Leontion and the king Demetrius, see also V. Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell' Abbondanza*, I (Rome, 1953), p. 675, n. 429.

received sufficient attention, that the old man leaning on his knotty stick in Naples resembles Epicurus. Not only is the similarity between his profile and the marble portraits really remarkable, but other corroborative clues exist which should not be disregarded. The letter "E" which the author noticed in his signet ring would not in itself prove an identification (p. 33 and n. 19). But in connection with the portrait likeness of the wearer it certainly becomes a possible reference to the philosopher. The name of Epicurus appears twice in Pliny's list of famous paintings. More important still, it is in both cases combined with that of a woman, the courtesan who became his steadfast follower as tradition has it, or in the words of Pliny, "Leontion Epicuri." I suggest, accordingly, that the old man in the Naples fresco really represents Epicurus and that the thoughtful woman listening to him (one recalls her complaints, in Alciphron's elegantly invented letter, II, 2) portrays his famous companion, probably fashioned after the "Leontion cogitans" of Theoros (Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXV, 138). The strangely costumed figure in the background then emerges definitely as the owner of the Macedonian shield which cannot belong to Leontion, and very likely as a young man rather than woman. Can he be the "Demetrius rex," mentioned in Pliny's catalogue of the work of Theoros next to the "Leontion," and here shown near her? Even if the Campanian painter, not Theoros himself, was responsible for a fictitious meeting of these three personages in the "Garden" of Epicurus, history would not be altogether against him. The meeting could have happened, in 306 or 305 B. C.

Epicurus and Leontion: the room on the walls of which they were shown may still be called a "Hall of Aphrodite." In fact, the entire frieze, with exception of the rear wall, seems to me dedicated to the theme of "illustrious lovers." The magnificently painted couple on a bench, in the Metropolitan Museum, also is best understood by this general heading. Again the woman listens intently, the man speaks; but who are these two? Evidently a scarcity of characterizing attributes forms part of the style of this painter, and causes the difficulty we encounter in naming his characters. I was always struck by Rilke's inspired description of the pair in New York, quoted in full by the author (p. 44). The man is "one who has returned." And in ancient lore who has returned in more spectacular fashion than the great wayfarer of the *Odyssey*? I call this pair Penelope and Ulysses. The fight in the palace is over, the long years of misfortunes and confusion have passed; the time has come to tell the tale. The past unfolds, reflected almost visibly in the large, serious eyes of the woman; and it keeps the girl gasping who, in the corner of the room, has stopped going about her business, to store away the now useless shield.

The lonely citharist with the girl attendant we may call Sappho, taking our cue from the author herself (p. 50 and pl. I). The presence of Sappho here is appropriate enough, as "Aphrodite's Singer." It is not necessary to assume that she sings about the *Adonia*; there are no visible signs of drama, mourning, or lamentation.⁴

It is a pleasure to follow the author through the intricacies of

⁴ This point was observed very clearly by M. Bieber, *loc. cit.*, p. 238. There is no need to duplicate her statements here.

her next chapter, which deals with the "Cubiculum" (pp. 82 ff.). This room, almost perfectly preserved, was rebuilt in the Metropolitan Museum as the author points out, with everything in good order except the ceiling. Actually only the rear part of the room was vaulted, so that the niche where the bed once stood formed an alcove, marked by an architectural canopy. (The erroneous effect of the present reconstruction can be clearly seen in pl. X.) In front of this niche extends the bedroom proper, its lateral walls decorated with almost identical representations. Mrs. Lehmann makes a very convincing case of her thesis, that the architectural landscapes in these walls represent, not cities but luxurious villas—an ancient kind of "dream-houses." The paintings are indeed remarkable and of considerable interest for the history of art, not only because of their excellent execution and almost Giottesque appearance but as an early example in Roman art, of that inherent naturalism which underlies all landscape-painting, be it reality or fiction.

Their composition, also, is interesting. In each wall the two architectural views are symmetrically placed on either side of a center panel, behind which their perspectives would meet. The middle panel itself represents a rural sanctuary, on a somewhat larger scale. This tripartite composition makes for a rather formal arrangement which hardly seems natural to spontaneous landscape painting. One wonders where it originated. The author is probably right not to look for the conventional Vitruvian stage sets in these paintings, and instead to regard them as genuine examples of landscape. Nevertheless the strict coordination and centralization of the sceneries, their architectural arrangement, that is, may refer to a Greek theatrical tradition; although the sceneries themselves do not. How representations which render the mere settings of human life without any human beings in them could arise at all in an art as thoroughly humanized as the classical remains a pressing question; and the theater where the mute scenery only forms the backdrop for real actors still offers a not unlikely answer to that question.⁵

The problem of possible prototypes from outside Roman art cannot fail to present itself, here as with other Campanian paintings. It is discussed in the fourth chapter (pp. 132 ff.). In fact the style of the large frieze in the "Hall of Aphrodite" is clearly Hellenistic. It may be of Pergamene derivation, as the author points out (pp. 135 ff.). This observation includes the figures which above are tentatively ascribed to Theoros whose probable lifetime, about 300 B. C., obviously tallies with the stylistic analysis. I also recommend to the reader's attention the brief section dealing with the more practical problem, too often neglected, by what means foreign, Hellenistic prototypes can have been transmitted to the Campanian workshops (pp. 144 ff.). More and more the dependence even of large wall paintings on portable models much smaller in size, such as *tabellae* or artists' pattern books, emerges as a probable condition of this art; just as later the diffusion of illustrated manuscripts became the basis of so much medieval art. The full impact on the Campanian paintings, of a method of transmission necessitating, it seems, frequent changes of scale as well as technique, can hardly

⁵ M. Bieber, in her already cited review, reached a similar conclusion: *loc. cit.*, p. 239.

be gauged as yet. The copying processes used in the creation of these paintings still need further elucidation.

An interesting sidelight falls on the Campanian workshops by the fact, discussed pp. 152 f., that the architectural prospects of the *Cubiculum* have near counterparts in other houses. A pattern book probably was the common source, from which the individual representations derived. Obviously copying, or the use of models transmitted by sketchbooks, was not restricted to the mythological genre of Greek painting. The selection of models included more recent prototypes of probably Roman origin as well, such as architectural landscapes.

Contrary to the opinion of the author (pp. 118 ff.), however, I can see no specific religious meaning in the last named type of paintings. Ancient religion was a part of daily life, and visible signs of religious practices must have been much in evidence wherever people lived—in the cities as well as the countryside. Temples, large and small; open air sanctuaries; statues and exvotos: they all formed part of the daily scenery. As such the same objects appear in the painted landscapes. Because people actually did put "Adonis gardens" on their roofs, the paintings show them (pp. 125 ff.). There is no mystery behind these simple and probably quite realistic adornments of the rural landscape, beyond a romantic appreciation of their presence. As to the spikes seen along the roof-lines of some of the buildings (pp. 129 ff.), I agree with Prof. Bieber that they should not be mentioned here at all, because they do not depict phalloi nor is any religious meaning apparent in them.⁶ In no sense can they, or even the "Adonis gardens," confirm the interpretation of the great hall as a cult room dedicated to Adonis and Aphrodite (p. 128). The sacral furnishings in such painted sceneries no more predicate the religion of the master—or masters—of the villa than a cross shown on a church steeple, in a modern representation of landscape, commits the owner of the painting to a certain creed or religious denomination.

A wealth of detail and information included with these discussions cannot be mentioned in this necessarily brief review. Especially I should like to call attention to the interesting and pertinent remarks on painting technique (pp. 164 ff.)—tempera applied to a fresco ground—as well as the author's observations about the development of landscape painting in the so-called "second style" (pp. 162 ff.). Her statements on chronology are well supported by the architectural as well as the prosopographic evidence. (For the latter, cf. the excursus on "The Owners of the Villa," by H. Bloch, pp. 214 ff.). Altogether her book gives an excellent account of the Villa of Boscoreale and its manifold treasures and problems. Moreover, she has managed to present her difficult and diffuse material in a style of writing which sustains interest throughout, because it is both clear and pleasing; and the readability of her text is much aided by the many good illustrations which accompany the discussion. The large plates, especially, not only offer the best illustrations so far published of the paintings in the Metropolitan Museum; they also present a very interesting selection of details, admirably printed, which add to the value of this attractive book.

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⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 240.

YALE CLASSICAL STUDIES, XIII, edited by HARRY M. HUBBELL. New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1952. Pp. 169; 2 pp. of plates.

This volume contains four essays: "The Hippolytus of Euripides," by Bernard M. W. Knox (pp. 1-31); "Apollonius Rhodius and the Homeric Epic," by John Frederick Carspeken (pp. 33-143); "Notes on Cicero and the Odes of Horace," by Edmund T. Silk (pp. 145-58); "Greek Coins from the Yale Numismatic Collection, III," by Alfred R. Bellinger (pp. 159-69).

The last of these being quite beyond my competence, I requested the aid of my friend Professor W. P. Wallace, who has kindly written the following paragraph:

"Professor Bellinger publishes—with good plates and drawings of the monograms—a small hoard of second century bronze coins of Cyzicus. Attention to wear and to monograms enables him to show that the three denominations found in the hoard are contemporary, not successive as H. von Fritz had supposed. As the paper ends with a list of published specimens not mentioned by von Fritz (some later but many earlier than his paper) this brief publication of a small hoard is also a 'corpus' of the issues involved. Its thoroughness and caution are worthy of imitation."

On a tragedy as difficult as it is beautiful Professor Knox writes with such challenging power that we shall clear the ground by dealing first with a few incidental topics.

The Nurse obsesses him queerly, dying and returning to life once if not twice (pp. 19, 22). Next, "Theseus is an early Attic King, but with the customary anachronism of Athenian tragedy, he is presented as a fifth-century statesman"; and on the same page (23) Knox compares him with Themistocles: all this with no better excuse than his proclamation of Hippolytus' banishment. Where else in Greek tragedy do we find this "customary anachronism"? Only in the Euripidean *Supplikes*, whose nonsense about Theseus as the founder of Athenian democracy is among the proofs that much of our text was written some generations later than the rest. Also, we are offered a good deal of mystery-mongering about that troublesome word *λόγος*, and led to the strange conclusion that speech "makes possible the conception of moral choice," the obvious retort to which is "are dumb people immoral (or unmoral)?"

But other *obiter dicta* are admirable: on pp. 6 and 10, the sexual implications of *λευμόν*, *κομήτης*, *πῶλος*, and *ἔργον*; p. 22, the brilliant translation of v. 104, "man must choose among gods as the gods choose among men"; pp. 25-7, the discussion of *σφάλλω* and *ἄλλως*; pp. 28 f., the fundamental likeness of Aphrodite and Artemis; p. 30, the note on *ἐνδόπον*. Now for the vital and pervasive themes.

"In no other Greek tragedy is the predetermination of human action by an external power made so emphatically clear . . . Aphrodite tells us not only what will happen but announces her responsibility and explains her motives. It is a complete explanation and one which (even if it were not confirmed in every particular by another goddess at the end . . .) we are bound to accept" (p. 4).

And on p. 6 we find "the non-existence of the human free will, the

futility of the moral choice." Knox without mercy forces upon us the "puppets of fate" idea, which to all seeming destroys both sin and virtue—with tragic art into the bargain. Must we really take up the cudgels yet again about "fixed fate, free will, fore-knowledge absolute" and find "no end, in wandering mazes lost"? No: let us face only what happens in these fourteen-hundred-odd lines of Greek.

Free-will does not exist? Why? Because Aphrodite forces action upon the characters? Not so: her fierce and powerful language deludes you. What acts does she even allege that she has done or made others do, that she will do or make others do? Only one—and what it is we cannot know! The imperious world-goddess flounders into a corrupt line: v. 44, *δείξω δὲ Θησεί πρᾶγμα, κάκφανήσεται*. Unquestionably something is wrong, and for all we can tell it may be that sinister *δείξω*. But observe: in any case we know for certain that when Theseus does receive his information, true or false, it is not from her but from Phaedra and Artemis. The sole other passage that can be adduced is vv. 27 ff.: Phaedra is enamoured of her stepson *τοῖς ἐμοῖς βουλευμασιν*, "through my plans," or "designs." She erects to Cypris a temple whose connexion with Hippolytus is utterly obscure: it has meant nothing even to the Nurse. This woman falls in love. She cannot help it. But how does she act in consequence? Here and here only lies the sphere (if any) of free will and moral choice: in conduct. And it is precisely here that Phaedra takes charge of her own life, determining to die rather than yield to passion; and die she does, by her own will and her own hand. There is nothing that Aphrodite makes her *do*. If we nevertheless reply: "But the goddess started the train of events," we might just as cogently attribute Phaedra's death to her parents—or to Aphrodite's parents, for that matter.

But what of her break-down under the Nurse's importunity and its sequel, the latter's revelation to Hippolytus? At v. 516, *πότερα δὲ χρυστὸν ἢ ποτὸν τὸ φάρμακον*, Phaedra (says Knox, p. 11) "has abandoned her critical intelligence . . . , following the third and most desperate of the three courses she saw before her. 'To be right in judgment is agony, passion is evil, best of all is to perish without judgment or choice,' *μὴ γινώσκοντ' ἀπολέσθαι*." He rightly depicts her weakness: "She is now a child again. . . ."

The three courses just mentioned are those Phaedra described in vv. 247-9—where (be it noted) the metre is anapaestic, indicating not indeed delirium like much of that scene, but certainly distraction. Later (vv. 392-402) she presents, in an utterly different mood, a very different three. Still later, in this child-passage, she sinks once more. Knox deals far too casually with what follows. "The Nurse goes into the palace. And Phaedra lets her go . . . She has come at last to abandon choice altogether and entrust her destiny to another. And the result will be . . . destruction." Not a glance at her terrible invective against the Nurse, or at her clear-sighted determination to die, as indeed she had determined to do before our play opens!

Besides the non-existence of free will, we find a good deal about "futility of the moral choice." The former means that in endowing a hospital a man is not impelled by his own character, experience, and emotions; the latter means that he does no good to the sick, or does them the wrong sort of good. This sounds very odd, but

must be Knox's intention, for he insists that the persons of our tragedy fail of their purposes. True, the Nurse does so; but she is clearly subordinate; Phaedra from the first intends to die, and does; Hippolytus' prayer was to end his life as he began, faithful to Artemis, and he does; Theseus invokes doom upon his son, and down it swoops. Knox strangely implies (p. 17) that because moral choice results in disaster the choice is futile and the view from which it springs "inadequate." Very likely these sufferers are out of tune, not with the universe, as he believes, but with the tiny Here and the vanishing Now. What of it? Remember Thermopylae—not to mention places more sacred—and think again.

But suddenly we light upon what reads like a recantation: "If the prologue were removed, the action would still be plausible. The external directing force works not against but through the characteristic thoughts and impulses of the characters involved." What a convenient directing force to have at our back, that insists on our doing exactly as we please! Aphrodite as an ogre vanishes: the only question she leaves behind her is what Euripides meant by thrusting her into such a masterpiece. But as Knox of course offers no alternative to his own answer, let us be content to compliment him on his persevering quest of truth and clarity, thanking him above all for his consummate close.

"To err is human, as Artemis says to Theseus, . . . but to forgive is not divine. It is an action possible only for man, an act by which man can distinguish himself from and rise above the inexorable laws of the universe in which he is placed. And though Hippolytus recognizes that he is following Artemis' advice, he shows too that he is fully conscious of the fact that in forgiving he is doing what she cannot do. As he forgives his father he calls to witness his sincerity 'Artemis of the conquering arrow,' *τὴν τοξοδάμνον* 'Ἄρτεμιν μαρτύρομαι. . . . The epithet is not ornamental; it recalls vividly Artemis' announcement of her intention to repay, twenty-five lines before—'with these inescapable arrows (*τόξοις ἀφύκτοις*) I shall punish another.' . . . Hippolytus' forgiveness of his father is an affirmation of purely human values in an inhuman universe."

As Apollonius belongs to that rather embarrassing class of authors whom the piteous word "estimable" exactly fits, one must regret that Professor Carspecken begins with a section on the Catalogue of Heroes that inevitably suggests the same adjective, and thereafter turns on a blast of remorseless pedantry that would scare a novice away from Dante himself. One example shall suffice: a minute survey, with ample statistics, of the particles employed by Homer and Apollonius to introduce similes: "It is to be observed, however, that while Homer uses *ὥς τε* in about one-sixth of his extended similes, Apollonius uses it only three times (l. 536-539; 2. 26-29; 4. 948-952), or once in every 27 similes." That is hard to bear; and though (as his title shows) Carspecken is concerned only with Apollonius' relation to Homer, he might have found space for more appetizing themes, still with some reference to the earlier epics: for instance, light on Apollonius' fondness for quagmires of tortured syntax and his queer vocabulary, where Greek seems infected by gibberish from the upper Nile—yappings like *ἐπεστοβέεσκον*; and more about the occasional very good passages of narrative—not

only Medea's famous scenes, but also that thrilling navigation of the Planctae and Thetis' surprisingly delightful snub to Hera in IV, 782-842.

But one soon begins to suspect that these pages on the Catalogue and the Simile were originally a separate treatise or treatises composed *consule Planco*. For when at last the similes are safely left astern the weather changes as if by magic. We are at once in close touch with poetry, with the epic manner, its varieties and virtues.

First Carspecken examines the apparently colossal ineptitude of portraying Jason himself as an imbecile weakling, in crisis after crisis outshone by some vigorous comrade. "Again and again he is called ἀμύχανος, until it becomes the *vox propria* to describe him and his conduct." This huge puzzle is not, of course, to be solved by alleging incompetence: no one is so complete a fool. Some artistic or quasi-artistic explanation must be discovered. Carspecken quotes a few unsatisfactory suggestions. First, that our poet could not get away from Euripides: as if this Jason reminds anyone of his namesake in *Medea*! Next comes "the conception of the gods shown in the *Argonautica*," an even less attractive excuse. Thirdly appears our shabby old friend the Rude Saga, on this occasion wearing his beast-fable costume. Plainly such palliatives are useless. Carspecken deals with them skilfully, and writes well of the minor heroes who so constantly fill the breach left by their ludicrous generalissimo. But can he do better? All we are told here (p. 124) is that the whole group of Argonauts is the hero: "Together they encompass the many qualities necessary for success, but no one man, no one gift, is responsible for bringing back the golden fleece." In his last section, however, "The World of the Poet," he takes a forward step or two. Romance being "a series of fantastic adventures, loosely brought together by . . . one central figure," Jason "serves to link the several incidents of the voyage." This, again, gives no real help; and in natural desperation he avers that "Apollonius chooses to offer . . . a near-burlesque of the individual hero and the heroic ideal." Who can grudge applause to such dare-devil candour? Only after an interval does one again ask "Why? Burlesque it may be: excellent! . . . But what in the name of all the Muses made the poet plant such foolery in the very heart of an epic?" We are compelled, it seems, to leave this enigma in the utter darkness that enwraps the close of Balzac's *Femme de Trente Ans* and nearly the whole of Meredith's *Amazing Marriage*.

Nevertheless, the last section is masterly: it reveals beauties and dexterities that one reader at any rate had not observed; explains away or defends and illumines much that had seemed weakness or affectation. "Apollonius is aware of the possibilities of his medium, the written word, and in exploiting them consciously departs from the technique of primary or Homeric epic"; "written"—that is the point of a good passage about Homer's repetitions and allied topics. There follows a full and most pleasant study of our poem as a romance. Carspecken scrutinizes that weather-worn label with vigour and subtlety. Apollonius' marked and deliberate divergence from "the Homeric mind" is traced with unfailing scholarship, acuteness, and exegetical skill, above all perhaps in discussion of Medea and that too neglected princess, Hypsipyle.

Little, alas, can be said in praise of the third essay, which, to be

sure, is often tentative in tone. Horace, we are told, in *Odes*, I, 7 (*Laudabunt alii . . .*) follows Cicero, *Tusculans*, V, 108: "That both writers should have developed the theme of exile and consolation in this unusual way seems improbable." But the consolations offered are not the same. In Cicero, Teucer says *patria est ubicumque est bene*; in Horace, *vino pellite curas*. Nor does Professor Silk achieve anything in his longer treatment of *Odes*, III, 1 beyond warning us that *sortitur insignes et imos* does not mean dooming people to death but assigning their lots in life. His final paragraph suggests that the second Epode (*Beatus ille . . .*) was in its description of country life inspired by the Cato of *De Senectute*. "Not impossible," he writes. Even so modest a phrase is too emphatic for the idea that Horace, who did not read even Catullus' lyrics, steeped himself in Cicero, of all people. Silk quotes Zielinski's dictum that Horace learned philosophy from Cicero, as Livy learned style. Which of the three Romans would have been most infuriated we need not discuss. Zielinski might at least have tried to amuse, by alleging that Cicero taught Horace how to write lyrics. Evidence? The perfect Horatian Sapphic verse in *De Inventione*, I, 51, *dic mihi, quaeso, Xenophontis uxor*.

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G. P. SHIPP. *Studies in the Language of Homer*. Cambridge, University Press, 1953. Pp. x + 156. \$3.75. (*Cambridge Classical Studies. Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society*, VIII.)

This book presents the results of a careful and prolonged investigation. The preface and the chapter headings show that the investigation is more restricted than what the title might lead one to expect. Thus (p. v): "The *Odyssey* is included in Chapter I and some parts of Chapter IV. Otherwise it is referred to only incidentally." This is excellent technique, cf. *Language*, XXII (1946), p. 343.

The features of the language that are treated are named in the chapter headings. Chapter I, pp. 1-17, Homeric $-\phi\iota$; Chapters II and III, pp. 18-104, The language of similes in the *Iliad*, and related questions; Chapter IV, pp. 105-36, Contraction in the *Iliad*; Chapter V, pp. 137-9, Short forms of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$, $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$, $\iota\pi\acute{o}$ in the *Iliad*; Chapter VI, pp. 140-1, Masculine and neuter stem of the perfect participle active in the *Iliad*. Indexes follow, pp. 143-55.

The author has seen clearly that in dealing with "Homer" the evidence from the language is always paramount. Consequently, like all who have mastered that simple truth, he has realized that the "Unity" hypothesis is inadequate. The core of his book—the second and third chapters—is an endeavor to show that "the similes of the *Iliad* are characterized by linguistic lateness." It has led to an interesting problem—though probably one of more interest to the philologist, than to the linguist.

It has been believed that the poets worked with a traditional stock

of similes before them. A neat expression of this belief is given by Schmid-Stählin, p. 103: Völlige Wiederholung ausgeführter Bilder ist selten (Z 506-511 = O 263-269),¹ legt aber den Gedanken an einem traditionellen Bilderschatz, der dem Schatz stehender Verse und Wendungen entsprechen würde, nahe." The corollary must be—unless the idea is much watered down—that the language of the similes is older than that of their context. The material assembled by the author² suffices to show that such is not the case.

The growth of the *Iliad* between Aristarchus and Wolf is slight and has had practically³ no effect upon the similes. The greater expansion between Π (ca. 550 B. C.) and Aristarchus is not of much more importance. The chief thing is the addition of the dream simile, X [199-201]. The including of the description of Achilles' shield brought in the simile of the potter's wheel, Σ [600-1]. Similes are repeated: once from the *Odyssey* οὐδὲ ἔφκει | θηρί γε στροφάλγῳ, ἀλλὰ ῥίψι ὑλήεντι, I [539^a], cf. ι, 190-1; elsewhere from the *Iliad*: B, 478-9 = © [54^{cd}]; E, 782-3 = H [256-7]; Z, 508-11 = O [265-8]; II, 3-4, cf. I [14-16]. Longer additions sometimes include phrase similes, e. g., θεὸν ὥς πάντ' ἀγορεύσαι within M [175-81]. So whether one reads Π, or Aristarchus, or Wolf makes for the similes little difference.

The problem lies in the interaction of Π's sources, and their later treatment by Π and his (possible) predecessors. The first thing is to sort the sources as far as it can be done by linguistic evidence. For the opportunity to do this we are indebted chiefly to Friedrich Bechtel, my opinion of whose work is stated in *Language*, XIII (1937), pp. 307-8. Since then Leumann's *Homerische Wörter* (Basel, 1950) has produced evidence for the chronologic relation of certain passages that fits well with the ideas of Bechtel, cf. *Language*, XXVII (1951), pp. 74-80.

Among the fragments of Old Epic I have examined some fifty similes. In over half of them the author finds marks of linguistic lateness; I disagree with all but one. To me the similes seem on a par with their context, neither containing certain forms found in the other parts of the poem. The single exception is Δ, 433-8. It describes the noisy advance of the Trojans in contrast to the silent discipline of the Achaeans pictured in a simile, Δ, 422-32. A third simile about the clash of the two armies, Δ, 452-6, follows, being preceded by a passage suspected for non-linguistic reasons.

Now the first and the third similes are in the dialect of the Old Epic, the second is not. The author (p. 43) points to ἐστήκασιν (or ἐστήκωσιν) as a mark of lateness, and could have referred to *C. P.*, XVIII (1923), pp. 270-1 where still earlier literature is cited. Later I noticed, cf. *Language*, XIII (1937), pp. 306-12, that ἦεν (not at the verse end) and ἔσαν are found elsewhere only in the later portions of the poem. Leumann, p. 211, has shown that ἀλαλητός 'war-whoop' comes from a misunderstanding of II, 78, cf. *Language*, XXVII (1951), p. 76. To the non-linguistic objections to Δ, 439-51 the author now adds (p. 76) ἐράρη, an extremely late form, cf. Risch, *Wortbildung d. hom. Sprache* (Berlin u. Leipzig,

¹ A badly selected example, for the *recensio* disposes of O [265-8].

² I differ from his valuation and use of the material at many points.

³ One could point to A [265].

1937), p. 153. Clearly the original structure was three successive similes. Someone, for reasons of his own, has taken out the second, adding one that pleased him better and other materials.

At the other extreme are IKΨΩ. They are alike in being in the main ⁴ compositional units. They are alike also in making little, if any, ⁵ use of the poetry from which the Old Epic fragments come. Similes of any length are scarce. Eleven (I, 4-8, 323-7; K, 5-10, 183-8, 360-4, 485-7; Ψ, 692-4, 711-13, 845-7; Ω, 41-4, 480-3) contain forms that date them. Six (Ψ, 222-4, 431-3, 517-23, 597-600; Ω, 80-2, 317-19) lack such forms, but because of their shortness and their associations the fact must be regarded as accidental. In this section there are no serious differences between the author and myself.

In the middle zone the situation is more complex. Probably an intensive study of it would yield interesting results, but I can here give only a single example. Between Σ, 239 and X, 394 the oldest stratum is a poem not in Old Epic, but a fairly early composition. Unlike IKΨΩ this stratum has reached us only after being greatly disturbed.⁶ The poem differs also from these books in a freer use of the earlier poetry. For instance Υ, 407, 413-37 is in the Old Epic dialect with only slight modernizations, and is claimed by Robert for his *Uriliad*. The same is true of the simile Υ, 490-4. A simile follows, the opening lines of which (495-7) contain no form that would date them:

ὥς δ' ὅτε τις ξεύξῃ βόας ἄρσενας εὐρυμετώπους
τριβέμεναι κρὶ λευκὸν ἐκτιμένην ἐν ἄλωϊ,
ρίμφα τε λέπτ' ἐγένοντο βοῶν ὑπὸ πόσσ' ἐρμύκων.

To complete it the poet makes use of an Old Epic fragment, where it is said of Hector's horses:

τοὶ δὲ πλεγγὺς αἰόντες
ρίμφ' ἔφερον θοὸν ἄρμα μετὰ Τρώας καὶ Ἀχαιούς,
στείβοντες νέκνυς τε καὶ ἀσπίδας· αἵματι δ' ἄξων
Λ 535/8 νέρθεν ἅπας πεπάλακτο καὶ ἄντυγες· ἐν δὲ κυδοιμὸν
ἦκε κακὸν Δαναοῖσι ⁷

and finishes his simile with:

ὥς ὑπ' Ἀχιλλῆος μεγαθύμου μώνυχες ἵπποι
στείβον ὁμοῦ νέκνυς τε καὶ ἀσπίδας· αἵματι δ' ἄξων
Υ 500 νέρθεν ἅπας πεπάλακτο καὶ ἄντυγες αἱ περὶ δίφρον,
ἀς ἄρ' ἄφ' ἱππέων ὀπλέων ῥαθάμιγγες ἔβαλλον
αἱ τ' ἄπ' ἐπισσώτρων· ὁ δὲ ἔτο κυδὸς ἀρέσθαι
Πηλεΐδης, λύθρῳ δὲ παλάσσετο χεῖρας ἀάπτους.

Dissyllabic ὀπλέων marks the additional material as late.

⁴ Ψ is rather a series of three such units. The possibility of various small alterations need not be considered here.

⁵ Only I, 16-22, [27-8], 80, 81, 83 have been claimed.

⁶ Remarkable is the way Robert and Wilamowitz agree in defining this stratum—cf. *A.J.P.*, XLII (1921). They could be compared to engineers tunnelling a mountain from opposite sides, and meeting face to face.

⁷ I have varied slightly from Robert.

Afterwards II, or some predecessor, used the simile of Y to fill out the passage in A. Its usefulness runs out at the end, and the conclusion is built up with material (original or from another source) that cannot be dated. We thus get:

- Δ 535 . . . ἀντιγες αἱ περὶ δίφρον,
 ἄς ἄρ' ἀφ' ἱππέων ὀπλέων ραθάμυγες ἔβαλλον
 αἶ τ' ἀπ' ἐπισσώτρων. ὁ δὲ ἴετο δῦναι ὄμιλον
 ἀνδρόμεον ῥῆξαι τε μετάλμενος· ἐν δὲ κυδοιμόν
 ἦκε κακὸν Δαναοῖσι, μίνυνθα δὲ χάζετο δουρός.
 540 αὐτὰρ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεπωλεῖτο στίχας ἀνδρῶν
 ἔγχεῖ τ' ἄορί τε μεγάλοισι τε χερμαδίοισιν,
 Αἴαντος δ' ἀλέεινε μάχην Τελαμωνιάδαο.

Noteworthy is the fact that with the change of source after ὁ δὲ ἴετο (A, 537), comes the change of the picture from Hector driving through the battle to Hector fighting on foot—note *μετάλμενος*, *χάζετο*, and *χερμαδίοισιν*.

We have got an interesting glimpse into the workshop of the poets, and should be grateful to the author for directing attention to it.

Chapters I and IV are intended to rival the sixth chapter of Meister's *Homerische Kunstsprache*, and Bechtel's *Die Vocalcontraction bei Homer*. Their success I leave to the judgment of others. I had planned to say elsewhere that the choice between alternant forms of prepositions is a matter of style and metrical convenience. I doubt that use of Chapter V will take me further.

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T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON. *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, Volume II, 99 B. C.–31 B. C. New York, American Philological Association (to be ordered through the Association's agents: Lancaster Press and B. H. Blackwell), 1952. Pp. x + 648. \$10.00. (*Philological Monographs*, No. XV, vol. II.)

The general principles on which this important work has been planned have already been outlined in the notice of volume I (*A. J. P.*, LXXIII [1952], pp. 212 ff.). A grateful welcome will be accorded to the speedy appearance of the second volume. It contains the annual lists of magistrates, fully documented, from 99 to 31 B. C., with lists of members of the priestly colleges at suitable places. This is followed by three appendices, on the Monetales, Magistrates of Uncertain Date, and a Supplementary List of Senators. After twenty-five pages of bibliography there comes an Index of Careers (pp. 524-636) which not only helps to co-ordinate the whole work, but is in itself a most handy and useful list for quick reference. Finally some additions and corrections have been added, especially to vol. I; these emphasise once again how thoroughly

Broughton has been able to keep his work abreast of the very latest literature.

One of the most valuable features of the work is the full documentation, so that it may appear rather churlish to ask for more, but there are a few places where greater precision would have been helpful. After a statement of fact the sources are usually listed without any indication that occasionally some may provide evidence against the supposed fact and for an alternative view. Thus when we are told that the younger Drusus (91 B. C.) hoped to win the support of the senatorial and equestrian orders "by enrolling 300 knights in the Senate and selecting the juries from the enlarged body, thus having them consist equally of senators and of former knights (Liv. *Per.* 70, and 71; Flor. 2. 5. 4; App. *BC* 1. 35; Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 66. 4 and 10)," no indication is given that this is the view of Appian and that Livy appears to say something different, while Velleius (II, 13, 2; not quoted) envisages yet another procedure. Or again, one of Sulla's actions in 81 is said to have been "the addition of 300 persons from the knights to the depleted Senate (Sall. *Cat.* 37. 6; Dion. Hal. 5. 77. 4; App. *BC* 1. 100; Liv. *Per.* 89)," which is the (very probably correct) view of Appian and Livy, but certainly not that of Sallust or Dionysius. These matters have obviously arisen from the compelling need for compression, but a little expansion might have been worth while. Incidentally there is a slip on p. 82: Sulla resigned the dictatorship *before* the consular elections for 78.

Broughton has added a few notes (pp. 637 ff.) on the results of equating the years of the Varronian time reckoning with those of our own era, and in the body of his work he discusses some of the preliminary basic chronological problems of the period, such as the date of the outbreak of the Third Mithridatic War and the date when Asia was added to Lucullus' command, supporting the earlier dating of Mommsen and others. Pieces of another chronological puzzle have to be fitted together in accordance with the dating of the Lex Antonia de Termessibus, which Broughton assigns to 68 B. C., but it might have been useful to have placed warning queries against such entries in the lists as the tribunate of Plautius (assigned to 70) and the college of the nine or ten tribunes of *I. L. S.*, 5800 (placed in 68), since some may still believe with Mommsen that tribunes may have retained some powers of legislation before 70.

In dealing with the Monetales Broughton has had bad luck, since two books appeared almost, but not quite, too late to be considered. He has been able to consult only the proofs of part of E. A. Sydenham's *Coinage of the Roman Republic* and to add a brief synopsis of the views of K. Pink, *The Triumviri Monetales . . . of the Roman Republic*. It is all to the good that Sydenham's dating should have been included: his work, based partly on the evidence of the hoards of the last 40 years and on a very careful study of the ornamental details of the coin-types, represents a real advance on the British Museum Catalogue of 1910 (though where Sydenham diverges from Mattingly, some may prefer the views of the latter at times). Pink's work, however, in which an attempt is made to arrange the moneys in 86 colleges and in 9 groups, appears highly speculative and subjective particularly as he deliberately eschews the evidence provided by hoards and refuses to believe in the existence of any mint other than that of Rome for the regular issues. It may be

useful to have his results tabulated, but it is a pity that Broughton had not time, before publishing, properly to assess these two works and to give his readers the benefit of his considered judgement.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and it is only by constant use that the full value of Broughton's work can be appreciated. It is a notable achievement for one man alone (apart from Dr. Marcia Patterson's help with the years 218-201 B. C.) to have carried through to completion this "long and exacting task." The work is an indispensable tool for all students of the Roman Republic who owe a great debt to Broughton for his unremitting zeal and toil. He is far too modest for Cicero's observation to Atticus (X, 4, 5) ever to occur to him, "cogito me de re publica meruisse optime," but others may be permitted to say with emphasis that Professor Broughton has rendered the Roman Republic good service.

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FRANCESCO DELLA CORTE. *Da Sarsina a Roma: Ricerche Plautine.* Genoa, Istituto Universitario di Magistero, 1952. Pp. 345. 2,000 lire.

This book gives the impression of having been dashed off at a white heat and then given to a rather immature and inaccurate graduate student to equip with a scholarly apparatus. The text is on the level of the literary page of an Italian newspaper, high by American standards of literary journalism, but not scholarly; in the footnotes and indexes misprints abound.

The author, having begun with a courteous polemic against his predecessors in Plautine scholarship, with their researches into Greek originals, dramatic technique, music, Plautus' life, and the chronology of the plays, then proceeds himself to a discussion of these same matters, which leaves this reviewer with a certain nostalgia for Leo. The conclusions to which della Corte comes on Plautus the man, he prefers to call rather "sentimental propensities" than conclusions: these are: that at that period an Umbrian could not call himself by the *tria nomina* of a Roman; that Plautus probably did follow some low calling until the increase in the number of *ludi* opened a way to fame and prosperity in the theatre to this unknown; that he adapted himself, though not with servility, to the political factions which controlled the *ludi*; that his plays fall into two groups, one during the last years of the Second Punic War and the other during the consulship and censorship of Cato the Elder. The author's dating of the plays is on the slenderest of evidence, and he dates the *Aulularia* by the evidence he intended to adduce for the *Epidicus*, and vice versa (p. 56). To date the *Epidicus* after 195 because it alludes to the planting of new colonies (a notion borrowed from Buck) is flimsy, since Plautus' active life falls within the most active period of Roman Republican colonization, and the allusion could equally well be to the colonies of 200, 199, 197, 193, 185, or even later, if *retractatio* be admitted. On such evidence as this, the *Asinaria*, *Mercator*, *Miles*, *Cistellaria*, and *Stichus* are dated early, the rest late.

On the question of Plautus' Greek originals, the conclusions owe something to Webster's studies (*Bull. John Rylands Library*, XXXI [1948], pp. 191-8), though Webster is not cited in the appropriate place. The *Bacchides*, *Stichus*, *Cistellaria*, and *Poenulus* are assigned to originals by Menander; the *Mercator* and *Trinummus* to Philemon; the *Rudens*, *Casina*, and *Vidularia* to Diphilus; the *Menaechmi* to Poseidippus; the *Mostellaria* to Theognetus; the *Captivi* to Bato; and the *Asinaria* to a writer of the author's own invention named Deinolochus; the rest are *adespota*. The central and quite reasonable point is that Plautus' acquaintance with the earlier stage was not confined to the Comic Three of New Comedy, but extended to Middle Comedy, and to Sicilian plays, as well as to the *fabulae Rhintonicae*, the phlyax plays, Atellane farce, and mimes.

But all this, for della Corte, might be otherwise, and the questions seem to him in any case peripheral. What matters is the play (he is a New Critic). His analyses of the plays are the best part of his book: racy, even slangy in style, and with some really good summaries (e.g., the *Mercator*, p. 227) and characterizations (e.g., of Ballio, pp. 275 ff., and Phronesium, pp. 280 ff.). But his categories are arbitrary, and the upshot of his New Criticism is that he is left admiring most those plays which are least funny. The categories are: (1) farce: *Asinaria*, *Persa*, *Casina*; (2) romantic adventure: *Mercator*, *Stichus*, *Mostellaria*, *Trinummus*; (3) Recognition: *Cistellaria*, *Poenulus*, *Curculio*, *Epidicus*; (4) Twins: *Menaechmi*, *Bacchides*, *Amphitruo*; (5) Caricature: *Pseudolus*, *Truculentus*, *Miles*; (6) Composite: *Aulularia*, *Captivi*, *Rudens*. These categories owe something to Webster's (*Studies*, pp. 57-8) but know nothing of Duckworth's (*Nature of Roman Comedy*, pp. 140 ff.), whose book may have reached Italy too late for della Corte to use. It is the "composite" comedies which the author most admires; they were written, he thinks, by a "Plauto maggiore." He substitutes for a chronological series one based on comic motifs, and he believes thus to have "delineated the true development of Plautus' poetic personality," an internal rather than an external thing.

In short, the author is a "New Critic," but without sufficient scholarly baggage to make his criticism convincing. His would have been a better book if he had omitted the polemic, which squares ill with his inaccuracy of citation, and if he had either omitted the scholarly apparatus of footnotes and indexes or proofread them more accurately.

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H. HILL. *The Roman Middle Class in the Republican Period.* Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1952. Pp. xi + 226. \$3.00.

In his study on the equestrian class in the Republic Hill concentrates on two main themes. The first is the military and political organization of the cavalry of early Rome (ch. I, *The Cavalry*; ch. II, *The Eighteen Centuries of Equites Equo Publico*). The second is the emergence therefrom of a politically powerful class and its role in the Late Republic (ch. III, *The Growth of the Middle Class*; ch. IV, *The Middle Class in Politics: I, To the Gracchi*; ch. V,

The Middle Class in Politics: II, After the Gracchi). To complete his account the author furnishes three appendices (on the *Sex Suffragia*, the *lex Aurelia* of 70 B. C., and the equestrian insignia), a full bibliography, and a good index.

On his two major subjects Hill is sober and judicious. He gives full ancient references, weighs and identifies modern conflict of opinion, and is cautious where our evidence is weak. Having discussed the emergence of the eighteen equestrian centuries as embodying the wealthier men of Rome, he scrupulously describes province by province the possibilities open to these men for collecting taxes, lending money, and engaging in business. The humbling of Rhodes in 167-6 is taken as the first clear example of their influence on policy, but the Senate is considered to have been reluctant to expand the field of operations for business men by annexing new territories at this time. As a well-formed body the equestrian order did not exist until the reform of the juries by Gaius Gracchus; thereafter it exerted an influence on Roman politics chiefly to protect from senatorial control its economic opportunities. "The Middle Class was only faintly interested in what form Rome's government would take, being concerned almost exclusively with its own affairs" (p. 164). The portrait is not novel, but it is well filled out by careful attention to the details; for students, the treatment will prove very useful.

The path down which the author takes us is a well-trod one, where little new fruit is to be gathered; this, indeed, is the main ground on which the book may be criticized. That more could be done on the early cavalry of Rome is shown superbly by Andreas Alföldi's recent monograph, *Der frühromische Reiteradel und seine Ehrenabzeichen* (Baden-Baden, 1952). Hill's discussion of the equestrian order in politics is careful in delimiting that influence, but one longs for a really sharp analysis of the interaction of the senatorial and equestrian orders under the shadow of the military leaders of the Late Republic.

The very term Middle Class promises much more than is forthcoming, for the group in question is defined primarily in constitutional, legalistic terms. Though Hill assumes that the economic interests of the group determined its political actions, he actually fails to give a full picture of its economic role by talking almost exclusively about "commerce, finance, and speculation." The tenure of land by the equestrian order he discounts, though at times he is forced to realize that equestrian landholding may have had some effect upon the policies of the order (pp. 101, 103). The comments of Rostovtzeff (*S. E. H. H. W.*) on the Roman settlers in Greece might have been more fully pondered; the information we possess on the economic activities of Atticus and Cicero the author passes by. And finally, the interconnections of the Roman equestrians and the rapidly rising middle class of Italy are virtually ignored in the author's too exclusively legal definitions.

Was the equestrian motivated solely by economic interests? The problem as to whether this group was also a social bloc is neither raised nor answered, though the use of the modern term Middle Class might suggest its relevance; here again the picture of the *bourgeoisie* of the Hellenistic world which Rostovtzeff drew must be considered by the historian of the Late Republic. When Hill, in

concluding, asserts that after Actium the energy and ability of the Middle Class were "to be employed, not in the pursuit of private gain, but in the service of the state" (p. 199), is he correct in any but the strictly constitutional sense?

Of the works published since the war Hill has made use of DeLaet's *Portorium*, but one is surprised to find no reference to Ernst Meyer, *Römischer Staat und Staatsgedanke* (1948), or Lily Ross Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (1949) in so extensive a bibliography. For "p. 260 f." on p. 212, read "p. 155 f."; other typographical errors are few and easily corrected.

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ERNESTUS DIEHL. *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, editio tertia. Fasc. 3: *Iamborum Scriptores*. Leipzig, Teubner, 1952. Pp. v + 162. D. M. 5.60. (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*.)

The general appreciation of the first two fascicles of this new edition of Diehl (*A. J. P.*, LXXIII [1952], pp. 110-11) applies also to this third fascicle. The tendency of this edition is, as it should be, conservative, but the greatly increased volume of bibliographical material provides an unprejudiced basis for accepting different readings or attributions. Not only have certain capricious emendations (especially in the case of Cercidas) been relegated to the apparatus, but the attribution of the Strasbourg fragments to Archilochus (Nos. 79 and 80) is now put in square brackets; arguments favoring attribution to Archilochus (or Hipponax or another) are referred to in the apparatus. The only considerable additions are the more extensive of the fragments of Hipponax (here numbered Roman I to XII) first published in 1941 by Lobel in *Pap. Oxy.*, XVIII. These are useful to the student of Hipponax' meter and language but will hardly exhilarate the mere reader.

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